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PALESTINE  
EXPLORATION FUND.

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Patron—THE QUEEN.

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*Quarterly Statement*

FOR 1875.

7

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THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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PREFACE.

THE Survey has been resumed, and is now in active progress, the party having been at work since the middle of October in the hill country south of Judah. This little-known region has yielded results of the greatest importance to the cause of Biblical topography. Among the identifications proposed by Lieut. Conder are especially that of Dhoheriyeh, with the Levitical city of Debir, on which Lieut. Conder writes with great force and clearness; that of Bezetho or Beth Zetho, 1 Maccab. vii. 19; Chozeba, 1 Chron. iv. 22; Maarath, Joshua xv. 59; Arab, Joshua xv. 52; Zanoah, Joshua xv. 56; the Rock of Maon, 1 Sam. xxiii. 25; and the Hill of Hachilah, 1 Sam. xxiii. 19. His reports may be also referred to for his valuable information on the Rock Etam, the Forest of Hareth, the wood of Ziph, and other places.

The Survey party have been searching for boundary marks round the Levitical cities of Juttah and Eshtemoa. No such inscriptions as those which rewarded M. Clermont-Ganneau at Gezer have been yet discovered; but, on the other hand, boundary stones, which may be ancient, are observed at Eshtemoa, and it is curious that at both places the cardinal points at the presumed Levitical distance are on hill-tops.

Lieut. Conder's discoveries in the Passages north of the Kubbet es Sakhra (pp. 7 and 11), and those of Mr. Maudsley on Mount Zion, promise to be of great importance in the topographical difficulties of Jerusalem.

The specimen of the new map published this quarter is of the Carmel ridge, one of the least known and most interesting parts of the Holy Land. It is on the scale of one inch to the mile, and contains about eight times the number of names to be found in any other map, besides the sites of ruins, ancient towns, vineyards, &c., upon it. One of the most important features in the new map—less important, perhaps, in this portion of Palestine than in those connected with the Books of Judges and Samuel—is the course of the ravines and valleys. A great step is taken in the issue of this specimen portion of the new map: it is an earnest of the whole, and the Committee are certain that its appearance will serve as an assurance to subscribers that the work is being carried out in the most thorough and complete manner.

The Committee in July last asked for £2,500 before the end of the year. Of this sum, up to the present date (Dec. 29th), less than £2,000 have been paid in, the total income of the Fund for the year being about £200 less than that of last year. Owing, too, to a great increase in prices in Palestine, the expenses of the two expeditions have been much higher than was anticipated, consequently the new year begins with a heavy load of debt. The Committee most earnestly beg their friends not to allow this Survey—the greatest work ever attempted in the Holy Land, a work for all time and the whole world—to languish for want of assistance.

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## NOTES.

M. Clermont-Ganneau landed at Marseilles early in December. He has brought with him the "Vase of Bezetha," of which a full account was given in the *Quarterly Statement* for October last; a cast of the supposed "Head of Hadrian;" two of the Gezer letters; and a very large quantity of inedited inscriptions and squeezes.

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In the autumn it is hoped to publish in one large volume a complete account of his Archaeological work in Palestine, with a great number of illustrations. Full particulars will be advertised. Meantime, a reduction in the price will be made in the case of subscribers, as was done with the "Recovery of Jerusalem," and names of those wishing to have a copy will be received at the office of the Fund.

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The Report from the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, published in this number of the *Statement*, was found after his death among his papers. It had not received his corrections, but is published as it was found.

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His pamphlet on "Modern Jerusalem" has been now published by Mr. Stanford, 6, Charing Cross. It contains a report on the population, the industries, and the characteristics of the city, which will be read with great interest. It was written for the Committee of the Fund, but not published in the *Quarterly Statement*, as it appeared not to fall within the objects of the Society.

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It is proposed to hold a meeting in January in order to review and discuss some of the latest work of M. Ganneau. When the day is fixed it will be advertised in the *Times* and other papers.

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Lieutenant H. H. Kitchener, R.E., the successor to Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, arrived in Palestine in November. The health of the party is reported to be good, with the exception of that of Sergeant Black, of whom, however, the latest report speaks favourably.

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There are no new facts connected with the Shapira Collection. An eminent Semitic scholar, M. Neubauer, has added his voice to that of those who regard the inscriptions as forgeries (*Academy*, Dec. 12, 1874). So-called "Moabite" pottery is now exhibited for sale at other places in Jerusalem besides the establishment of Mr. Shapira. Photographs of some of these have been brought home by M. Clermont-Ganneau. They are precisely similar to all the rest, no variety of type being presented in any yet sketched or brought home.

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The researches of Mr. Henry Maudsley on Mount Zion (see Lieut. Conder's Reports, p. 7) have resulted in discoveries of great interest and topographical importance. It is to be hoped that he will be encouraged to carry on investigations which have been crowned with such great success.

The American Association have not yet despatched their second expedition. The Committee, however, are carefully considering their next step. It has already been reported that a far larger sum has been collected in the States than that with which our own Fund was started.

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The amount received from September 22nd to December 22nd, from all sources, was £1,243 15s. 5d., being more than £300 a month, a rate which, if it could be maintained through the whole year, would place the Committee fairly beyond anxiety. The income always asked for is £5,000. The balance in the banks on the latter date was £107 6s. 3d. The expenses of the Survey amount, necessarily, and at the lowest estimate, to £200 a month.

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A meeting was held at Manchester on Thursday, Dec. 17th, under the presidency of Mr. Hugh Birley, M.P., which was addressed by Mr. Grove, M. Clermont-Ganneau, Major Wilson, Rev. W. F. Birch, and other gentlemen. The meeting pledged itself to raise the sum of £500 for the Fund during the following year.

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The Rev. William Wright, of Damascus, has kindly consented to act as Honorary Secretary for the Fund in that city. Dr. Chaplin has already for some years acted as the Honorary Secretary for Jerusalem, while the Consul-General at Beyrout and the Consul at Jerusalem are both members of the General Committee.

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# THE SURVEY OF PALESTINE.

LIEUT. CLAUDE R. CONDER'S REPORTS.

XXII.

JERUSALEM, 1st October, 1874.

I SEND home a few notes on points of interest which I have noted on coming back to the country before recommencing our active work.

I landed at Jaffa on 20th September, having left England on the night of the 10th, and spent a Sunday morning in Bologna. This is about as rapid a journey as could possibly be made under existing arrangements.

*Gezer.*—On passing from Ramleh I made a *détour* by Abu Shusheh to visit Tell Jezer, and the place where the two inscriptions were found. Tell Jezer, which I have had occasion to describe previously, is a prominent mound, partly natural, partly artificial, commanding one of the main routes from the plains to Jerusalem. On the south are rough caves and tombs, some having names, as shown on the Survey. On the east, in the valley, is a fine spring 'Ain Yerdeh, and on the opposite slope is the ruin of the same name. It was on the top of this flat hill, rather more than a mile from Tell Jezer, that the two stones were found. The line which joins their positions (about 100 yards apart) runs approximately north-west and south-east. They seem to have formed portions of the integral rock, and were written on its flat surface, which renders the fact that one inscription has to be reversed to read the Greek more easy to understand. There are evidences of considerable work; round this part of the hill the rock is cut in various places, and some shallow troughs, looking like sarcophagi with the sides knocked off, are visible. Somewhat in the same line, farther north, I was shown a long, rough stone, with two large letters, about a foot high, cut at the end. It has fallen on another, in a manner which suggests the former existence of some rude monument or sarcophagus. I was told of the existence of another stone farther south-east, but did not see it. Of the two first found, nothing is visible beyond the chipped rock in the place where they were cut out. The first is in the Serai at Jerusalem, where it is to be seen, and a photograph and several sketches have been taken. The other is in the Serai at Ramleh.

*Mr. Drake's Last Illness.*—It is a melancholy consolation to find how kindly Mr. Drake was treated during his last painful illness. The kindness of all the English residents was marked and untiring, and all that skill and care could do was done. I fear I hardly did justice in my

memoir to Dr. Thévier, who had been so serviceable and kind in his former attack. The good doctor undertook, at a moment's notice, a long and tedious journey to Jericho. He lost his way, and suffered by the fall of his horse. He reached us in the middle of the night, and by his prescriptions afforded immediate relief to Mr. Drake. He never left us until we were all safely established in Jerusalem, when the immediate danger was over. During Mr. Drake's last illness he showed the same kindness and attention.

The behaviour of Mr. Hornstein was also worthy of the highest commendation. Nothing could exceed his care and thoughtfulness. During the long and trying period of forty-two days hardly any one in the hotel seems to have been able to take any rest, and Dr. Chaplin was finally quite worn out, and suffered very considerably for some time after.

*Christian Work in the Mosque.*—On the 25th inst. I visited, in company with Mr. Shick and Sergeant Black, the Haram enclosure, under a special invitation from the sheikh, to see certain new discoveries. The first of these was a small figure in bas-relief, lately uncovered on the side of the little table which supports the Shield of Hamzeh. The whole of the work of this piece appears to be Christian, as are also several of the capitals to the columns, such as those on each side of the Mirhab. The little figure seems to represent a saint in flowing drapery, with the aureole, and holding some indistinguishable object in the raised right hand.

*Greek Christian Inscription.*—The second discovery, made a few days ago, whilst renewing the pavement of the mosque floor, is of greater importance. One of the flags was found to have a well-cut and preserved Greek inscription on the under side. It contains a date, and the crosses show it to be of Christian origin.

As far as I am able to make out at a first glance, it is a memorial tablet, but part of the stone has been unfortunately lost, and I was only able to recover this part of the inscription by means of the cast made by the deep cut letters in the underlying bed of mortar. No doubt this stone will prove of great interest (see p. 56).

*Mosaics.*—The wooden frame which surrounds the sacred rock has been taken down, but nothing of importance was visible in addition to what is already known. The works are rapidly approaching completion, and the appearance of the interior and dome, now that the paint has been renewed and the mosaics washed, is wonderfully beautiful. The curious question of the method in which these mosaics are placed in the wall, we carefully investigated. There is no doubt that the gold tessera have been intentionally fixed in an inclined position, so that the rays directly reflected may be directed towards the spectators below, whereby the brilliancy is greatly increased. (See "Letters from M. Clermont-Ganneau, 1874," p. 138.) The pieces of other colours have not, however, been so placed.

In parts, where the mosaics are defective or dull in colour, a coat of oil paint has been supplied.



*Arches.*—The marble casing, in black and white, to the arches supporting the drum has never been removed, and we are thus still ignorant of the true form of the arch. The exterior has never, however, been correctly represented. The keystone of each arch has a horizontal soffit, so that the arches cannot be said to be either pointed or round.

*Glass.*—Mr. Shick is of opinion that the apparent resemblance in the glass mosaic of the windows to the method above described of placing the mosaics of the dome, is only the result of accident, or of clumsy mending at a former period.

*The Passages north of the Kubbet es Sakhrâh.*—On the 28th inst. I visited, in company with Sergeant Black, some of the great cisterns of the Haram, which are only dry just at the end of summer. We first descended No. 3, afterwards No. 1. These, as will be remembered, are under the platform to the north of the Kubbet es Sakhrâh, and the western one (No. 3) is inclined in such a manner that its production in a line north-east would intersect that of No. 1, at about the line of the north steps of the platform, so that a connection with the vault running east and west on that side, and supposed by Mr. Fergusson to be part of a basilica, may be conjectured. I had always suspected that the north side of these two passages would be found to be modern, but had feared that the plaster would hide the work. I was, therefore, greatly pleased, on descending No. 3, to find at the farther end a wall, evidently more modern, closing the passage, and built irregularly in an oblique line across it. The lower part was cemented, but above the work showed and proves to be irregular in size, with broad mortar joints. The passage, which is throughout about thirty feet high, is roofed with a semi-circular arch of fine masonry. The keystone of the arch is very narrow, and the voussoirs gradually increase in breadth as they approach the haunches. This character of work, similar to that of the twin pools of the Sisters of Zion, is probably Roman. The voussoirs are cut irregularly by the end wall, and there can be no doubt that the passage continues farther north. On descending No. 1 I made the same remark, although the masonry of the cross wall was not so easily seen, but the voussoirs of the roofing arch run beyond in the same way. The passages, though now used for cisterns, were probably cut first for another object, and communicated with the exterior (see Note, p. 11). There is a side chamber in No. 3, with a well mouth, which may very probably be the House of Baptism, or, more properly, Bath-room, mentioned in the Talmud.

*The Zion Scarp.*—Since Captain Warren left Jerusalem, no work has been undertaken equalling in interest and importance that which is now being carried out at his own expense by Mr. Henry Maudsley, M.I.C.E. This gentleman has undertaken various improvements in the Bishops' School on Zion, and in prosecuting these with a purely benevolent motive, he has contrived to carry his researches for stones and for cisterns in such directions as are best calculated to give results of archæological interest. The illustration of Josephus's account, furnished

by the present discoveries, is in the highest degree instructive, and all travellers should in future make a point of visiting the school and its grounds.

Mr. Maudsley kindly undertook to show me the whole of his work, which I will endeavour shortly to describe.

The Bishop's School grounds stand partly on rock, partly on made earth, brought down from above, forming a garden terrace which extends to the English cemetery, a length of about four hundred feet in all. Mr. Maudsley's excavations are exactly those which I recommended should be made in this part in one of my early reports to the society, and the results are those which I hoped to obtain. The dining-room of the school-house proves to be founded on a rock, buttress, or tower," some twenty-five feet square, and reached by a flight of rock-cut steps on one side. The tower, whose scarp has an average height of about twenty feet, stands on a second rock platform of about twenty feet width, beyond which line Mr. Maudsley finds a drop of more than twenty-five feet. On the north-west side the scarp is now traced back, and a line discovered running due north, with a similar scarp directed on the present south-west corner of the city wall (a discovery of the utmost value, showing the line of the old west wall of the city, and proving the tower in question to be the ancient south-west angle of the first wall).

It was found in building the school that this scarped block had formed the base of a pair of cisterns, with walls some six to eight feet thick, also rock-cut. Behind the tower, Mr. Maudsley has just lit upon a very large cistern, cut in the rock, and with a mouth about the level of the top of the rock platform. There is a communication between this large cistern and the base of the tower. No one reading this description can fail to see how exactly it carries out the description by Josephus of the smaller towers upon the first wall. They were twenty cubits (or about twenty-six feet) square, with steps leading up. They had a solid base twenty cubits high, not, as has been previously supposed, built so with large stones, but hewn, as we now see, in the solid rock. Finally, above this base were cisterns and rooms. The work, as now exposed in parts, is magnificent. The labour of hewing these great scarps, apparently with an instrument not more powerful than the modern picks used by the natives, must have been immense.

On the western side were found numerous fallen stones, many of which seem to me to be Roman work, with a draft of three inches broad. There are also voussoirs of arches evidently of considerable span, fragments of column shafts, some three feet in diameter, and the jamb and lintel stones of a great doorway. The stones were found principally face downwards, as though fallen from the tower above, or pushed over from within.

I have already described, in a former report, the system of cisterns which runs along the top of the scarp east of this first tower. Mr. Maudsley has now succeeded in clearing this great scarp, which faces south, and has reached the bottom of it. The total height is about

thirty feet, and it stands on a rock platform of unknown width. There would, no doubt, be another fall beyond this, but I doubt the existence of a regular second scarp below, for which there would be no real use. The rock is probably rough, and left in its natural state.

A curious buttress sticks out of this scarp, and forms a division between two large cisterns, which seem to have been of masonry on the other sides. An inspection of the cement used in these, leads me to conclude that the cisterns are Saracenic work applied to the ancient scarp of which they form no part.

We now arrived at a sort of tunnel driven by the workmen against the face of the scarp, and on the platform as a base. Following this we came to the foot of the set of rock-cut steps explored by Captain Warren, and marked on the Ordnance Survey. It proves to be, as Captain Warren supposes, the base of the scarp, and the total height presented to the enemy at this point is some thirty feet. At the top of the steps are two cisterns or baths, with rock-cut sides and a masonry arch. These were the earliest discoveries of Mr. Maudsley, and I noticed them in a report which was mislaid in England. Above and behind these are a brick-kiln, a cistern, and a wall, apparently more modern, but of good masonry.

In the portion of the scarp nearest the tower already described, is a rock chamber, containing a large water-trough, cut like a sarcophagus out of the rock, and beside it are two mangers also rock-cut. These were found during a visit by Mr. Drake, and are mentioned by him in his last report, which I have just sent home.

The explorations are rendered complete by the discovery of a second tower. It forms the corner of the cemetery, and its scarp juts out at right angles to the line already described, and has a height of upwards of thirty feet. In the corner thus formed, Mr. Maudsley has made a cistern so as to leave the discovery open and visible. This second tower has also a large cistern within, and the steps lead directly to it. The work of the scarp is magnificent, and the appearance it must have presented when standing with its towers above, is well worthy the eulogy of Josephus.

Further exploration has shown a counter-scarp, or opposite scarped side, giving a ditch some twenty feet wide, with a rough rock slope beyond. It is not certain whether this ditch is continuous, and there is certainly none at the western tower. The line of the counter-scarp, where laid bare, is not strictly parallel to that of the scarp. It is possible it may in places be intended to form an extra protection where the rock without the fortress stands higher. This ditch reminds one of the ditch or gutter which Joab crossed in David's siege of Jerusalem, but the side on which that attack was made is uncertain.

Two other interesting details may be mentioned. The method of moving the large stones has been always a matter of doubt. Mr. Maudsley showed me a voussoir, with a hollow cut in the top, similar to the square sunk holes in some of the temple stones. There was a strong

bar of some compound metal resembling lead, but harder, securely cemented across this, to which a hook or cord might be attached. In making his excavations, Mr. Maudsley also lit upon a curious stone die, with numbers not in regular succession. It seems to me to be clogged, by being of irregular shape, for on throwing it a great number of times, the majority read 12, the highest number.

With the boundary wall of the cemetery we reach the confines of Mr. Maudsley's field of operations. A huge mound of rubbish covers the opposite side of the tower. It would be in the highest degree interesting to pursue the work on this side according to the proposal I made in an early report, and the confirmation of my expectations on the west leads me to feel sanguine of results on this side also. There seems little doubt that a gate existed here. A double scarp is visible, and cisterns on the other side, with an artificial line terminating a rocky buttress, makes it almost certain that we should here uncover a third tower, flanking the gate on the east side as the second described does on the west.

From the junction of this tower we should be able, perhaps without mining, but at all events at a depth of less than thirty feet, to follow this rock scarp along from tower to tower over the south-eastern slope of Zion, and to determine the most interesting question on this side, namely, the manner in which the south wall was carried across the Tyropœon valley to that other fortification found by Captain Warren on Ophel.

But though this investigation has yet to be made, a great step has now been secured in the thorough investigation of the scarp, proving beyond doubt that we here see the south-west corner of the ancient Jerusalem. A very useful indication is also afforded in seeking for the position of the royal towers, for the solid bases mentioned by Josephus must, in this case, also be supposed to consist of hewn rock; and the different heights of the bases, thirty, forty, and twenty cubits, would indicate their relative positions with regard to the level of the ground, without the tops of the scarps being naturally considered as upon the same level.

*Seal.*—A curious seal, lately found in the vicinity of Gaza, is in possession of Dr. De Hass, the American Consul, and he has kindly given me an impression. It represents a human figure with four wings, seemingly like those of a fly or bee, and with a large misshapen human head. In each hand the figure holds an animal resembling an ape, head downwards, being held by the hind leg. Dr. De Hass supposes this to be an effigy of Baalzebub, god of Ekron, to whom apes were sometimes offered. The seal is square, about one inch wide, and the figure in low relief, roughly cut. A similar seal was found some years ago, and is now in England. It represents a fly or mosquito, with an inscription, the equivalent of the Arabic "Allah," perhaps the symbolical effigy of the deity of Ekron.

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NOTE (Dec. 2nd, 1874).—*The Vaults Nos. 1 and 3 Haram Enclosure.* Captain Warren's remark sent to me is as follows:—"Is the masonry at the end of the cistern above or below the line of the rock?" He points out that if it only forms the filling in of the arch, it is no proof that the cistern extends any farther. This sound criticism shows the necessity of accurate writing. The difficulty of seeing is so great without magnesium wire that I cannot speak with absolute certainty as regards No. 1, but as regards No. 3 there is no doubt. The rock walls are not vertical throughout, but curve over at the top, so that the masonry forms only the crown of the arch. The masonry in the cross wall at the northern end of the cistern is visible below the line of the rock, and the cement rendering is not so high as at the sides in parts. In addition to this, the wall is not built at right angles to the line of the cistern, in itself almost a sufficient proof, as it has no connection with the masonry of the voussoirs, which could not, if the cistern here was bounded by the rock, be continued, as they are irrespective of the cross wall. The southern end of each passage is covered with cement to the mouth of the entrance shaft, but there can be little doubt that they do not extend farther in this direction. It is, however, quite possible that the drain from the Sakhrāh, being of a cross section, 3ft. × 2ft., may lead into No. 1, and have been stopped and cemented over so as to leave no trace. I may remark that the masonry of the vaulted roof, which is very fine, is exactly similar to that of the double passage, the Twin Pools, and other passages near or in the Haram, but differs from that of the piers of Solomon's stables. C. R. C.

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### XXIII.

YUTTA CAMP, *November 5th, 1874.*

The Survey has now been in progress for a month on its sixth campaign, during which time we have completed 230 square miles and collected 460 names. The number collected from Halkūl, 258, was beyond any total yet obtained except at Bethlehem, where in about the same area 287 were noted, but in this case the main part were ruined sites, whereas at Bethlehem many were modern buildings. The country is indeed in this part more interesting than in any former campaign, from the number of sites and from the great completeness of the Biblical lists in the tribe of Judah, which as yet have hardly been touched by the Survey. Besides the four important identifications connected with the life of David which I have given in a separate paper, I propose here to give suggestions upon seven sites of more or less interest.

The progress of the work has not been so rapid as in the Jordan valley, but as I find myself unable to stand the fatigue of detail sketching, with all other duties in addition, the field sketchers are reduced to

three. Thus, whereas the monthly rate was seventy square miles per man it is now increased to seventy-six, partly because of continued fine weather and partly from greater practice, but perhaps principally because the country is easier riding and the distances traversed therefore greater. With the assistance of Lieutenant Kitchener, whom we are anxiously expecting, we may hope to reach, or perhaps even to exceed, the former rate of progress.

The health of the party has been fairly good, notwithstanding the very sickly season and the trying alternations of cold west breezes and hot east winds. The Jebel Khalil, where our work lies, is almost the only healthy part of the country just now; we shall remain in it long enough to allow of the first rains thoroughly purifying the lower lands, and then if all goes well descend to the lower deserts of Masada and Engedi, returning to Jerusalem before the heavy rains begin.

With this brief summary of progress I may proceed, first, to the new identifications as the subject of most interest.

1. *Alexandrium*.—The site of this important fortress, which was, Josephus tells us, near Coreæ, has been variously located. It has been already placed at Kefr Istuna, near to the village of Keriût, which lies north of it, and which has been identified with Coreæ. In June last Corporal Armstrong visited the site and discovered the foundations of an important building called El Habs. Two courses of its walls remain perched on a rocky scarp. The stones are all of a very great size, one being eighteen feet in length by three feet eight inches high—equal to the average of the Temple ashlar.

2. *The Rock Etam*.—In a former report from the camp there placed, I put forward the identification of Beit 'Atáb with the rock Etam, a most probable site, considering that the village lies in the limits of that small section of Palestine to which Samson's exploits seems to have been confined. Zorah and Eshtaol, his native country, lie on the opposite side of the great valley which here forms the boundary of the tribe of Judah to the north. The existence of a remarkable rocky knoll on which the modern village stands is also in favour of the site, as is its peculiar position, which, whilst really low compared to the main ridge at the watershed, is yet from its form and the surrounding lower hills a very conspicuous point: thus whilst on one hand it forms a strong defensive position, on the other it is perfectly in accord with the peculiar expression of the Book of Judges, that the men of Judah "came down to the Rock Etam."

In studying the subject further I find, however, another confirmation of the theory which has induced me to dwell upon it a second time. The word, which in the English version appears as top—"the top of the rock Etam," Judges xv. 11—has in reality in the Hebrew the signification of "a cleft" (see *Bible Dictionary*, "Etam"). At Beit 'Atab we found an unique style of rock excavation unlike anything we have met elsewhere; it was a rock tunnel running from the middle of the village eastwards for a considerable distance towards the principal spring. I

gave at the time some account of it, and full notes and measurements are now stored up in England. I cannot, therefore, here give details, as I depend only on memory, but I would suggest that this excavation which, from the lamp niches at its entrance and other indications, we judged to be very ancient, is the cleft or cave in which Samson took refuge, and which would so effectually have concealed him from all who were unacquainted with the place that he might have been sought on the very spot for a long time without any one lighting, except by accident, on the entrance of the tunnel. The identification will, I hope, lead subsequently to that of the famous spring of En Hakkore, the site of the slaughter of Philistines with the jaw-bone. It must, from the narrative, have lain in the lower and more open ground, where the Philistines could "spread themselves." It is, therefore, as yet, beyond the limits of the Survey.

3. *Chozeba*.—This town is only once mentioned in the Bible, in the curious list of 1 Chron. iv. 22. It here occurs between the neighbourhood of Mareshah (now Marash, on the borders of the Philistine plain) and the possessions of "Saraph, who had the dominion in Moab." From this indication we should be inclined naturally to place Chozeba in the hill country of Judah. It has, however, in default of information, been supposed identical with Chezib, and this again to be a form of the word Achzib, a city occurring in the list of the towns of Judah situate in the plains near Mareshah.

Whatever may be said as to the identity of Chezib and Achzib, for which I have a new site to propose, I would suggest for Chozeba a ruin of importance which we have lately found north of Halhûil, bearing the name of *Khirbet Kueizibah*, which almost exactly reproduces the Hebrew name. It is a ruin of some interest standing on a hill side with the usual indications of great antiquity. It is, however, better preserved than most, and the walls of many of the houses are standing in parts to the height of eight or ten feet. The masonry is a fine ashlar of very square proportions, the stones being over three feet in height and three to four feet long. Each house seems to have formed a small fortress in itself, so strongly are the foundations built, and a fort or citadel dominates the town. The buildings are probably of Roman date, but the name no doubt preserves that of the city inhabited by "the men of Chozeba." This identification is of interest, as showing an extremely archaic name preserved almost unchanged. The passage in Chronicles says expressly, "and these are ancient things" (ver. 22); it also shows that even the obscurest passages of Scripture are capable of illustration by the Survey, owing to the wonderfully perfect condition in which the manuscripts of the Old Testament seem to have come down to us.

4. *Ma'arath*.—This town, the name of which is almost identical with the Arabic Mogharah (*a cave*), belonged to the list of places lying between Bethlehem and Hebron (Josh. xv. 58). It forms one of a

group of six, of which four are known occurring in the following order:—

Halhul . . . . .	now Halhúl.
Bethzur . . . . .	„ Beit Súr.
Gezor . . . . .	„ Jedúr.
Maarath . . . . .	„ .....
Beth Anoth . . . . .	„ Beit 'Ainún.
El Tekon . . . . .	„ .....

The list seems to give the three western towns going from south to north and then to return to the eastern towns. We should look, therefore, for Ma'arath near to Beit 'Ainún, and here we find that an ancient site occurs south of the last-named village. The valley above which it stands has the name of Wady el Moghair at this special point, though no caves were remarked, the name generally applied to the rest of its course being Wady Nusara. The site itself is scarce distinguishable except by a fine clump of olives, which often form a sure indication of former buildings, as notably at Ai. The site has no known name at the present day, but the local appellation of the wady very probably retains the old name of Ma'arath. This leaves only one of the six cities to be settled, but we have not succeeded in finding anything that answers to the requisites of this site. From position one would, however, be inclined to identify it with Tekú'a, lying in the same district and not mentioned in any of the lists except in the interpolated passage in the Septuagint mentioned in my last report. The Hebrew *Ain* is, however, a stubborn letter and not accustomed to be lost in any change of name. The matter seems to me, therefore, to remain doubtful.

5. *Arab*.—Among the cities of the group surrounding Hebron occurs one of the name of Arab. Unfortunately, out of the list of nine only four are identified, and one of these is very doubtful; the district seems to lie principally west of the capital, and many of the towns lie probably still outside the work as yet completed. East of Hebron a very ancient site was found by Corporal Armstrong, known as Khurbet el 'Arabíyeh (the Arab ruin). It is marked by the existence of many wells and cisterns, and lies near one of the main roads. It may be objected to this identification that the Hebrew *Aleph* is here represented by the stronger form of *Ain*, but we have a notable instance of a precisely similar change in the name of Ascalon, now 'Askelán, and the change is here all the more natural as it gives a meaning to the word in the modern Arabic language.

6. *The Cliff of Ziz*.—This place is only once mentioned, 2 Chron. xx. 16, a passage which I illustrated in my last report. The Bedouin horde from east of Jordan advanced towards Jehosaphat from their camp near to Engedi: "Behold, they come up by the cliff of Ziz; and ye shall find them at the end of the brook, before the wilderness of Jeruel," which may be properly paraphrased thus: "Behold, they come up by the going up of Ha Ziz, and ye shall find them at the head of



the wady." The word used is Ma'aleh, which in the case of Ma'aleh Akrabbim and Ma'aleh Ha Dummin, has been given correctly by the English translators as "the going up." I have thought it worthy of notice that just south of our Yutta camp is a very large and important ruin known as *Khirbet 'Aziz*. It is a recognised law of change that the *Ain* and the *He* are interchangeable. We find in this, therefore, the name of Ziz preserved. The site is, it may be said, a long way from Engedi, and, indeed, the valleys lying directly east do not run down to the Dead Sea but to the Mediterranean. It is, however, to be noticed that Wady Khubára, the main valley just south of Engedi, runs westward directly towards this ruin, to which the ascent from the Dead Sea shore would be by the course of this large watercourse. Although I do not overlook the difficulties of position, the similarity of name is sufficiently striking to make this worthy of notice. Were Khirbet Aziz an important town in the later Jewish times it is possible that the main valley leading up to it may have been called with propriety "the going up to Haziz" through its entire length of some twenty miles.

7. *Zanoah*.—There were two towns of this name: the one among the fourteen cities of the Shephalah, and identified by Robinson with the present Zanú'a; the other is also in the lot of Judah, and is mentioned among the ten cities south of Hebron. It occurs in the list between Juttah (Yutta) and Cain (Yekin), which it immediately precedes. Dr. Robinson has, however, placed it at Zanúta, to which identification there is an important objection, namely, that Zanúta is in quite a different group of towns immediately in the vicinity of places belonging to the royal city of Debir (now identified with El Dhoheriyeh).

We have, however, just found an ancient site which bears the name of *Khirbet Sa'nút*, the letter "a" in this case being an Aleph. Its position agrees well with that required for Zanoah, being situate immediately west of Khirbet Yekin, which is probably the ancient Cain.

*The Limits of the Levitical Cities*.—To this important subject we have paid considerable attention since the discovery of the stone at Tell Gezer. The towns of Yutta and Semú'a have been identified by Robinson with Juttah and Eshtemo'a, towns set apart for the Levites. We endeavoured, therefore, to discover traces of the boundaries of these towns as laid down in Numbers xxxv. 4 and 5. The explanation generally given of the passage is, I believe, that it refers to a double enclosure, the inner of which had a breadth or radius of 1,000 cubits, beyond which was an outer boundary measuring 2,000 cubits from the former on every side. This gives a square, the side or diagonal of which, as the case may be, would measure 6,000 cubits, the city being in the centre. The theory proposed by M. Ganneau and by the Americans I understand to be that it was the diagonal which was thus given, and that the four angles of the square pointed to the cardinal

points. We, therefore, scored these points on the traces and found, curiously enough, that in the case of both towns all the points were on hill tops. Our investigations, however, though conducted in the afternoon, when the slanting light is most favourable for seeing incised inscriptions, did not lead to the discovery of any single mark of important or distinct character at these points, and I feel convinced that no inscriptions ever existed there.

So far our efforts were without result, but I may mention an indication at the more southern town, Semú'a, which is not without interest. On the road to Semú'a a stone was pointed out to Corporal Brophy, called *Hajr el Sakháin*, forming the boundary between the lands of Semú'a and the lands of Yutta. It is a little more than 3,000 cubits of sixteen inches north of the centre of the village, but we are not certain that the measurement of the suburbs may not have been taken from the *outside* of the town, which would bring the distance more nearly correct. It is, however, a quarter of a mile east of the theoretical point. On visiting the spot I found two rude marks lately cut in the stone, which is a soft rock, standing upright, and about three feet high. I found three similar stones roughly in line west of the one in question, evidently making the boundary. If this modern boundary is considered to coincide with the Levitical, it follows that the corners of the square are not at the cardinal points, but that the four sides of the square face in these directions, an arrangement which would seem the more natural, especially as we have no recorded instance of the measurement of a diagonal in Jewish architectural descriptions.

To the list of these Biblical identifications we may add those of *Hareth*, *New Ziph*, the *Rock of Maon*, and the *Hill of Hachilah*, *Debir*, the royal city of the Canaanites, and the *upper and lower springs*, giving the respectable number of twelve new identifications of interest, and more or less certain made since we left Jerusalem. The fulness of the lists leads me to hope that we may add to this number a great many more before we leave the territory of the tribe of Judah.

In no part of the country yet visited have we seen so many large and important ruins. The state of preservation in which they are found is superior to that in other districts, which is due to a very simple cause. South of Hebron there are only four inhabited villages, viz., Yutta (our present camp), Semú'a (Eshtemoa), Dura (Adoraim), and the more modern large village of El Dhoheriyeh. The consequence is that fewer stones are required for building purposes, and the ruined sites are left undisturbed. We had, however, the other day a specimen of the manner in which these ruins are gradually disappearing, for no less than four camels were being loaded with stones from the fine ruin of Aziz, intended for the construction of a new house in Yutta.

The following ruins are those most worthy of notice :—

1. *El Rameh*, situate north of Hebron, the traditional site of Abraham's oak at Mamre in the fourth century. The tradition has now been shifted to the Ballútet el Sibta, nearer to the city. A very fine

building exists here east of the Hebron road, called Beit el Khalil, or Abraham's house. It is an enclosure 214 feet long from east to west, and 162 broad from north to south. The walls are of splendid masonry, stones averaging three and a half feet in height, and some of them eighteen feet in length, whilst others are only fifteen inches in length. In the south-west corner is a well seventeen feet diameter, having a spring of water in it. The masonry is very good, the stones being curved to the form of the circle. Beside it are the remains of a trough, lined with excellent red cement, harder than stone. This large ruin has by some been supposed the remains of the Basilica here built by Constantine, but is rather to be looked upon as the market-place which existed near to the Basilica, and where slaves were sold. The ruin of the Basilica seems to have escaped notice; it exists about fifty yards farther east, but is hardly traceable. Its masonry is inferior to that of the large enclosure, but resembles other specimens of Christian early work in the country. Its breadth was thirty-three feet, and the length of the atrium thirty-eight feet. The apse, however, is quite indistinguishable, so that the total length cannot be ascertained. The corner-stones are rudely drafted and resemble in character those of the great convent which we discovered last year at Deir Kala'ah.

2. *Mogháret Suffa*.—From Halhúl I visited a very remarkable cavern, similar to that at Umm el Tuweinún. It lies near the ruin of Suffa on the side of a great valley leading to the Mediterranean. We had to cross a very difficult valley to reach it, and the native scribe, Na'amán, had a narrow escape of his life. Riding over the slippery ledges of slanting rock is always delicate work; at one point I planted my horse's foot in a bush and passed the slide safely. The native, however, was less careful, his horse slipped and reared, turning round in the air. He had just time to jump off when the beast fell and rolled over twice down the hill side. Though bruised he behaved very well and recovered his horse before it had time to escape. I have noticed since that he dismounts and leads his beast over similar places.

The cave proved to be in the face of a precipice and not attainable by horses; leaving them I had therefore to scramble down some hundred feet and advance cautiously along a narrow ledge of rock to its mouth. The interior was full of flies, and the tunnel turned at right angles to the entrance and descended at a steep slope of about a quarter or one-fifth. My single candle scarce gave any light, the heat was oppressive, and I was in constant expectation of finding a pit-fall or a pool of water. After about forty paces (100 feet) the cave, which was only some seven to ten paces wide, turned again to the right. At this angle I left a light and proceeded cautiously, but now the rushing sound as of a great wind, and the squeaking of innumerable bats, was heard. They flew about my head and nearly extinguished the light. After sixty paces the cave became broader, and I found the pit I had been expecting from experience in other caves. It was, however, not more than twelve to fifteen feet deep, and some twenty paces across. I cautiously

descended part of the way and ascertained that the cave here ended. I was, however, told by the Sheikh of Halhúl that another passage, now choked, led from the pit, and that an iron ring hangs above it in the roof of the cave. The exploration and return to the horses occupied a full hour and proved very fatiguing from the heat and the sudden return to the hot sun and glare from a region of total darkness and bad air. Creeping along these tunnels one imagines oneself to have gone double or three times the distance, and thus the exaggerated accounts of the natives are easily understood.

3. *Umm el 'Amdán*.—West of Yutta, marked on Vandevælde, but apparently never before visited. This is the ruin of an early Christian Byzantine convent, standing in a very large ruin. The chapel is more perfect than usual. It had a nave separated from the side aisles by two rows of four columns. Three are standing on the south side, with an entablature of un moulded blocks eight feet long in place above. The capitals and other details are very archaic and rudely finished, but evidently belong to an early Byzantine period. The convent occupied an area of about 100 feet square, and contained three good cisterns and some excavated cells in the rock beneath. Only the foundations remain. This site, in common with the three next described, has one peculiarity. In the middle of the ruin in every direction large caves are to be found, the entrance doors carefully cut, five feet broad and eight or nine feet high, with a long passage or shaft, with steps leading down. A semicircular arch occurs at the door in some instances, but the cave within is rough. In one of the largest I found a rock-cut feeding-trough, and am led to suppose that some are stables for cattle, which would have been remarkably plentiful in the district at the time when these flourishing towns existed, as indeed they yet are, and were in David's time, the Negeb, which extends north about as far as Yutta, being a purely pastoral district. Others of these caves are tombs and cells.

4. *'Aziz*.—About half a mile south of Yutta is an even larger ruin, which contains the relics of a church below the town on the east, to which a main street leads. It is marked on no map, and is hidden from view of the main road south, from which most of the sites in the district seem to have been fixed, with more or less hesitation on the part of former travellers. A colonnade leads at an angle in the direction of the church, and a large building with pillars is to be found on the top of the hill; a smaller chapel is also traceable south-west of the church. There is little doubt that the ruins belong to the same period as those of *Umm el 'Amdán*, but the date of that period has yet to be fixed.

5. *Susieh*, marked on Murray's new map, seems nevertheless not to have been visited. It is the largest ruin in the country, and seems to have been divided into two quarters, each containing a principal building. Though seemingly Christian, it is probably earlier than the former. Its lintel-stones have more correctly classic mouldings, its capitals are more graceful in outline, and, curiously enough, nothing

of a church is discernible. The great western building seems to have been a hall or palace of some kind, fallen pillars, lintel stones, and capitals remaining. It measures in breadth from north to south fifty-one feet, and its total length is a hundred and sixty feet. We made, of course, detailed plans and sketches. South of this building is a wall of stones, much larger than most of the masonry, measuring nine and a half feet long by two and a half high, but not drafted. The building in the eastern quarter is the church, if any existed, but is too much destroyed to be traceable. It seems to have had a cradle vaulted roof, and the doors were surmounted by flat lintels having various ornaments upon them. On one is a Greek inscription, but so battered by age and weather that scarce a letter is distinctly traceable. 'Aziz must have been a very important place in early Christian times, but, like most places in the district, the water supply is derived merely from rain.

6. *Kh. Khoreisa*.—This ruin, which we have so curiously identified with the *Wood of Ziph*, was before entirely unknown, and we had some little difficulty in getting its name in a satisfactory manner. I may remark, however, as adding to the value of the identification, that it did not occur to me until after the name had been settled. Although evidently an ancient site, with bell-mouthed cisterns, which generally date long before Christian times, *Kh. Khoreisa* seems to have been an important town in the Christian period. The ruins of a church are traceable, a basilica, eighty-four feet long, including an atrium of fifteen feet six inches, the breadth being thirty-nine feet six inches, and the width of the nave sixteen feet, with two rows of three pillars. Only the foundations and fallen shafts remain, but there is a lintel eight feet nine inches in length, once over the west door, having an almost illegible Greek inscription on it. Our paper being very bad, we did not succeed in taking a proper squeeze. Corporal Armstrong, however, copied the letters on the day he discovered it, and I again made an independent copy, after carefully cleaning the stone. The result was as below.

ΑΤΗΙΤΙ  
ΗΤΟΚΤ  
ΙΟΤΑΙΚΑΙ  
ΙΕΙC ΑΕΤC  
TENAT IH

The most valuable part of the inscription, which seems to have been only a text or religious sentence, are the two letters IH, which occur in a corner, not on the tablet bearing the rest, but to the right, parallel with the last line. These are no doubt the date, and, when the era from which they are to be counted is determined, they will serve to fix, not only the date of this particular building, but also the century to which a large number of very similar ruins in Palestine is to be attributed—a period which I find, on visiting England, is still in dispute between eminent architects.

7. *Khirbet el Mintar*.—In addition to the ruins thus enumerated, a small basilica exists at this ruin, north-west of 'Aziz. The pillars are still standing, and the details of the lintels show the work to be of the same period.

Thus, within an area of some fifty square miles we find (including Kurmul) the ruins of no less than eight basilicas, all of which were previously unknown or unexamined. Northwards there are several more, and farther south there are others. We find evidence of an extensive Christian settlement at an early period, probably the fifth and sixth centuries, and of towns of considerable magnitude. Indeed, this district, which has hitherto been almost unknown, must then have supported a large population. Nothing is more striking than the large number of Christian ruins in Palestine; four-fifths of the total number of ruined sites in the country are probably to be attributed to Byzantine or Crusading periods. The general impression of great antiquity in the ruins of Palestine is certainly a false one, however ancient the localities may be. M. Ganneau's excavation at El Medyeh is only another instance of the probably late period to which remains supposed to be Jewish are to be attributed, and confirms, as do many other facts which I hope some day to bring forward, the theory as to the special form of tomb at El Medyeh which I advanced in an early report. In every case where indications of any sort are available these tombs have proved to be Christian.

8. *Kurmul*.—This interesting site, which has been hardly visited of late years, shows the ruins of a very important site of Christian times. There are no less than three buildings which might be churches. The first, to the north, is unmistakable. Its apses are clearly visible, and it measures seventy-seven by forty-five feet. Over the door was a curious lintel, with geometrical ornamentation more florid than usual. The second building is immediately east of the famous Crusading tower, the two are contained within the same *enceinte*, and are surrounded with a sloping revetment. This great building is within 3° of the true east and west line, and had two rows of columns one foot ten inches diameter. If a church, it was a very large one, compared with the others, being ninety-nine feet in total length. The Crusading tower requires no notice; it is of the ordinary character, and we carefully measured and planned it. Sixty-three by forty-eight feet exterior measurement, and twenty-four feet from the top to the *Chemin des rondes*. Its walls are seven feet thick. A round birket of masonry, twenty-eight feet eight inches diameter, exists on the north side. Farther south than the tower is a third colonnade building, measuring seventy by forty feet, apparently also a basilica with an atrium.

9. *Semú'a*.—This is the most interesting of all the group here mentioned, and gives evidences of great antiquity. We had some little difficulty with the pious population, who took umbrage at Corporal Brophy's proceedings in booking the names of all objects in their vicinity. Seven strapping fellows suggested to him that he was a dog,

a pig, an infidel, and other objectionable similes, and made attempts to drag the guide from his mule. They seem even to have had some thoughts of stoning the corporal, as their numbers were superior, but he prudently produced a revolver, which had some effect, and retreated to camp to report the amenities which he had experienced. As good luck would have it, the sheikh of the village just then rode into Yutta, and I sent the native soldiers to capture him, and explained that he would have to proceed under escort to Hebron as surety for the appearance of the four chief offenders, whose names we got from the guide. The consternation produced throughout our village by this arrest was considerable, and the whole family of sheikhs came to beg off their fellow in misfortune; but it seems to me a rule, for the safety of the Survey party, to show not the least mercy in similar cases. The old gentleman, who was quite unconscious of the affair, did, however, succeed in making his escape from the soldier who kept him, and from whose wages I deducted the amount which I thought it likely the sheikh could afford as a bribe for his liberty; for the soldier did not respond to my proposal that he should confess the exact amount.

A letter to the Kaimakam of Hebron resulted in the immediate imprisonment of the four offenders, and I took the corporal to Hebron in case he was required as a witness. We found the Kaimakam a very civil little Beyroutine, and he showed us a French and English New Testament which he could read, and expressed a wish for an Arabic version. The only legal proceeding was his asking me how long I wished the culprits kept in prison, which I left to him to decide, knowing it to be only a question of their pecuniary condition at the time.

The next day we went down to Semú'a, and made some show of measuring up the ruins and writing notes in the centre of the village, keeping up an interesting conversation, and ignoring altogether the assembled villagers, who looked at us with mingled fear and sulkiness. On the next day but one we again visited the village, and did more measuring, the people looking on from the house-tops.

By these means I hope to have induced these good Moslems to believe that, whether pigs or dogs, we are strong enough to carry matters our own way, and to put a stop to any remarks or signs of hostility.

The site thus held precious in the eyes of its inhabitants impresses one as the most ancient and important we have yet seen; but there are two periods to its buildings, and it is not easy to say decidedly to which some of the buildings belong. The whole site stands on the summit of a hill, and spreads principally east and west. In the centre are the remains of a castle almost perfect, and used as a sheikh's house at the present day. The ashlar of its walls is fine, though small. It has an archway which is most properly described as elliptical. The general appearance is that of a Crusading or mediæval fortress of some description.

The main ruins lie west of the inhabited part of the village, but

throughout its extent the houses stand amongst foundations of noble masonry. The stones are of those peculiarly long and narrow dimensions which we are accustomed to consider as a mark of Jewish work; many of them are eight to twelve feet in length, but under three feet in height. Some are smooth dressed, others have large rustic bosses. One of the largest areas has on the east a doorway with a great lintel above, and a relieving arch of small masonry above it. This disposition seems a mark of early Byzantine work, but does not prove the large masonry to belong to that period. Two lintels we remarked, the first having the vine pattern, the second a very archaic form of two half circles, with pilasters of equally ancient design. These details resemble closely the ornamentation of the tombs near that of Joshua at Tibneh, and for this reason I was inclined to look on them as Jewish. It must not, however, be forgotten that the vine pattern is found in the Hauran and eastern ruins of a considerably later date. There are many rough cave tombs on all sides of the village, and one is peculiar, having a pointed masonry arch over its door. Several other tombs seem to have had buildings above them. The number of wells, or rather cisterns, for the only supply is rain water, is very great—there must be forty or fifty in all.

South-west of the village, at some little distance, is an interesting little monument called El Baniyah, a word which I am informed means a tomb in this southern dialect. It is a square building twenty feet side, standing on four steps, two feet tread and one foot six inches rise. Four attached pilasters are visible on each wall, with capitals which are not easily described, but which are probably early Byzantine. The total height is about eighteen feet, the roof either a dome, or more probably a cradle vault. From comparison with other ruins, I came to the conclusion that this building is a tomb resembling others in the north of Palestine. This is strengthened by the discovery of the foundations of a second similar building farther west, having its door on the north, and a rock-cut entrance to a vault beneath each of the other three walls. The disposition is therefore not unlike those of the tomb at El Medyeh.

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#### XXIV.

EL DHOHERIYEH, 15th November, 1874.

THE Ordnance Survey has at length touched its southern boundary, and will, I hope, soon be extended all along it. An area of about 300 square miles lies beyond the southern limits of the Hebron and Gaza sheets to the line of the great boundary valleys, Wady el Seb'a and Wady Seyal. From our present camp we organised a small expedition to fill in the country between Tell el Milh (the ancient Moladah) and Bir el Seb'a (Beersheba). This area, including the two plains, Sahel el



Butin and Sahel el Fer'ah, has never been thoroughly explored. It is about 120 square miles in extent, and [Murray's new map contains six names within its limits.

The number which we succeeded in collecting reaches a total of fifty-five, so that it will be seen there was plenty of scope for the Survey, without mentioning the great inaccuracy of the maps, places being fixed many miles from their actual position. The work was attached to the rest of the Survey by means of two fine triangles, which fix the positions of Tell el Seb'a and Tell S'aweh.

In addition to this we took observations for latitude and time, both at Khirbet Bir el Seb'a, within fifty yards of the great well, and on the next day at our camp close to Tell el Milh. The principal sites of interest are seven in number, viz., Tel el Seb'a, Bir el Seb'a, El Meshash, Tell el Milh, El Ghurra, Sa'weh, and Hora. I propose to give an abstract of our notes on each.

*Tell el Seb'a.*—This large double tell, standing at the junction of Wady Khalil and Wady el Seb'a, is a point conspicuous on all sides, yet seems to have escaped notice. It has a well within one-fourth of a mile west of it, separate entirely from the wells of Beersheba, and situate on the south bank of the valley.

On the top of the tell are a collection of Arab graves, but lower down towards the east are traces of a considerable ruin. I would suggest that in this we have the solution of the difficulty found in the list of the towns of Simeon, where Sheba (Shb'a) occurs immediately after Beersheba, and between it and Moladah. The site of Tell el Seb'a is within two miles of Beersheba on the direct line to Moladah (Josh. xix. 2). There is a considerable dam, now ruined, across Wady Khalil below the tell, and traces of reservoirs to contain the water so collected.

*Kh. Bir el Seb'a.*—The site of these famous wells has never before been fixed with any amount of accuracy. The positions on various maps are as follows:—

Robinson . . .	Lat. 31°.14'	Long. 34°.56'
Vandevelde . . .	„ 31 .16	„ 34 .54 .30''
Palmer . . .	„ 31 .13	„ 34 .48
O. S. . . .	„ 31 .14	„ 34 .47

Mr. Palmer's position is the most nearly correct, being only about half a mile wrong in longitude. In latitude he is one mile and three quarters too far south. From this it is evident that, whereas the compass angles of his route sketch come very nearly correct, the great distance of the starting-point has made the method of calculating distance by time give an appreciable error. The work, however, cannot fail to be considered very good of its kind, and contrasts favourably with Vandevelde, who is six and three quarter miles too far east in his longitude, and one and a half miles too far north in latitude.

The ruins at Beersheba are extensive. They seem to belong to early Christian times, and a church stood close to the dry eastern well, a

tesselated pavement being remarkably close to the bank of the valley. There are remains of hard burnt bricks—very thin and of red hard cement—in what appears to be a large cistern; but every ruin has been razed to its very foundations, and little of the town is to be seen beyond the heaps of rolled pebbles and flint, which are strewn on every side, with a few cut stones of the hill limestone.

The houses must have been made of these flints built up with some sort of mortar or mud, and were no doubt perishable structures. The place must, however, at one time have been of considerable importance.

The wells are three in number, two containing water. There are also some ruined cisterns for rain water, now filled up, but the Arabs did not know of more wells than those we saw, and the fourth near Tell Seb'a.

The central well was the one at which we camped. The distance to the water we found to be thirty-seven feet, and the diameter of the well twelve feet three inches. It is well built, of regular courses, with stones from eight inches to eighteen inches in length, which have their faces cut to the curve of the circle. There are numerous channels worn in the lip of the well by the constant friction of the ropes drawing buckets for the watering of flocks, herds, and camels. It is curious that no former traveller appears to have noticed an inscription, built in evidently its proper place, in the fourteenth course of the masonry on the south side. The form of the letters approaches more closely to modern Arabic than to Cufic. The word *Allah* is distinct, and seems followed by *Mohammed*—a sentence probably containing the expression "Apostle of God Mohammed."

An Arabic 5 and a cypher, and probably another 5 (though imperfect) occur above, giving 505 AH. This would place the date of the present masonry in the twelfth century, thus sadly contradicting the romantic fancy that the great furrows may have been first traced by the ropes of the followers of the first Patriarch, who dug the well.

The other well, on the west, is much smaller (five feet in diameter). The dry eastern well we found to be nine feet two inches in diameter, and twenty-three feet deep, the bottom being filled with large stones.

Beersheba was a considerable place in the time of Jerome, and later on an episcopal city under Jerusalem. The ruins are probably attributable to this period.

*El Meshash.*—The course of Wady el Seb'a seems never to have been followed, for on no other supposition can I account for the loss of such an important site.

El Meshash is about three miles west of Tell el Milh, and lies at the foot of the white chalk peaks of El Ghur. It is hidden in the valley and by the rolling ground, and thus not visible even a few hundred yards away. We came upon it suddenly, and found besides the ruin, which is considerable, but resembles the others, in this part of the country, two wells, each full of water, and surrounded by great crowds of thirsty animals.

El Meshash has a meaning in Arabic of "the finger joint." Dr. Robinson, who however never heard of this site, gives another meaning of the word, a "water pit" or small pool. The word is not uncommonly used among the Arabs with [this signification, and applied to several other localities, as Wady Meshash, 'Ain Meshash, &c., &c., whence one is led to suspect that the name is the corruption of some ancient title, as the site is evidently old and important. The list of Simeon in this part of the country contains the following names:—

Moladah.	Hazar Shual.
Hazar Gaddah.	Sheba.
Heshmon.	Beersheba.
Beth Palet.	

For all of these, except Beth Palet, which is doubtful, we may, it will be seen, now propose identifications; some new, some confirmations of those already proposed.

It will be seen that only one site, and that probably on the hills at El Ghurra, intervenes between Heshmon and Moladah. Moladah being undoubtedly Khirbet el Milh, the site of Heshmon would be very well placed at El Meshash, and the similarity of the names seems to me sufficiently near when the fact of the Arabic being twisted into a word of ordinary signification is borne in mind.

*Tell el Milh.*—This is a large and important site, a tell conspicuous in the middle of the Sahel Fer'ah, having Arab graves on the summit, whilst an extensive ruin stretches on the south, consisting of mounds, some with hewn stones, some strewn with flint blocks, others merely of earth. There are two wells, one dry the other containing water at a depth of more than forty feet. The Arabs here, almost naked and without any head-dress, drawing water furiously in time to a rude chant, were some of the wildest fellows we have yet seen; but, although at first they demanded backsheesh, they soon got tired of being completely ignored, and went back to their work of water drawing, or driving off the immense flocks which seem to thrive on nothing in these broad plains, destitute in the autumn, when we visited them, of even a single green leaf.

The water proved to be slightly brackish, perhaps from layers of salt in the strata, or perhaps from the filthy condition of the mud round the wells, through which the spilt water filters back into the porous rock, and so again into the well.

*El Ghurra.*—This appears to be El Jurra on Vandeveld's map, but is not shown by Professor Palmer, who places S'aweh nearly on its site. El Ghurra is visible from Tell el Milh, but S'aweh, which is three miles north on another range, is not visible from any point in Professor Palmer's second route. From its position close to Tell el Milh, we should be inclined to place at this important site the town of Hazar Gaddah. This identification was first proposed by Mr. Grove for the Jurrah of Vandeveld, and he remarks that the change of D into R is not uncom-

mon in Semitic words, in addition to which we have the extreme similarity of the two letters in square Hebrew, and a certain amount of likeness in Aramaic, either of which would account for an error of transcription.

The point which is most strongly in favour of the identification is the character of the site. Hazar means an "enclosure," and may therefore be supposed to refer to a walled town. El Ghurra stands on a high, almost isolated marl peak, with precipitous sides.

The ruins include three reservoirs, two caves, and buildings of large blocks of flint, and the whole site is surrounded by a wall built also of blocks of flint, thus fully meriting the prefix Hazar.

*S'awch*.—This also is a similar site on a high bluff, with an isolated tell north-east of the ruin. It has been identified with Hazar Shu'al, and a confirmation of the identification here also exists in a city wall surrounding the site, as at Ghurra, and built also of large flint blocks. The list of identifications stands, therefore, thus:—

Moladah . . . . .	Tell el Milh.
Hazar Gaddah . . . . .	El Ghurra.
Heshmon . . . . .	El Meshash.
Hazar Shual . . . . .	S'aweh.
Sheba . . . . .	Tell el Seb'a.
Beersheba . . . . .	Khirbet Bir el Seb'a.

*El Hora*.—This important site corresponds in name to none of the towns in the list of Simeon, or of the southern cities of Judah. From position it might very well be Beth Palet, "or house of flight," a name appropriate either from its being beyond the plains, or, as will be seen, from its strongly fortified character, but if so the name seems lost. The signification in Arabic of its present title is connected with the drawing of water, for the place is remarkable for the number of its cisterns and reservoirs. The buildings are of flint throughout, the pieces being rudely squared. They average three or four feet in length, and are no doubt of the natural thickness of the flint layer which here lies at the top of the white marl.

How they were cut there is nothing to show, but they may possibly date from very early times, being almost imperishable. There is nothing distinctive about the character of the buildings, but one peculiarity in the site not noticed by former travellers I have never remarked in any other ruin in Palestine. It consists in five small outlying forts which surround the town. Hora stands on a low, white marl hill, and the outer forts, at a distance of less than a mile, are placed also on low eminences.

They are called by the natives Kasur el Meháfseh.

*Adadah*.—I may add to this report a valuable identification as giving an indication of the district where a large number of unknown sites are to be found. In the south of Judah ten cities are mentioned (as correctly counted) between Kabseel, the first on the whole list, and Kerieth (probably the present Kuretein). Adadah stands sixth, or about the middle

of the group. According to Smith's dictionary it has never been traced. Murray's new map gives the ruin of 'Ad'adah, exactly corresponding with the Hebrew word, as near Tuweirah el Foka. I find from the Arabs that this town does really exist, though marked on the map as doubtful. It is, no doubt, the ancient Adadah, and this leads us to look for the group in their proper place, the district west of the southern part of the Dead Sea.

Some of them may probably come within our limits in the district round Tell Arad. This identification makes the fifth either newly discovered or confirmed by the Survey out of the list of towns in the lot of Simeon, without counting the probability of identity between Beth Palet and Hora.

*Geology.*—The Beersheba plains consist of a rich marly soil, which, with irrigation, would become extremely fruitful. The climate seems healthy, and a great field for civilisation might be found in the colonisation of this remote district, in preference to the stony hills of Judæa, which generally attract more attention. The strata here all belong to the white marl, and the hills are capped by dark flint bands. On the southern slopes of the spur, which terminates in Tell el Ghur, we found the same brown limestone which throughout the Jordan valley caps the marl. The high hills of the Debir district, the Negeb, or dry land of Ziph, Maon, and Eshtemoa, consist of the soft, white, porous limestone, with flint nodules, so often before noted.

The unconformity with the chalk is well marked in a north and south section from Hebron to Moladah, confirming what I have formerly written on the subject.

The dry character of this district is entirely explained by the thickness of the porous strata which forbids the existence of springs.

The value of the Survey work in these districts, now including the recovery of some twenty biblical sites, as yet unknown or very doubtfully identified, cannot fail to be generally appreciated.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

## MR. TYRWHITT DRAKE'S REPORT.

### XIX.

CAMP, JERUSALEM, *May*, 1874.

[The following was found among Mr. Drake's papers after his death]:—

The Ghor or Jordan valley is now happily finished. It was one of the districts where we might have experienced considerable difficulties, both on account of the climate, the unsettled population, and the difficulty of procuring supplies. The exceptionally cool season was much in our favour, though the frequent rains somewhat delayed us. The abundant herbage served as fodder for our horses and mules—no slight item, when

I say that barley was 40 to 43 piasters the midd at Nablus, the usual price being 7 to 9; while, two years ago, I bought it in the Hauran for 3½.

From all the Arabs and Fellahin in the Ghor we experienced nothing but civility. As little seems to be known of these tribes, I here give a list of them, beginning at the extreme south of Palestine, and going up to the Sea of Tiberias along the western side of the Jordan. The number of tents and men is averaged from the numbers given me by different Bedawin. I do not here give the many clans (Arabic—*Tawayf, hamyh, or ashíret*) into which they are subdivided, as I hope at a future period to publish a list of all the tribes in Palestine, with their Wasúm, or tribe marks.

TENTS.	MEN.	TRIBE.
—	—	El Tyyáhah } in the Desert of the Tih.
—	—	El Terabín }
—	—	El 'Azázimeh.
—	—	El Dhullám.
100	150	El Jehalín, south of Hebron.
50	70	El Ka'abineh, in Masferah, south of Hasása, and north-east of Hebron.
60	100	El Rashadeh, near 'Ain Jidi.
360-400	1000	El Ta'amirah, south of Bayt Lahm, and Mar Saba.
150	200	El Abbaydiyeh, serfs of the monastery of Mar Saba.
120	150	El Hetaymát.
250	300	El Sawáharet el Wad.
50	80	El Abn Nusayr.
100	150	El 'Abíd, serfs of the last, who live near 'Ain el Sultán.
50	100	El Ka'abineh, north of Wady el 'Awjeh.
110	180	El Mesa'ayd (under an Emir), in Wady el Far'ah, and east of Nablus.
—	—	El Belawni } from east of Jordan, but usually
—	—	El Fahaylát } have a few tents in the Ghor near
—	—	El Sardiyeh } Wady el Maleh.
150	400	El Sakr, near Baysan, and in Wady Jáhid.
60	100	El Ghazawiyeh (under an Emir), east of Baysan.
40	70	El Beshatwi, near Jisr el Mujámi'a.
35	60(?)	S'khúr el Ghor, south of the Sea of Tiberias.

The pasturage of Wady Fusail belongs to the Fellahin of Mejdél, Beni Fádhil. The three clans of the village Tubás are the Deraghmech, the Sawaftah, and the Fok-hah. Of these, the two first leave their houses in early spring, and live in tents like the Bedawin, pasturing their herds in Wady el Maleh and Wady Khashneh respectively.

A very large number of tells are found in the Jordan valley, on the great plain of Esdraelon, and a few on the Maritime Plain. I am inclined to look upon them as of very early date, and consider them as marking the site of ancient towns, or at least of their Acropolis, but

cannot at all countenance the theory that they are formed by the *débris* of bricks laid out to dry in the sun. Consisting as they do of from 1,000 to 10,000 tons of earth, this idea seems to me untenable. Again, their steep slopes show that they were heaped up with an eye to utilising them as strongholds. The sun-dried bricks found in them at 'Ain el Sultan by Captain Warren, and at Tell el Salahíyeh, near Damascus, are not broken up, but regularly packed, and laid with mud instead of mortar, which tends to prove that sun-dried bricks were used in their construction to give them solidity. If they were composed only of *débris* and faulty bricks, where are the ruins of the good bricks used in construction, which must have exceeded the others in bulk, but of which no trace other than the tells is to be seen?

The fact that they are almost invariably found near a good supply of water, and always in open plains, or at the mouths of passes where there is no natural elevation suitable for fortresses, is to me conclusive proof that they were thrown up for the purposes of defence. A considerable part of the surface is doubtless due to the decay of the buildings which stood upon them, but the basis must have been prepared.

Many of the tells which are identified with ancient sites, such as Tell Kaymán, Tell 'Arád, Tell el Kadhi, Tell Dothán, Tell Jezer, Tell el Milh, and Tell el Husn at Baysan, Tell Thora, Tell Lejján, and Tell el Semak, are natural mounds or extremities of spurs running down from the hills, which have been cut and trimmed into the desired shapes. This may perhaps tend to show that the isolated tumuli of the plains belong to a period anterior to the Jewish invasion. They differ much in shape from the gradually accumulated heaps on which the villages in Egypt are built, being more regular and very much steeper. If this be considered in conjunction with the fact that in Egypt rain is very rare, while in Palestine it is heavy, it will, I think, sufficiently prove that they are artificial constructions for a definite purpose. In the hill country such fortifications would be impossible and unnecessary, but the villages and ruins are very frequently—especially in the district south of Jerusalem—built on isolated knolls, entirely occupying the summits of them.

A line of crusading fortresses seems to have run along each side of western Palestine. Between Jerusalem and Jericho is the castle of Tel'at el Damm. On the summit of Jebel Kuruntil is another; the ruins at Kurn Sartabeh lie in such confusion that it is impossible to assign any date to them. The large bossed stones, however, may possibly have been crusading work. The next point northwards is Burj el Maleh, from which both Kawkab el Hawa, north of Baysan, and Kal'at el Rabad, east of the Jordan, are visible.

Kawkab el Hawa seems to have been a crusading castle captured by Saladin, in A.D. 1188, and built by King Fulke, about A.D. 1140 (cf. Robinson, "Bib. His." iii. 227). The masonry of the outer walls is very fine, and cut out of compact basalt. It is superior to the work at

Athlit, which is, however, only limestone. The position is a very fine one, commanding as it does the whole of Wady Jálúd, from Zera'in eastwards, and the Jordan valley from the Lake of Tiberias to some distance south of Baysan. Two springs run under the cliffs to the south, about 500 yards from the fort. The most northern has a temperature of 71 degrees, and is slightly brackish; it is preferred to the other, which is cool and sweet, but which has the reputation of producing fever. Over this second spring is a rude Arabic inscription on a basaltic boulder. I have not yet been able to decipher it, but it seems merely to relate the finding or digging of the spring by a certain Emír.

Baysan:  
Bethshean,  
or Scytho-  
polis.

The ruins of Baysan have been so frequently described that I shall only mention one or two points which may be new. Near Tell el Husn, the mound of the fortress, I discovered a fine H shaped vault of Roman masonry, and the façade of a temple built of great blocks of nummulitic limestone, which must have been brought from a great distance, containing one large central niche, and a smaller one on each side, as though for statues. This portion of the ruins is almost concealed by rubbish, and would in all probability repay excavation. On the north side of the river Corporal Armstrong discovered two subterranean tombs of masonry, with domed roofs, now, however, fallen in. They are interesting, and similar to that tomb (El Kasr) near Týasír described by Lieutenant Conder, though much coarser and ruder in execution and finish.

Jami'a el  
Arb'aín,  
Baysan.

Jami'a el Arb'aín is a ruined mosque with a broken tower near the modern village. Over the mihrab is a large block of stone, with a very rudely-cut inscription, which I thus translate, two or three words being quite unintelligible, "In the name of God . . . through God, when the end of the building was accomplished by the ransom (?) of Akka: the blessing of God be perfected, and prayers in it upon . . . Mohammed: and the completion was in the year . . . and ninety and a hundred." (A.D. 806).

Greek in-  
scription.

The following inscription I copied in July, 1872, and mentioned it in a report of that date. As it was not then printed, and the stone has since been done away with, I send another copy of it:

ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΣ ΟΜΕΓΑΛ  
ΤΗΝ ΚΡΗ ΙΔΑΕΠΟΙΗΣ  
ΕΡΓΟΝ ΤΟΥΤΕΜΒΟΑ  
ΕΤΑΕ Α ΝΕ.

I have made several sections of the mouldings to the bases of the principal columns near the theatre, where most of the finest buildings seem to have stood, and these will probably be sufficient to determine their date.

The position of Baysan is very fine. Situated on the edge of the cliffs which descend from Wady Jalúd to the Ghor, it catches the sea breeze, and even in the middle of summer is cooler than many other places that are situated at a greater elevation. Water is everywhere abundant, and with such a climate, indigo, cotton, sugar, cereals, and



all kinds of vegetables, might be easily grown. Under a fostering government, this miserable village of squalid half-bred Egyptians would soon become a thriving city. It lies, too, on one of the main routes to the extreme east, and should a railroad ever be made to Persia, the line from Akka or Haifa through Baysan will commend itself, perhaps, even before that from Tyre through the Buka'a, and certainly to unprejudiced persons before that of Alexandretta and Aleppo.

Abel Mehola is mentioned in Judges vii. 22, as a place to which the Midianites fled in their panic from Gideon: the term here used is literally "to the lip of Abel Mehola," and to this I shall presently advert. In 1 Kings iv. 12, the place is mentioned in conjunction with Bethshean. There is a ford over Jordan, some five miles north-east of Jericho, called Makhádhēt Umm Enkhola, but this seems much too far south. However, there is a Mazár, or Moslem chapel, on the east of Jordan, about eight and a half miles south-east of Baysan, called Sherhabíl—or, as one man named it to me, Shefa Hábíl, which would mean the lip of Hábíl. I asked many of the Arabs what the place was, but the only answer I could get was, that it was a Mazár, and called Sherhabíl, but why they did not know. One of the Ghazawíyeh Arabs told me that it was the tomb of a certain Shaykh Mohammed Sherhabíl, but this seemed a palpable invention for my special delectation, as none of his companions had ever heard of such a person. Eusebius places Abel Mehola at a place called Abelmea, eight miles from Baysan, which agrees well enough with this site.

Zarthan (1 Kings iv. 12; vii. 46) is mentioned as being below Jezreel, and near Baysan. Between it and Succoth were the clay grounds in which Solomon cast the brass utensils for the temple services. Hitherto no trace of the name has been found. The reading of the Alexandrine Codex seems, however, to throw a light on the subject. Here we have *Σαραμ*, and there is a very conspicuous and unusually large mound three miles south of Baysan, called Tell *Sarem*, a name identical with that in the Greek text. There is a good deal of clay to be found also between this place and Dabbet Sákút, which may, I think, be accepted as Succoth. Zarthan is also mentioned (Josh. iii. 16) as near the city Adam; the proper rendering here is, "and the waters which came down from above rose up upon a heap very far off by Adam, the city which is beside Zarthan" (see Bib. Dict. sec. v. Adam). The meaning of Adam is *red earth*. Near Tell Sarem, one mile to the south, is Khirbet el Hamrath, the Red River, which may not impossibly be a translation of the old name. The colour of the soil in this district is also pointed out by the name of a ford near Dabbet Sákút—this is Makhadhēt el Imghár (red earth). It has been suggested that the waters of the Jordan were suddenly dammed up by a landslip or similar convulsion; the adherents of this theory might perhaps point to the present appearance of the banks and the curious bends of the river near this place in support of their idea.

A few other ancient sites and their supposed identifications may

well be mentioned here. A mound, marked Umm el Ashera, is found on Van de Velde's map and quoted by Dr. Tristram (Topography H. Land, p. 219), but all inquiries among the Arabs failed to show it me. None of them had ever heard of such a place. In Robinson, however, I found it Um-el-'Ajra, and this gave me the clue, and I then saw how Tell el Ma'ajerah had been corrupted into Umm el Ashera.

Enon and Salim (John iii. 23) have been identified by Van de Velde as Bir Salim and Shaykh Salim. Inquiries of the Arabs and fellahin of the district resulted in not a man of them having ever heard of either of these places. Salim is mentioned by Eusebius as being 8 R.M. from Baysan to the south. I can only imagine that there is a mistake in the distance, and that Tell Sarem, which I have proposed above for Zarthan, must be the place intended.

There are a very large number of springs about here, and it is emphatically a place "where there is much water."

Meroz and Beth Shittah are, I think, without doubt, Marassas and Shatta, two villages occupying important positions on the summits of knolls, to the north of Wady Jálúd. Dr. Tristram speaks of "a large inhabited village, Kefrab, with many Jewish ruins, and apparently the remains of a large synagogue." At present it is uninhabited, the small ruins are quite modern, consisting of rough stones and mud, while hardly a dressed stone is to be found in the place, and there is no trace of a large building of any kind.

A considerable extent of Wady Jálúd and the Ghor is under cultivation, but the chief wealth of the district consists in flocks and herds. Of these the greater part belongs to the SAGR Arabs. From one point may often be seen several herds, containing from one to three hundred head of cattle, besides innumerable sheep and goats and a fair sprinkling of camels and horses; of these latter the tribe formerly possessed a large number, and freely harried their neighbours by their means till their power was broken some seven or eight years ago by Mohammed Saïd, then Pasha of Nablus. Since then they have remained quiet, but are gradually recommencing their marauding habits under the present impotent government of Nablus.

Antipatris.

The satisfactory identification of Antipatris in face of the various conflicting accounts seems now impossible. The usual site assigned to it is Kefr Saba. Kal'at Ras el 'Ain was first proposed, I believe, by Major Wilson, and by Herr Shick, of Jerusalem. The evidence in Josephus seems to me slightly in favour of the latter position, as do the distances given in the Itineraries, but the ancient name of Capharsabe points to the modern Kefr Saba. The following table shows the distances:—

	Antipatris.	Kefr Saba.	Ras el 'Ain.
Jerusalem . . . . .	38 (42 R.M.)	40½	35
Cæsarea . . . . .	24½ (26 R.M.)	23	28½
Lydda . . . . .	9½ (10 R.M.)	16	10½

From Kefr Saba a ditch eighteen miles long is said to have been dug (Ant. xiii. 15. 1) to the sea, or shore of Joppa (B. J. 1. iv. 7). There is a manifest error in this distance, which will only touch the sea either south of Jaffa or north of Nahr el Fálík. This ditch did not serve its purpose, and is said to have been filled up; so that we can hardly imagine it to have been a work of any magnitude. No trace whatever of any ditch is to be seen west of Kefr Saba, where the ground consists of rolling hills of sandy loam. At the commencement of the Survey, in 1872, I noticed a ditch falling into the 'Awjeh, near the village of Jerísheh, and running in the direction of Ras el 'Ain, at the foot of the low hills south of the 'Awjeh bridge. It does not, however extend for much more than a mile. Antipatris is said to have been near the mountains, a description which applies equally well to the rival sites. It is said to have been well watered, and to have had a river flowing round the city (J. Ant. xvi. 6. 2). This cannot apply to Kefr Saba, but does to Ras el 'Ain. The goodness of soil applies equally well to both, but the presence of a grove of large trees round it seems to point to Kefr Saba, to the east of which still exist the remains of the forest which formerly covered all the low hills on the Maritime Plain between Carmel and Jaffa.

An old man of the neighbouring village of Jeljúlyeh told me that he had heard that the ancient name of Kefr Saba was Antifatrús, but of course a statement of this kind is not of much value.

It is perhaps not impossible that formerly Capharsabe stood at the fountains of the 'Awjeh; for it is remarkable that such an important position should only be called the "Fountain-head," and that subsequently it was transferred, name and all, to the position it now occupies. Such a solution may appear forced, but in face of the conflicting evidence above quoted seems to me the only solution of the difficulty.

In 1 Chron. vii. it is curious to compare the proper names with those of villages existing at the present day; for instance, in Benjamin, Anathoth and Alameth with the modern Anata and 'Almít; in Manasseh, Ulam with the village of 'Awlam (in this case, however, the initial Hebrew Aleph is changed into the Arabic 'Ain). In Ephraim, Zabad and Uzzensherah with Kefr Zibád and Bayt Sira.

*En route* from Kefr Saba to Jerusalem, I visited the village of Mejdél Yaba, or Mejdél et Sádík as it is sometimes called, in order to copy the Greek inscription said to exist there. It is in a winged tablet on the lintel of a door on the right-hand side as you enter the Shaykh's palace—for the building he occupies is nothing less—and is founded on an older fort, having three bastions to the west. The arch over the inscription, which faces eastwards, is semicircular, with a keystone; the masonry is good. Inside the doorway the arch is very slightly pointed, and the barrel vault of the chamber, which seems to have been the ground floor of a corner tower, is seemingly of later date. The inscription is in bold letters, some four inches long, and runs thus:

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΟΝ  
ΑΓΙΟΤΚΗΡΤΚΟΤ

A few yards N.W. of the Shaykh's dwelling is a fragment of ruin, to all appearance of Crusading date.

An English gentleman, a civil engineer, is now engaged, at his own expense, in making many alterations and improvements in the Bishop's School on Zion. The run of this scarped rock, which he has laid bare in many places, is curious, but one point in his work is especially worth noticing. In the scarp he has found several water channels, some small excavated caves with steps across them, and some cisterns constructed against the face of the rock, which undoubtedly formed part of a system of baths. In confirmation of this idea it is curious to find that this point is called by the natives Hammam Tabariyeh (or Hammam Daoud)—the Baths of Tiberius (or David), the latter name is probably due to the neighbourhood of the so-called Tomb of David. The former name is given by Dr. Schultz in his map, *et.* 1845.

ON THE SITE OF NOB AND THE HIGH PLACES.

BY LIEUTENANT CONDER, R.E.

THE wanderings of the ark, and the positions of the great religious centres in Palestine previous to the final settlement at Jerusalem, are questions not so easily understood from the Bible accounts as might at first be supposed, and the identification of one principal site connected with this question, namely, the city of the priests, to which David fled from Saul, has remained hitherto a moot point.

After the conquest of the hill country by Joshua, the ark and the tabernacle were removed to Shiloh, where they remained until the disastrous days of the high-priesthood of Eli. It was thence that the defeated Israelites brought the great palladium of their nation to the camp at Eben Ezer. It is not stated whether or not the ark was unprotected by any proper covering or tent, but the general impression produced by the description is, that the tabernacle remained stationary, and the ark only was moved. On the defeat of Israel it was carried to Ashdod (Esdúd), where it was lodged in the house of Dagon, another indication that the ark alone was taken. On the destruction of Dagon's statue, it was sent to Gath (a site yet to be identified), and thence to Ekron ('Akir), in the valley of Soreg (Wady Serár). From Ekron the kine brought it in the cart to Beth Shemesh ('Ain Shemis), and hence the men of Kirjath Jearim (Kariet el 'Anab) fetched it up to their own village, where it rested until the time of David. When finally it was decided to bring the ark to Jerusalem, we find that David went down (2 Sam. vi.) to Baalath of Judah and fetched it from Gibeah. It was then left after the death of the unhappy Uzzah in the house of Obed Edom the Gittite, and from thence finally taken to Jerusalem, where it dwelt "within

curtains" until the consecration of Solomon's temple. Baalath was, as we learn from another passage (Joshua xv.), the same place as Kirjath Jearim, but of the site of the house of Obed Edom we have no indication. The word Gibeah is the "hill" of 1 Sam. vii. 1, the higher part of the village of Kirjath Jearim.

It appears, therefore, that from the time of Eli to that of David the ark was wandering, and separated from the great religious centre of the country. It seems also, from the various accounts of its transport on carts from place to place—no mention being made of the transfer of the sanctuary with it, whilst its temporary lodging was a house or a heathen temple—that the ark was, during that period, separated from the tabernacle, for the history of which we are obliged to seek other indications in the books of Samuel. A passage in the second book of Chronicles is conclusive on this point. Solomon, we learn, went to the "great high place of Gibeon" (1 Kings iii. 4), "for there was the tabernacle of the congregation of God, which Moses the servant of the Lord made in the wilderness." "*But* the ark of God had David brought up from Kirjath Jearim to the place which David had prepared for it: for he had pitched a tent for it at Jerusalem" (2 Chron. i. 4).

The indications of places in which the tabernacle was pitched are not numerous. We find Israel gathering to Samuel in Mizpeh, where he sacrificed to God (1 Sam. vii. 9). A high place near the boundary of Benjamin is mentioned soon after as one where Samuel was accustomed to sacrifice, and which seems probably to be the same Mizpeh again mentioned as the rendezvous of the nation demanding a king (1 Sam. x. 17). Mizpeh and Bethel were sacred places before Eli's time, but the pouring out of water "before the Lord," together with its being a place of general assembly for all Israel, seems to place it above the rank of the secondary places of worship at one time considered lawful.

The places chosen as sacred, and for judgment of the people by Samuel, were Gilgal (near Jericho), Bethel (Beitin), and Mizpeh, his home being at Ramah (Er Ram). Mizpeh is mentioned in Joshua (xviii. 26), in connection with Gibeon (El Jib), Ramah (Er Ram), Beeroth (Bireh), Cheplivah (Kefireh), all in the hill country of Benjamin). In Nehemiah (iii. 7) it appears with Gibeon, and in Jeremiah it is mentioned in connection with the same town as the stronghold of the Jews.

Vague as these intimations are, it seems more than probable that Mizpeh was at one time the religious capital, that it was near Gibeon, and that probably the tabernacle was there erected on its removal from Shiloh. When, however, we advance to rather a late period, we find that the site of the tabernacle is at Nob. Thus, David fleeing from Saul at Ramah (Er Ram), after his interview with Jonathan and on his way to Gath, comes to Nob, where Ahimelech the priest gives him the shewbread, and inquires for him of God; the ephod also is mentioned, and it seems from the passage clear that the tabernacle was at that time

placed at Nob (1 Sam. xxii.) Of the position of this important place we have but little indication, and it has consequently been placed in a variety of sites. In the book of Joshua it does not appear at all, or at all events not under that name. We find it, however, once more in the great descriptive chapter in Isaiah, where its position is indicated with some exactitude. The host has come to Aiath (El Tell), passed to Migron, laid up its carriages at Michmas (Mukhmas), gone over the passage (Wady Suweinit), and lodged at Geba (Jeba). "As yet," says the prophet, "shall he remain at Nob that day: he shall shake his hand against . . . the hill of Jerusalem" (Isaiah x. 32). It seems, therefore, that Nob was a place of some military importance, as are the others previously mentioned—that it was within sight of Jerusalem, and in the neighbourhood of the Benjamite cities.

It is at once evident that there is a strong parallelism between the two sites of Nob and Mizpeh, and it is remarkably suggestive that, as shown, the two names never occur in one passage. Mizpeh was a high place, at which apparently the tabernacle was for some time erected, a place of military strength and importance, and situate in the hill country of Benjamin, near Gibeon and Ramah. Nob in like manner was the site of the erection of the tabernacle, a place of military importance, and situate in the hill country of Benjamin, near Ramah and Gebim, which is in all probability Gibeon. When, in addition to this parallelism between the Mizpeh of Samuel and the Nob of David, we find the meaning of the name to be nearly the same—Mizpeh being a watchtower, and Nob a high place—the conclusion seems almost irresistible that the two are but varieties of one name, that of the "great high place."

Bold as it may appear, there is yet room for still further identifying these two sites with the high place of Gibeon mentioned in the time of Solomon. It has been already seen that the tabernacle was for some time at least placed at Gibeon, whilst the ark was in Jerusalem, and unless there be good evidence in favour, it should hardly be assumed that the centre of worship underwent continual and unnecessary change; nor is there anything strained or unnatural in the supposition of their identity, since, as already noted, both Nob and Mizpeh are mentioned in various passages in connection with this important royal town.

The full confirmation of the theory depends, however—(1st) on the further information contained in the Talmud; and (2nd) on certain topographical and philological indications existing at the present time.

The account given in the Mishna with reference to the tabernacle is so interesting that it may well be given here in full. It is to be found in the 14th of Zebahim, and may be translated as follows:—

§ 4. "Before the tabernacle was erected high places were lawful . . . after the tabernacle was erected high places were not lawful."

§ 5. "When they came to Gilgal, and the high places were lawful,

the most holy things were eaten within the enclosure, the less holy anywhere."

Maimonides comments on this, quoting Levit. xvii. 3, and explains that there was no permanent structure at Gilgal, but merely the original tabernacle.

§ 6. "When they came to Shiloh, the high places began to be unlawful; but there was no roof there, but a lower structure of stone and an upper tent. And it was a place of rest. Then the most holy things were eaten only within the enclosure, but the less holy and the second tithes wherever the house was visible."

Maimonides says this building was called either "the house" or "the tabernacle;" quoting 1 Sam. i. 24, "the house of the Lord in Shiloh," and Psalm lxxviii. 60, "the tabernacle of Shiloh." As the structure was semi-permanent, he explains, high places were unlawful.

§ 7. "When they came to Nob and Gibeon, the high places were allowed, but they used to eat the most holy things within the enclosure, and the less holy in all the cities of Israel."

Maimonides explains as follows:—

"After the sanctuary erected in Shiloh was destroyed for our sins, they erected the tabernacle which used to be in the desert in Nob, and transferred it to Gibeon, and it was in Nob and Gibeon fifty-seven years. Meantime it was lawful to sacrifice in the high places, for Shiloh was the place of rest and Jerusalem the heritage (as mentioned Deut. xii. 9, "the rest and the inheritance"). He then explains that during the time of rest the high places were temporarily disallowed, but on the establishment of the inheritance they became unlawful for ever, as is also stated in the next verse of the Mishna.

§ 8. "When they came to Jerusalem the high places were prohibited, nor were they ever again lawful. For this was the heritage . . ."

Maimonides and Bartenora both explain precisely that the Divine Majesty abode in Shiloh 369 years; that in Saul's time the site was changed to Nob, and taking Nob and Gibeon together, it remained there fifty-seven years, or until the time of the building of Solomon's temple.

This interesting and exact account fully bears out, as will be seen, the conclusions already deduced from the Bible records. The first period at Gilgal was but a temporary pitching of the tabernacle of the wilderness. The establishment at Shiloh for more than three and a half centuries was a structure of a more permanent character, intended to last only until Jerusalem came into the hands of the Jews by the defeat of the Jebusites, after which the first natural thought of David was to establish permanently the sacred service in the holy city of inheritance. But with the disastrous times of Eli came the great shock of separation between the ark and the tabernacle. The established place of sacrifice at Nob, where the mercy-seat was never present, and where only the desert tabernacle was erected, was felt to be but a temporary arrangement, and the same laws which held good for the wanderers of the

wilderness were resumed. Finally, it must be remarked that the natural interpretation of the account is that Nob and Gibeon were close together, or the removal from one place to another would have constituted a period as distinct as the others mentioned by the Mishna. The word Mizpeh is not used in this passage of the Talmud, and we are therefore led to the conclusion that if Mizpeh were the site of the erection of the tabernacle it must be identical with Nob or Gibeon.

Enough, then, is found to lead to the conclusion that only four sites have to be considered as being at various times the religious centres—Gilgal, Shiloh, the high place (or Nob) of Gibeon, and Jerusalem itself. At the first we should not now expect to find any traces of the site of the tabernacle, though the sand mounds at Birket Jiljulieh, which I mentioned in the report on the establishment of the probable site of Gilgal, may by some be supposed to have some connection with this account. At Shiloh, however, we naturally expect to see traces of the more permanent structure erected, and there can be little doubt that they exist, as already pointed out by Major Wilson, who says,—

“Northward the Tell (at Seilún or Shiloh) slopes down to a broad shoulder, across which a sort of level court, 77 feet wide and 412 long, has been cut. The rock is in places scarped to a height of 5 feet . . . there is no other level space on the Tell sufficiently large to receive a tent of the dimensions of the tabernacle.”—*Quarterly Statement*, Jan., 1873, p. 38.

The tradition of the tabernacle is no doubt recognisable in the unusual title of the principal mosque at Seilún, Jami'a ed Daim (mosque of the Eternal).

The interest attaching to the third site is equal to either of the former.

Dean Stanley has shown that the site of the high place of Gibeon is indisputable, but the position of Nob is not settled in the same satisfactory manner. The simple examination of the original Hebrew leads, however, to an irresistible conclusion, and allows us to reconcile his identification with that commonly given for Mizpeh, and also to fix that of Nob. The Hebrew word Nob, or Neb, contains no vowel, and there is therefore no philological difficulty in connecting it with the Arabic Nebi. We have here the common process of change of meaning which has preserved so many Hebrew names with scarce an alteration beyond that necessary to give them an intelligible meaning in Arabic. As instances, Timnath converted into Tibneh, “strawy;” Sycaminum into Tell el Semak (mound of the fish); and a host of similar cases may be mentioned. Neb having no meaning of “high” in Arabic, is converted into Neby, “a prophet;” and as tradition naturally grows more detailed, so the name of a particular prophet of one who was most intimately connected with the place in question is added, and the Hebrew Nob reappears in the modern unusual title of Nebi Samwil.

The site in question fulfils in a remarkable manner the requisites already explained. As in the case of the Altar of Ed, we here again deal with one of the most remarkable sites in the country. Nebi Samwil is



so close to Gibeon that there can be no doubt as to its being the high place visited by Solomon. It is within sight of Jerusalem, and not far from Michmash and Geba, whilst as a military point it is of the greatest importance. Thus the description of Isaiah applies exactly, and it is, moreover, directly on the way of David's journey from Ramah to Gath. Thus, as Dean Stanley remarks, by its close connection with the most interesting period of Jewish history, "a significance is given to what would otherwise have been a blank and nameless feature in a region where all the less conspicuous hills are distinguished by some historical name."

As generally happens in Palestine, the site still retains its original character. A great high place in Jewish time, it was the site of a beautiful church built by the Crusaders, and this in turn has become a mosque whose minaret is visible from great distances in every direction. The view from Nebi Samwil is splendid, and its steep sides form a picturesque detail, contrasting with the rounder outlines of the Judean and Benjamite summits.

In a report written during last winter (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1874), I noticed the curious rock-cut approach to the great church, which we were at the time inclined to attribute to Crusading date; it does not, however, show any very distinctive marks of date, and may very well be older. It is true that no permanent structure was erected at Nob, but a flat court of some kind would be necessary for the outer enclosure; and when we reflect on the discovery by Major Wilson of a similar courtyard at Shiloh, it seems very probable that this cutting was originally intended for the accommodation of the tabernacle. A very curious narrow passage conducts to it; outside are pools carefully hewn; and a great birket, with an aqueduct channel and a number of rock-cut chambers, are found lower down the hill. The plan of the top of the hill we have taken very carefully, though not at the time aware of its probable importance, and thus all the traces indicative of the tabernacle have been properly noted and preserved.

The outcome of the preceding pages amounts, therefore, to this—that at Nebi Samwil we find Nob the high place of Gibeon, and probably, though it is not possible to assert this definitely, the Mizpah of Samuel, and that traces of the exterior court of the tabernacle in this great high place are yet discoverable on the summit of the hill.

Before leaving this interesting subject, a few words may in conclusion be said as to the high places mentioned in the passage quoted from the Talmud, and of which traces are yet visible in Palestine.

The land, on the invasion by the children of Israel, was full of sites of pagan worship, and we find a special command given (Deut. xii. 2) to destroy all the places of the false gods "upon the high mountains and upon the hills and under every green tree." This tradition of worship was, however, never completely eradicated, and to the present day it is a remarkable feature in Palestine that almost every important hill-top is the seat of a white mazar or tomb-house, a sacred place of prayer,

generally shaded by a great tree, and often no doubt preserving the site of a pagan altar. Every green tree in similar manner is in the more barren part of the hill country held sacred; rags and threads hang from its branches as votive offerings, and the name of a saint or prophet is often connected with the spot.

There are, however, allusions in the Bible to "high places" which do not seem directly connected with idolatrous worship. Thus, in the time of Solomon's accession, "the people sacrificed in high places because there was no house built unto the name of the Lord until those days." Asa, again, though irreproachable in his religious conduct, did not remove the high places, and in the time of Jehoshaphat "the people offered and burnt incense in the high place" (1 Kings xv. 14, and xxiii. 43). Still later we find the Cuthceans mentioned as fearing the Lord and making priests of the high places.

The Talmudical comments explain how it came to be merely a venial offence that these high places were not removed. Until the building of the temple they had been at alternate periods lawful places of worship and unlawful. On the establishment of the kingdom at Jerusalem they became for ever unlawful, and the danger of their leading to a local perversion of the purity of the religion rendered their destruction of the greatest importance. Their use had, however, become a habit of the people, and was not so easily abolished as would have been the case had Jerusalem fallen in the first attack on the country. The foreseen consequence came quickly, and the worship of golden calves symbolical of Jehovah in the high places made by Jeroboam (1 Kings xii. 32) led soon to the adoption of the original idolatry of the indigenous population with all its paraphernalia of groves, teraphs, images, and pillars.

The site chosen by Jeroboam gives a most remarkable confirmation of this view, for one of the calves was erected in Bethel, a place specially sacred to the true God since the time of Jacob, and one of the three visited yearly by Samuel at a period of the history when, as shown by the Talmud, high places were still lawful.

During our Survey we have met with two sites which seem undoubtedly to bear traces of this worship in high places, but which have been scarce mentioned in our former reports.

The first is situate at Jebel Bir Asúr, on the range north of Samaria; here on the highest point of the shed is a great square structure, some ten feet high, of roughly-hewn blocks. It is evidently of great antiquity, and the size of the stones precludes the possibility of its being erected by the shepherds. It served us instead of a *rijm* for a trigonometrical point, and we whitewashed it most irreverently. A well exists near, and on the same ridge are no less than three saint-houses all overshadowed with large trees.

The second site of the kind is mentioned in a report of Mr. Drake's. I made a plan of it and careful notes. It is close to the small temple of Abu 'Amr, west of the Plain of Esdraclon. The soil is soft and

marly, and a deep pit has been roughly hewn and still holds water—a narrow flight of steps leads down to it. Immediately above is a solid mass of masonry, the stones of great size and roughly hewn; two or three fine oaks overshadow it; it measures 35ft. by 30ft., and is some 6ft. to 8ft. high. Close by is the tomb-house of Sheikh Seláneh, and a little farther on the same hill is the Roman temple. There is no reason to doubt that we here find an instance of the altars erected “under every green tree.”

In concluding this paper I would remark that there are two methods of studying the subject of identification. The one natural in England is the literary comparison of various passages leading to conclusions which it is sought to verify by aid of the map. In Palestine the process is naturally reversed. The prominent points in the landscape arrest the eye, and the interest of connecting them with Scripture history is far greater than that of the study of obscure Hebrew names. The prosecution of this method must naturally lead to discoveries of the greatest interest, and among these may be mentioned those made lately during the prosecution of the Survey, of which a list is given below.

1. Kh. Semmakah (Ecbatana, a Roman town on Carmel).
2. Kh. Deir Serúr (Sozuza, an early Christian episcopal town).
3. Keráwa (Archelais, a site not as yet described).
4. Tell el Semak (Sycaminum—according to Mr. Drake).
5. Eshu'a (Eshtaol—with the probable tomb of Samson).
6. Jiljúlíeh (Gilgal—a confirmation of former discovery).
7. Wady Suweinit (the Senneh of Jonathan, with the site of Philistine camp).
8. 'Ain Zahrah (Zererath or Zerthan, mentioned in Gideon's history).
9. Tubás (probably the Tabbath of the same passage).
10. 'Ash el Ghoráb (Rock Oreb of the same account).
11. Tuweil el Dhiab (winepress of Zeeb in the same connection).
12. Kurn Surtabeh (the altar of Ed, Josh. 22).
13. Beit 'Atab (Rock Etam of Samson, as suggested by Sergeant Black).
14. Nebi Samwil (the high place of Gibeon and city of Nob).

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieutenant R.E.

## THE SCENERY OF DAVID'S OUTLAW LIFE.

BY LIEUTENANT CONDER, R.E.

THE extension of the Survey in the hill country of Judah has now enabled us to explain the wanderings of David in his outlaw life, during the latter period of the reign of Saul; a story which, in its romantic incidents, yields in interest to none of the many adventurous histories of the Old Testament. Four new identifications may now be published with a great degree of confidence, and the thorough examination of

the country forming the theatre of these episodes enables us to give force, by the comparison of its existing character with that required by the narrative, to the faithful indications of the ancient accounts.

David's first flight was from the royal capital of Gibeah of Benjamin, probably the present Jeb'a, which stands on a plateau on the south brink of the great Michmash Valley, in the centre of the lot of Benjamin. His first resting-place on his way to the Philistine plain was at Nob, then the resting-place of the Tabernacle and the chief religious centre. For this site, hitherto unfixed, I have already proposed the modern Nebi Samwil, which fits well with the requisites of the present narrative. Leaving immediately the fated spot, soon desecrated by the daring murder of the entire priestly family, David descended into the borders of the Shephalah, then in the hands of the Philistines, and took refuge with Achish, King of Gath, a Philistine capital not as yet fully identified, but which seems most probably identical with the great White Mound of Tell el Safi, on the borders of the Maritime Plain, commanding one of the main adits to the hill country, the Valley of Elah, already so famous in David's history as the scene of the death of Goliath of Gath. A confirmation of this identification (first proposed, I believe, by Dr. Porter), from a passage in Josephus, where Gath appears under another name, I propose to put forward later on. In the meantime it is sufficient to say that the distance at which David now considered himself safe from the pursuit of Saul was less than thirty English miles.

Indeed, in the whole account, nothing is more striking than the small extent of the country traversed, and its short distance from the royal capital. David appears to have wandered in an area the radius of which did not exceed twenty miles from his native town of Bethlehem. Generally speaking, he interposed this city between himself and Saul, and as we know that he was able to communicate with relations there (1 Sam. xx. 1), it seems probable that he thus ensured an early notice of any attempt on the king's part to surprise him when betrayed by the men of the various localities in which he sought refuge.

Recognised at Gath, David again fled and entered the possessions of Judah, hiding in the far-famed Cave of Adullam. This site is as yet outside the bounds of the Survey, but has been identified by M. Ganneau with a great degree of certainty. There was a city of the name, and an important place, enumerated among the royal Canaanite capitals. The cities which occur in connection with it—Maresha (El Marash), Jarmuth (Yarmuk), Socoh (Shuweikeh)—all lie in a short distance of one another in the low hills south of the Valley of Elah (Wady el Sumt) close to the scene of the famous duel. It is here that M. Ganneau finds the name of 'Aid el Mía, which represents very well the Hebrew 'Adlem, an identification which we hope afterwards to confirm. The site is a hill-side near Socoh (Shuweikeh), which is burrowed with caves, part natural, partly enlarged by human agency.

*March.*—From Adullam, David next went over to Moab, to seek an asylum for his father and mother in the country of his ancestress Ruth.

It appears that he then lived for a time in the desert, for the parallel passage in Josephus represents the prophet Gad as recommending him to leave "the desert," and go into "the portion of Judah" (Ant. VI., xii. 4). The Authorised Version gives "the hold," a title which it applies to more than one of David's places of refuge. The place to which he next departed is called in the English the "Forest of Hareth," and many theories on the ancient fertility of Palestine are founded on the existence of this forest, and of the "Wood of Ziph." It may, however, appear in this paper that both these readings are mistaken, and we may, in fact, succeed in cutting down both the forests at a single blow.

The word used in the Hebrew is (רֵעַ), *Yar*, which means properly a grove; but a remarkable difference exists in the Septuagint. The Vatican and Alexandrine manuscripts both read *εἰς πόλιν*, in the city, a difference which is due to the transposition of *Yh* and *Min*, reading *Ayr* for *Yar*. The parallel passage of Josephus also reads the "city" of Hareth.

The improbability of any forest or collection of timber trees having existed in this part of Palestine cannot be too strongly insisted on. That extensive woods have been cut down, that a forest once covered half the Plain of Sharon, that wild thickets abounded as they still do on the slopes of Carmel, is certain; but it is contrary to the character of Judæan scenery to suppose in times as late as that of David, when the water supply and seasons were almost the same that they now are, and just before the time when Solomon was forced to bring all his building timber from Lebanon, that any forest properly so called should have existed.

We are bound, it seems to me, to take the concurrence of the two ancient manuscripts with the authority of Josephus, when thus taking the side of probability, rather than the translation of the Authorised Version, depending upon a transposition of the letters, which might so easily have occurred.

The second part of the question is to discover the position of the town of Hareth, thus transformed into an imaginary forest. It is not mentioned in any other passage, and we have only two indications of its position, and these but slight. In the first place, it was in the lot of Judah, and from the general indications above noticed, we should be inclined to place it south of Bethlehem, though the Onomasticon puts it west of Jerusalem, probably close to the boundary of the tribe. The second indication is more precise. From thence David went to the aid of the men of Keilah attacked by the Philistines. There was no special reason for his succouring this town except one. Keilah (now Kilah) is a well known place at the foot of the higher hills, south-east of Adullam, and some six miles from it. It is not, therefore, in the region of David's native place, and its inhabitants were in no way specially attached to him, for we find that, with the ingratitude so characteristic of the ordinary oriental, they were ready to deliver up their deliverer to Saul, immediately after he had saved their threshing-floors from the Philistine

nomadic hordes. The simple reason must, therefore, have been that David and his men were at the time in the immediate neighbourhood of the village, and that his own safety was to a certain extent endangered by this unusually far-pushed Philistine ghazoo.

We may, therefore, look for Hareth, or, as the Hebrew is properly transliterated, *Kharith*, in the neighbourhood of the modern village of Kilah, and here, up higher in the hills, on the north side of Wady Arneba, one of the heads of the Valley of Elah, now stands the small modern village of Kharás, a name embodying all the essential letters of Harith, though with a slightly different termination. The site is an ancient one, with the usual indications—ancient wells, cisterns, and rough caves in the hill side. Its position in the same district formerly serving as a refuge to David is interesting, and it may, I believe, be accepted as the site of the City of Hareth.

The confinement in a city “that hath gates and bars” was not consistent with David’s predatory and fugitive life. From Keilah he escapes yet further south, a distance of fifteen miles, and “abode in the wilderness in strongholds, and remained in a mountain in the wilderness of Ziph; and Saul sought him every day.”

We now come to one of the most beautiful episodes of the history. The unselfish love of Jonathan (perhaps the finest of the Old Testament characters) prompted him to seek the oppressed and fugitive bandit, and renew his pledges of friendship. Jonathan goes to seek David, who was “in the wilderness of Ziph *in a wood*,” and went to David “into the wood and strengthened his hand in God” (1 Sam. xxiii. 16).

*Wood of Ziph.*—We are, therefore, here called upon to identify or to destroy a second forest, and this with even greater certainty than that of Hareth. The position of the northern Ziph, at Tell Zif, has long been known. It is a conspicuous mound, lying south-east of Hebron, and although it shows at the present day no trace of buildings, we found a quarry on the northern side, and some large Jewish tombs; one, having a portico with rude rock pilasters, is to be found lower down on the south. It is, however, usual to say, “that the wood of Ziph has disappeared,” which we may further supplement by asserting that in all probability it never had any real existence.

The Septuagint versions seem here to give the local colouring with unusual fidelity; the “wilderness of Ziph” they translate by the word (*ἀνχυός*), meaning dried up or parched, and the wood appears as *γη καινη* in the Vatican, and *ἡ καινη* in the Alexandrine—“the new ground,” or the “new place” of Ziph. It is very striking to find, on turning to Josephus, whose works date earlier than either manuscript, that the interview is said to take place “in a certain place called the New Place belonging to Ziph” (Ant. VI. xiii. 2). The explanation is, however, very simple, and the verdict must once more, I think, be given against the English reading. The Hebrew term here used is Chores, and the difference between it and the word translated by the Septuagint, “the New Place,” is not one of letters, *but merely of points*.

This is by no means a solitary instance. Many others could be cited in the topographical passages of the Bible in which the points cause a considerable difference. It is evident that the modern points cannot have been the same as those used (if any) at the time of the Septuagint translation, and in a question turning upon points alone, the decision must be made on independent grounds.

The existence at any time of a wood in this part of the country is geologically almost an impossibility. From Hebron to Beersheba not a single spring of any importance exists in the eastern hills in which the story now lies. The soil is a soft, chalky limestone, so porous that every drop of water sinks through the strata to the hard dolomite beneath. The rounded hills, which invariably mark this formation, are not only entirely without culture, but show no signs of any different condition at a former period, except in the immediate neighbourhood of some of the large sites, where the vine seems to have been cultivated. The country is emphatically a dry land, looking down on the barren wastes which lie above the Dead Sea between Masada and Engedi. There is no moisture capable of supporting vegetable growth. The cistus and the belan bushes grow among the ledges, but not a single tree exists in the whole country.

The character of the district leads us therefore to adopt the Septuagint reading and that of Josephus, but yet further we have recovered amongst the two hundred names in the country round Yutta, that of *Khirbet Khoreisa*, which is applied to an ancient site about one mile south of Tell Zif. I have occasion to speak more fully of this site in another report, as we found in it a Greek Christian inscription of some interest, but it is sufficient here to say that its bell-mouthed cisterns and extensive caves burrowing the hill side, prove it to be an ancient locality, and we can have little hesitation in identifying it with the Choresh of Zif, a village or hamlet belonging to the larger town at Tell Zif.

*The Rock of Maon.*—The inhabitants of the district seem to have been no better than their descendants, and their betrayal of David forced him to descend still further south. In the wilderness of Maon he abode, according to Josephus, "in a great rock." The passage in Samuel has the curious expression that he "went down unto a rock." Maon is no doubt the present Tell Ma'in, the most prominent object in the landscape, a huge knoll, some 100 feet high. It is, however, on the same level as Tell Zif, and I would suggest that the passage refers to *Wady el War*, "the valley of Rocks"—a place so rugged as to be particularised by a name which might be considered in some degree applicable to many of the neighbouring valleys. The wady has its head close to Tell Ma'in, and the long ridges running east to the Dead Sea form a fitting site for that narrow escape, when, separated but by a single crest, David was only saved from discovery by the dramatic incident of a sudden Philistine invasion.

The scene now changes to the vicinity of Engedi, where David next retired. It may be remarked that thus descending gradually to the

lower level, and again returning at a later period to the neighbourhood of Ziph, David follows the custom of the modern Bedawi, whose tents in winter are on the sheltered plains by the Dead Sea shore, but in summer on the hills at the verge of the cultivated districts. It is very probable that in this we have an indication of the season, and that it was only the unbearable heat of summer that forced the band from their secure fastnesses, "the rocks of the wild goats," or ibex, still found in Wady Umm el Beden, to the hills of Ziph, where they had already so little cause to expect a safe retreat. Saul again pursues David, and the magnanimous treatment which the king receives at his hands brings about a temporary reconciliation. The scene is a cave which Josephus mentions as being deep and hollow, and also near Engedi. That it was on the roadside from Gibeah we learn from the Authorised Version. Caves are not very numerous in that district, and we may succeed, when surveying that part of the country, in determining by these indications the exact cavern in question. Meanwhile it may be remarked in illustration of the passage, that nothing is more usual in Palestine than the herding of sheep, goats, and cows in the innumerable caverns which are found everywhere. The cave in question must have been of considerable extent to have given shelter to David "and his men." His band numbered about 600 at this time, although it does not follow that they were all in the cave.

The next episode is that of Nabal of Carmel. Of this there is little to write. The fact of his possessions being in Carmel, whilst he himself, a Ziphite, lived in Maon, is easily understood, for the distance from Maon to Carmel is only about two miles. It is possible that the latter place was chosen for the sheep-shearing, in consequence of the fine reservoir lying in a hollow beneath the great Crusading castle. Even in autumn it was full of water, and surrounded by herds of the Arab camels. The country in this part preserves its original character; a little corn and maize is grown in the valleys, and at the ruins are traces of wine-presses, showing the former cultivation of the grape, but the greater part is pasture land, rough rocks with the dry vegetation on which goats and even sheep seem to thrive. The village of Yutta is said to boast 17,000 sheep alone, the sheikh himself owning 250, besides goats, cows, camels, asses, and good horses.

The possessions of Nabal would therefore entitle him to be considered one who "liveth in prosperity" at the present day, as he owned 3,000 sheep and 1,000 goats—the latter being still the less numerous here, whereas in other districts they outnumber the sheep by perhaps ten to one.

In connection with the character of the country, it is also interesting to note the present brought by Abigail—200 loaves, two skins of wine, five sheep, five measures of parched corn, 100 clusters of raisins (now extensively manufactured around Hebron), and 200 cakes of figs. These products show the cultivation to have materially decreased, though the pastures remain probably unchanged.



*The Hill of Hachilah.*—We now come to the last meeting which took place between Saul and David, the last reconciliation which was soon followed by the diastrous defeat on Gilboa, and the termination of David's nomadic life. From the wilderness of Paran he comes up again to the territory of the treacherous Ziphites, who bear news to Saul in Gibeah—"Doth not David hide himself in the hill of Hachilah, which is before the Jeshimon." From another passage we learn that it was "on the right hand" of the Jeshimon, and from Josephus it appears that Saul, coming down to Ziph, was overtaken by nightfall in the hill over which or by which the road ran, and so encamped; "and Saul lay in the trench, and the people pitched round about him," 1 Sam. xxvi. 5. From the bolster at his head David took the king's spear and the cruse of water, which is never found far from a sleeping Syrian; resisting the temptations of his nephew, marked with the same cruelty which the other brother, Joab, showed afterwards to Abner, David ascended a hill top, far off yet within call, and there upbraided the sleeping guard, "for they were all asleep, because a deep sleep from the Lord had fallen upon them."

The topographical indications in this passage are so definite, and the scenery of the country so marked, that there can be but little question as to the locality of this closing scene. From Hebron southwards to Maon the country presents one uniform surface, rising eastwards to a long cliff over the lower plateau of Engedi. Ploughed as it is by shallow valleys, it yet presents no stronghold or remarkably high hill, but, as viewed from the summit of Tell Ma'in, a succession of long-succeeding rounded ridges. The site must have been north or north-east of Ziph, where the hills rise to a greater elevation, and where deep wadies start suddenly and fall steeply down towards the desert. Such a position agrees also, as shown above, with the requisite position of Saul's camp. The hill must, moreover, face the Jeshimon on the right hand, that is to say, in speaking from Gibeah on the west. A site fulfilling these requisites has necessarily a very limited choice of positions.

The Jeshimon (for the article is invariably used) was, as the word signifies, a desert or solitude. Peor and Pisgah are mentioned in another passage (Num. xxi. 20) as facing the Jeshimon, and we cannot hesitate to identify it with the plateau or Bukera above the Dead Sea on its western side.

The probable site of Hachilah is the high hill bounded by deep valleys north and south on which the ruin of *Yekin* now stands. Vandervelde, with some hesitation, suggests this as the town of Cain, but apparently is unaware of the proper form of that name, which is written Hakin in the Hebrew, thus considerably closer to the present form than he appears to have supposed. Between Hakin and Hakila there is a very strong affinity, and it is unnecessary to state that the *n* and the *l* are frequently interchanged, as for instance in the words Sinasil or Silasil which in modern Arabic both mean an earthquake.

The name therefore exists almost unchanged, and the indications on the

spot are strong. A good road following the Judæan watershed and leading south to Ziph exists on the side of the hill. A large ancient ruin with caves and cisterns stands on the brink of the steep slope, and looks down upon the white marl ridges of the Jeshimon, barren and rugged, patched with buff and brown, dotted with low black tents, but destitute of any single shrub or tree. On the north the twin peaks of Jebel el Shukuf above Ain Jidy, and beyond, all separated by the gleaming thread of sea, scarce seen in its great chasm; below are the long ridges of Moab, the iron precipices, the thousand watercourses, the great plateau of Kerak, the black volcanic gorge of Callirhoe, all lying in deep shadows under the morning sun, or brightened with a crimson flush at sunset. The scene is as wild and striking as could be desired for the drama there enacted.

Yet further the meaning of the "trench" may perhaps be explained. On the south side the road passes by a flat plot of ground, lying low and having steep cliffs on either side; it forms the head of a large wady, and has two wells of living water close to the roadside. It was no doubt here, sheltered from view and near to water, according to the modern Arab fashion of hiding an encampment, that Saul would pitch his tents. High up on either of the hill tops David stood to call to the host, and no doubt the special expression that he passed over to the other side intimates his crossing the valley and ascending the opposite hill.

Here we may close the record; the town of Ziklag is not yet known to which David retired, and where he was at the time of the battle of Gilboa. Its position, north of the Brook of Besor, in the territory of Gath, three days' hard journey from Jezreel, will, however, I hope, enable us to fix it next spring, when surveying the southern Maritime Plain.

The extremely definite character of the topographical notices was insisted upon by Mr. Grove in the "Bible Dictionary," and first drew my attention to the subject. "It is very much to be desired," he says (See Maon, "Bible Dictionary"), that some traveller should take the trouble to see how the actual locality of M'ain agrees with the minute indications of the narrative." I hope that the preceding pages, the result of careful comparison of the various passages, and a detailed inspection of the ground, may be considered satisfactory in settling the disputed points and in giving clearness and consistency to the history of the nomadic life of David and his men.

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## THE ROYAL CANAANITE AND LEVITICAL CITY OF DEBIR.

BY LIEUTENANT CONDER, R.E.

EL DHOHERIYEH, *November 7, 1874.*

THE systematic arrangement of the topographical lists of the Book of Joshua is a subject which has as yet been little studied, and very

often it is altogether denied. The present survey, by placing known sites in their proper relative positions, by confirming identifications already proposed, and yet more by the addition of a larger number of new identifications than have been made since the time of Robinson, will be most invaluable in the elucidation of these difficult questions.

"So little," says Mr. Grove (article "Zior." Bib. Diet.), "is known of the principle on which the groups of towns are collected in these lists, that it is impossible to speak positively" as to many probable identifications.

A careful inspection of the various groups in the lot of Judah has led me to a discovery which, as I have never met with it in any standard work, I am led to consider new. It is one of immense interest, as showing that the topographical system is far more perfect than would at first be imagined. It may be briefly stated thus:—

*The list given in the twelfth chapter of Joshua, and preceding all other topographical lists, forms the key to the whole.*

Nothing could be simpler than the system depending on this definition. The towns here referred to, thirty-one in number, were royal cities of the Canaanites. They reappear in the succeeding lists, and it will be found that, with one exception easily explained, every separate group of towns contains a royal city. The larger groups occurring in the plains and lowlands contain naturally more than one, but the country is at once divided by these royal cities into districts, which will, on inspection, be found to have natural boundaries, and to be to a certain extent preserved to the present day.

Without enlarging further on this subject, which I propose to follow out later on, it will become evident that of all sites in the country these royal cities are the most valuable as indicating the locality of other towns connected with them.

Of the thirty-one no fewer than twenty-six were known long ago. M. Ganneau added one to the list in the discovery of Gezer, and only four remain to be fixed, Debir in the south, and Lasharon in the north of Palestine, with Libnah and Makkedah in the Philistine plain.

The site to which our attention has been specially directed since leaving Jerusalem is that of Debir, which has never as yet been placed in a satisfactory manner. The name Dewir Ban, which some have supposed to be the modern representative of the site, exists within a couple of miles of Hebron, south, and not as placed on Murray's new map, north of the valley containing Ain Unkúr, which, under the incorrect form of Nunkúr, Dr. Rosen mentions as a probable site for the Upper and Lower Springs.

There is, however, a fatal objection to this identification. Dewir Ban is the name, not of an ancient site, but merely of a hill-top among the vineyards close to Hebron.

To say nothing of its being far out of the district where Debir should be sought, it is not natural to suppose that this capital city should have existed so close to Hebron, especially as it does not occur in the list of the Hebron group.

A second identification is proposed by Vandeveldt at Khirbet Dilbeh; it is, however, very evident from his remarks that he never visited the spot. The city of Debir stood, as will be seen, in a *dry land*, and it is therefore directly contradictory to the plain statement in Joshua to place it at the only spot in the country where fine springs occur. In addition to which Khirbet Dilbeh, which lies close to the spring of that name, is an unimportant site, and not apparently of any great antiquity.

"The subject, and indeed the whole topography of this district, requires further consideration," is Mr. Grove's comment on the attempts as yet made to fix the position of Debir; and indeed there are few parts of Palestine so little known and so incorrectly mapped. It is evident that most of the sites have been fixed by inquiries made in passing along the main lines of communication, and it is often quite plain that where two ruins have been seen almost in line, the traveller pointed to the one generally the farthest, whilst the native gave the name of the nearer.

Indeed, the proper district of Debir has never been correctly understood, in consequence of a very fatal mistake made in the first instance by Dr. Robinson.

Fixing correctly the position of Socoh, or Shueikeh, he has placed Anab (the modern 'Anáb) immediately east of it. I was considerably surprised at not being able to find this important name in our list from Yutta camp, but our guides explained with one accord that this ruin was much farther west out of their country, and west of El Dhoheriyeh, and such proved to be the case, according to the testimony of the inhabitants of the latter place.

The site so named by Dr. Robinson is really called Deir el Shems, a name which has been placed farther north on the maps.

This error has been followed by other travellers, who have no doubt merely copied from Robinson's map. It is even to be found in Professor Palmer's route sketch, although he spent a night at El Dhoheriyeh; but there is not a shadow of doubt that the name was either wrongly given to or wrongly understood by Robinson, and that the true site of Anáb is a ruin containing remains of a church and a modern tower existing on a ridge immediately west of El Dhoheriyeh. This fatal error has caused the site to be sought in the wrong direction, and its correction leads naturally to the identification. The group of cities of which Debir was the capital was eleven in number, as follows:

- |                   |     |     |     |     |                          |     |                                     |
|-------------------|-----|-----|-----|-----|--------------------------|-----|-------------------------------------|
| 1. Shamir         |     |     |     |     |                          |     |                                     |
| 2. Jattir         | ... | ... | ... | ... | 'Attir                   | ... | .. Robinson.                        |
| 3. Socoh          | ... | ... | ... | ... | Shueikeh                 | ... | ... Robinson.                       |
| 4. Danuah         | ... | ... | ... | ... | Domeh                    | ... | ... C. R. Conder.                   |
| 5. Kirjath Sepher |     |     |     |     |                          |     |                                     |
|                   |     |     |     |     | Kirjath Sannab, or Debir | ... | ... El Dhoheriyeh ... C. R. Conder. |
| 6. Anab           | ... | ... | ... | ... | 'Anáb                    | ... | ... Robinson, C. R. C.              |
| 7. Eshtemoa       | ... | ... | ... | ... | Semú'a                   | ... | ... Robinson.                       |

8. Anun ... .. El Dilbeh ... .. C. R. C.  
 9. Goshen ... .. Lekiyeh ... .. C. R. C.  
 10. Holon, or Hilen  
 11. Giloh

It will be seen that a sufficient number are known to allow of the district being pretty evident. It is an area of some hundred square mile of low hill country, including part of the great valley which, starting at Hebron, flows to Beersheba, and thence to the Mediterranean. 'Attir and Semû'a lie on the eastern limit, beyond the Wady Khalil. The northern boundary is given by Domeh, lying near the foot of a higher range which runs east and west, on which stands Dura. This higher district belongs to the Hebron capital. On the south the desert of Beersheba forms the natural boundary of the district, and on the west the hills sink suddenly into the Shephalah, in which stand the sites of Umm el Rumamin and Khuweilfeh, identified with towns belonging to Simeon and now inhabited only by Arab tribes. The district of Debir is indeed just the limit of the settled population and of cultivation; it is remarkable for its broad rolling downs, with a fruitful soil. The inhabitants of its two modern villages, El Dhoheriyeh and Semû'a, are very rich, especially in horses, flocks, herds, and cattle. It is pre-eminently a *dry land*, as not a single spring is to be found in it; but it is not less remarkable that in the very corner of the land the finest collection of springs in Southern Palestine is to be found, which, though not properly belonging to it, seem yet included in its territory. The explanation of this irregularity in the following of the natural boundaries is found very fully in the Book of Joshua.

We may now turn to the accounts of the capital contained in the Old Testament.

Debir, or Debr, for it occurs with and without the *yeh*, is first mentioned in the account of Joshua's Philistine campaign. From Eglon and Lachish the conqueror advanced up the main pass of Wady Duweimeh to the mountains of Hebron, and having seized this important town he attacked Debir. "And Joshua returned (or turned back), and all Israel with him, to Debir; and fought against it: and he took it, and the king thereof, and all the cities thereof; and they smote them with the edge of the sword . . . he left none remaining" (Josh. x. 38—40).

The expression here used is peculiar, and not found in any other verse. It shows that Debir was not in the direct line of his march, but required a special *détour*. This would place it south of Hebron most probably, for being the last of his conquests the next march would by rights have been northwards, from Hebron to Gilgal.

It does not, however, appear that Debir was deserted by its original inhabitants, for we find soon after that in the time of Caleb it stood another siege, when Othniel, his nephew, took it and received it as a dowry with the hand of Achsah, his cousin.

This again points to its being near Hebron, the possession of Caleb.

There is a peculiar expression in the Book of Samuel where the Egyptian slave relates how the Amalekites had attacked the coast belonging to Judah and "the south of Caleb" (I Sam. xxx. 14). It would appear therefore that the possession of Caleb extended to the South land, or Negeb. The most important passage, however, immediately follows this second conquest, and relates how Achsah begs of her father an additional "field," or territory.

The wording of the account is the same in the two records, Joshua xv. 19 and Judges i. 15. "Give me a blessing; for thou hast given me a south land; give me also springs of water. And he gave her the upper springs and the nether springs."

The following notes for the elucidation of the passage were kindly sent me by Dr. Chaplin, and are of great use in the correction of the rather obscure translation:—

(1) *A south land*, in the Hebrew Erets-han-negeb, *an arid land*. (This, I may remark, is the *αρχμος* of the Septuagint, which I have mentioned in the paper on the wood of Ziph.) *Negeb* is from a Semitic root, signifying *to be dry*. The Vulgate and French, Italian, and Spanish versions have "a dry land." Jewish commentators have the following:—"A portion of territory dry and without springs of water. Negeb signifies dry." The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uziel has *Daruma*, a south (a name, I may add, used in the "Onomasticon" to specify the territory of which we are now speaking). The southern part of Palestine seems to have been called Negeb, because it was dry.

To this note I may add that the expression Negeb would properly refer to all that district of hills of soft, porous, chalky limestone extending from the desert on the east (the Jeshimon) to 'Anáb and the plain on the west, and from Dilbeh and Yutta on the north to Beersheba on the south.

The water supply in this district is derived from the rain alone, and not a single spring of any importance occurs.

(2). *Springs of water*.—In the Hebrew, *Gulloth maim* (*Pools of water*). The Targum of Jonathan Ben Uziel has *Beth Shakah d'Maiah*—*locus irrigationis aquarum*—a well-watered place, as in Gen. xiii. 10. Rashi says *Gulloth maim* is "*beth-hab-baal*," a piece of land that does not require irrigation. Other Jewish commentators say it was a land with fountains and springs of water.

(3). *Upper Springs and Lower Springs*—*Gulloth*, *'ilith* and *Gulloth takhteth*.

(4). The Vulgate rendering of the passage is, "Quia terram arentem dedisti mihi da et irreguam aquis. Dedit ergo ei Caleb irriguam superiam et irriguam inferiam."

In this, as in many other cases, the Vulgate seizes the full force of the passage, which is obscured by the reading "south land," although, strictly speaking, the south land and dry land were synonymous terms. The passage may be better paraphrased thus, "Thou hast given me a

dry district; give me also a stream." Here, then, we may sum up all materials which come to hand for the identification of Debir.

1st. Debir is to be found in the south-west of Hebron, and between the towns of Socoh and 'Anáb, near Dannah, that being its position on the list.

2nd. It must itself be placed in a district destitute of springs, but at some little distance, on the borders of its territories, a well-watered district with springs at the head of and lower down in a valley must occur.

With regard to the name Debir, which is a form unlikely to endure in Arabic without change, it is said to signify *remote*, and occurs in one passage as Debir (1 Chron. vi. 5, 8), in another as Debr (Josh. x. 38), and in a third Deberah, or Debrah (Josh. xv. 49). Under this name it does not appear to have been known to Jerome. In the earlier passage (Josh. xv. 49) its original name is given as Kirjath Sannah, "the city of the Palm." In another it is said to have been first called Kirjath Sepher (Judges i. 11), "the city of books," a title which has given rise to many conjectures as to the civilisation of the Canaanites, some having looked upon Debir as a sort of collegiate town or Amalekite university.

The name, however, is not in this case so safe a guide as the two indications before noticed, to which must be added that so important a site must have left traces which are unmistakable. Rock excavation is the surest indication of antiquity in Palestine. The Troglodytes, who, as Josephus informs us, descended from Abraham and Keturah, must at one time have existed throughout the country, or imparted their habits to other tribes. The ancient Canaanites seem to have lived principally in caves, and no nation subsequently has done as much in the country in the excavation of caves, cisterns, and tombs out of the living rock as was done by the early Jews or their Canaanite predecessors.

But beyond these excavations evidence must also be derived from the roads. A capital such as Debir must have communicated with its dependent towns on every side, and these ancient roads, marked with rude boundary blocks of rock, are easily traceable in the south of Palestine.

There is, I think we may now say with certainty, only one site which fulfils all these requisites. The modern village of El Dhoheriyeh. This site has hitherto been much neglected. Professor Palmer slept there one night in 1870, and was the first to recognise its antiquity. Murray asserts that "there is nothing of interest to detain the pilgrim," but he finds it "a most interesting place. The dwellings consist principally of caves in the natural rock, some of them with rude arches carved over doorways, and all of them of the greatest antiquity. . . . The village is evidently an ancient site, and in the centre is a building of massive masonry containing three arched apartments."

Professor Palmer, misled by Robinson's mistake as to 'Anáb, does

not, however, propose any identification. With regard to the caves with arched entrances their antiquity is doubtful, for from their constant connection with Christian ruins, as well as from the fact that no arches occur in the really ancient ruins of the country. I have been led to consider them Christian. The central building, called El Hossn by the villagers, is also probably of the same date. That El Dhoheriyeh is a really ancient site is, however, indubitable.

Hewn cisterns with well-worn mouths and ancient rock-cut tombs are seen on every side, and it forms the central point whence many ancient roads diverge. To Attir and Zanúta on the south-east, to Shuweikeh and Semú'a on the east, to 'Anáb and Ghuzzeh on the west, to Beersheba on the south, to Domeh, Dura, and Hebron on the north; to all of these good roads principally of antiquity lead. A careful examination of the country shows further that El Dhoheriyeh is the only ancient site in the neighbourhood which, as I have already shown, is very restricted by the terms of the various indications.

It is also very probable, though much stress cannot be laid on this point, that Dhoheriyeh is a corruption of the ancient name of Deberah, and the more so as the name has a distinct meaning in Arabic, being derived from Dhohr or Zohr, a back, and thus in the adjective form signifying the *village on the ridge*, for it stands, not as shown in previous maps half way up a slope, but on the very top of the long flat ridge which runs south from the higher hills of Dúra.

Debir was one of the Levitical cities, we therefore carefully searched for inscriptions or other marks.

I had occasion, in one of my last reports, to explain how we found the boundary of 3,000 cubits at Semú'a marked by a large stone with a name still forming the boundary of the lands belonging to the village. This discovery is all the more interesting if, as has been suggested, the 3,000 cubits marks the distance of a Sabbath day's journey.

In the case of El Dhoheriyeh Corporal Brophy discovered on the main road leading south, and exactly at the distance in question, taking the sixteen-inch cubit, a stone similar to the Hajr el Sakhain but larger: it had not, however, a name; there was also another stone of the same character (a large rough block similar to some of the English primeval monuments) to the west on the line, and at the south-east corner and close to the south-west corner were large wells.

On the north side Sergeant Black observed wells and wine-presses placed on the boundary line, if drawn with the sides not the diagonals of the square facing the cardinal points, which still seems to me the more natural explanation of the Biblical account.

The second part of the question remains, however, still to be discussed. To place Debir at a spring is, as has been seen, evidently a mistake, but we are still bound to find in its neighbourhood the *Upper and Lower Springs* of the Book of Judges.

As has been shown, no ordinary spring will satisfy this account; a copious supply of water is to be inferred, and two springs or groups of



springs. The account is, however, fully satisfied by the Seil El Dilbeh, a secluded valley to the west of Yutta, and only six and a half miles north of El Dhoheriych.

On visiting this beautiful spot in the very end of October I found a considerable brook running in the midst and extending through the small gardens a distance of four or five miles. Such a supply of water is indeed a phenomenon in Palestine, and yet more extraordinary in the Negeb where no others occur. There are also, as required, both upper and lower springs, and these so copious that the various translations, pools of water, fountains for irrigation, or well watered places, are all fully accounted for.

There are in all fourteen springs divided into three groups.

The first includes 'Ain El Fureidis, 'Ain abu Kheit, and 'Ain Shkhakh abu Thor, and one other, situate near one another high up on the slopes of the hills south of Dúra.

From thence the Seil or brook runs east to the second group, including 'Ain el Májúr, 'Ain el Dilbeh, 'Ain el Hejeri, and three smaller springs situate in the bottom of the valley some 100 yards apart. The Seil then gradually turns south and passes the third group a little lower down, consisting of 'Ain el Fowár and three smaller. The total amounts, therefore, to fourteen. The site thus discovered exists, as would be expected, not exactly in the natural territory of Debir, but on its extreme north-east limit; so that it could, at the request of Aehsah, be added to the Negeb country which she already possessed.

I would propose also to place near to it the town of Anim, which is written with the *Ain*, and is no doubt derived from '*Animin*,<sup>3</sup> the two springs. The *Ich* does not appear in the present Hebrew text, but may very probably have been lost, being a small letter, for it is represented in the Septuagint version of *Aiḏaqu*. This town was supposed<sup>4</sup> by Wilson, the traveller, to be found at Ghuwein, but this site has been with more probability identified with the 'Ain of Simeon.

Khirbet el Dilbeh is, as I have before said, not an important ruin, but on the hill bounded north and east by the Seil are two fine tombs, and south of this, at Khirbet el Jif, there is an ancient site which may possibly be the exact spot where Anim is to be placed.

We have seen, therefore, that El Dhoheriych is the only ancient site between Socoh (Shuweikeh) and Anab ('Anáb, as now correctly placed). The position of Dannah, or Deneh, has not been hitherto proposed. I have supposed it to be the modern Domeh, which is immediately north of El Dhoheriych, at a distance of about two miles. Domeh has hitherto been identified with Dumah, under the impression that it was north of Khirbet Dilbeh. In its true position it cannot, however, be so identified, for Dumah belongs to the group immediately round Hebron, amongst which Beth-Tappuah (Terfáh), Arab (Khirbet el 'Arabíyeh), and Zior (S'aír), are enumerated, a district in the high hills north of the Negeb. In order, however to make the identification more certain, I may remark that on the western boundary of this higher district stands the

village of *Durcimeh*, which may be identified with far greater propriety with Dumah, thus leaving Domeh for the town of Deneh, in the exact position which it holds in the list.

I may point to this as a fair example of the results of the Survey. Nothing but minute examination would have led to the discovery of the Upper and Lower Springs, to the correction of Robinson's error as to Anab, or to the proper placing of Domeh, which destroys the very plausible identification as yet attached to its supposed position.

It will be remarked also that from this instance of the exactness of the lists, they seem, as in the case of Zanoah and of Maarath, to give, by the order in which the towns occur, correct indications of relative position.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

### GREEK INSCRIPTION FOUND IN THE SAKHRA OF JERUSALEM.

THE following notes on the inscription mentioned by Lieut. Conder (p. 6), appeared in the *Academy* for November 7, 1874. They were, together with the passage on the word *Αλκιος* and that on forgeries in Jerusalem, taken from a letter by M. Ganneau to the Secretary of the Fund. The notes are here reproduced by permission of the Editor of the *Academy*:—

A Greek inscription has recently been discovered on the buried side of one of the flags used in the flooring of the Sakhra at Jerusalem. Copies of it have been sent to the office of the Palestine Exploration Fund, both by M. Clermont-Ganneau and by Lieut. Conder. The following is the text, with the short commentary furnished by M. Ganneau:—

ΚΟΜΕΡΚΙΑΡΙΟΣ ΑΝΕΨΙΟΣΑΡΕΟΒΙ . .  
 ΟΝΤΣ . . . ΩΝ ΕΝΘΑ ΚΑΤΑ ΚΙΤΕ . . ΟΑ . .  
 . . ΣΚΩΝΕΥΕΤΕ ΤΗΣΑΤΤΟΥ Α  
 Η  
 ΠΟ ΤΗΣ ΟΣΙΑΣ ΜΝΗΜΗΣ ΜΔΕΚΕΜΒ . .  
 + ΙΝΔ Α ΕΤΟΥΣ ΠΔ+  
 +

Commerciarius, cousin of Arcob (indos?) . . of the . . lies here, the . . Pray for him . . . of holy memory . . in the month of December . . . + Indiction I. year 104. + .

About half of the inscription, that on the left, appears to be wanting. Comerciarus is put for *καμμερκιάριος*, an official title under the Byzantine Empire; the proper name Areobindos is nearly certain, and is that of a historic family which played an important part under Anastasius and Justinian: several persons of this name were invested with important functions, and that of our inscription would be one of them,

since it was thought proper to mention his relationship with the object of the inscription.

It seems that the letters which precede *ἐνθα κατάκτε* (for *κατακείται*) belong to the genitive plural in *ων*, pointing out, perhaps, the titles of Arcobindos: the same observation applies to the first word of the third line, perhaps *ὁ ἀπο* . . . The imperative *εἴξτε* shows the carver's imperfect knowledge of Greek.

The day of the month of December was probably indicated. The grave question is that of the date: according to what era is the year 104 calculated? If, as one is tempted at first to believe, it is the era of Diocletian and the martyrs, this date would correspond to the year of our Lord 388, according to the *Art de Vérifier les Dates*. The number of the indiction agrees perfectly in this case. Nevertheless, the debased forms of the orthography and the appearance of the characters would lead us to admit an epoch somewhat earlier; but we know how little these orthographic and paleographic rules are applicable in Palestine. If this date be exact, we are brought to the time of Theodosius.

M. Gameau thinks he has possibly obtained some clue to the mysterious *ἄλκιος* of the Gezer inscription. He writes:—

“*A propos* of the Alkios of the bilingual texts of Gezer, I have lit upon a curious coincidence. Some years ago a sarcophagus was discovered at Lydda with a Greek inscription, of which Major Wilson gives a part only. I myself found the commencement about four years since. It mentions a certain *Pyrinouu*, surnamed Malthakes, grandson of *Alkios*, son of Simon, (son of) Gobar. The two names of Alkios being identical, perhaps they are those of the same personage! In fact, between the date of the sarcophagus, which probably belongs to the Herodian period, and that of *Alkios*, there are two generations, which brings us to the time of the Maccabees, at which I place the Gezer inscription. In this case our Alkios, son of Simon, Governor (?:) of Gezer, would have this *Pyri-nouu*, who was buried at Lydda, for his grandson.

“If the tomb which I opened on my last excursion is a family sepulchre, which everything leads me to believe it to be, it would result that our Alkios of Gezer was a native of Lydda. We may remark the resemblance between the Greek *ἄλκιος* and the Hebrew Hilkiah.”







KURN SURTABEH (THE ALTAR OF ED)  
LOOKING SOUTH THE DEAD SEA IN THE DISTANCE  
FROM A SKETCH BY THE LATE C. F. TYRWHITT DRAKE

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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PREFACE.

THE latest news from the Survey party is satisfactory. Lieut. Conder had removed from Jerusalem to the Wilderness of Judah, whither he was to be followed by Lieutenant Kitchener, who had completely recovered from a severe attack of fever. Sergeant Black has returned to England, and will be immediately replaced by another non-commissioned officer who has already been asked for. The reports furnished in the present number of this *Quarterly Statement* contain the Survey of Tell Jezer, a proposed identification of Bethabara (John i. 28), a paper on the Mediæval Topography of Palestine, a detailed account of Mr. Henry Maudslay's work on Mount Zion, and a report from Halhul which should have been published in the last *Quarterly Statement*.

The illustration which appears as the frontispiece is drawn from a water-colour sketch made by the late Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake. It represents the peak, now called Kurn Surtabeh, which Lieutenant Conder proposes as that on which the "Altar of Witness" was raised (see *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1874).

With regard to their financial position the Committee ask for the sum of £3,500 before the end of the year. This will enable them to clear off their debts as well as to support the Survey expedition.

Perhaps it would be possible for other towns to follow the example of Manchester and to endeavour to raise a definite sum.

While desiring to give all publicity to the suggestions of the exploring officers of the Fund, the Committee again beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such statements to be accepted or not, on their own merits, and that their publication here of proposed identifications, conclusion as to tribe boundaries, theories in the date of any building, and such subjects, does not imply their sanction and adoption by the Committee.

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### NOTES.

A meeting was held on March 11th at the Theatre of the Royal Institution, Albemarle Street, at which a paper by M. Clermont-Ganneau, on "Unknown Palestine," was read, the chair being occupied by Dr. Birch, F.R.S. The author, after enumerating some of the principal archaeological results of his expedition, plunged at once into the subject of his paper, which was an attempt to prove the lineal descent of the modern fellahen from the Canaanites by reference to their language, their manners, customs, and superstitions, and by a comparison of the two invasions of Joshua and the Caliph Omar. The paper was heard with the greatest interest. It will be published, in the first instance, in the May number of *Macmillan's Magazine*.

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The forthcoming work by M. Clermont-Ganneau will be the second great published instalment of the Society's labours. It will thus be the successor to the "Recovery of Jerusalem." Full particulars will be advertised in the next *Quarterly Statement*. Meantime, those who wish to possess the work may forward their names to the Secretary. It will be issued at a reduced rate to subscribers.

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Lieutenant Conder reports that he has now duplicate lists of names in Arabic as follows :—

Jerusalem sheet	. . . .	1,400 names.
Nablus	,, . . . .	900 ,,
Jaffa	,, . . . .	300 approximately.
Caesarea	,, . . . .	300 ,,

In all 2,900 names. The Jerusalem sheet was submitted to Mr. Noel Temple



Moore, H.M. Consul at Jerusalem, who very kindly went through it, finding only twenty corrections to make out of the whole, and these consisting of vulgarisms used by the fellaheen and purposely adopted by Lieut. Conder.

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The Balance Sheet and Treasurer's Statement for 1874 will be found in their usual place. The Balance Sheet shows a larger expenditure on exploration than in any preceding year. The heavy debt under the head of Sundry Unpaid Accounts has already been reduced by £450.

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The amount of subscriptions, donations, and proceeds from lectures and other sources paid to the central office from June 1 to March 22nd, was £1,439 14s. 5d. The balance of current account at the same date was £469 18s. 1d.

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It will be a great help to the Committee if subscribers will kindly pay their subscriptions to the local secretaries or to the central office without waiting to be reminded.

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The following are the Resolutions which have been passed by the Manchester Committee :—

“That this meeting warmly approves of the objects of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and pledges itself to use every exertion to raise the sum of at least £500 during the year 1875.”

“That the Committee are highly gratified to learn that there is a prospect of the £500 asked for at the Manchester meeting being raised, and that it shall be devoted to the outfit and maintenance of another special man on the Survey.”

“That an effort be made to raise the sum of £500 *as soon as possible*.”

Meantime up to the present date (March 20) the sum of £272 has been subscribed and forwarded to the central office. A new man has been asked for at the War Office.

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Among Lieutenant Conder's reports will be found a special account of the discoveries made by Mr. Henry Maudslay, M. Inst. C.E. (whose name was erroneously spelt Maudsley in the last *Quarterly Statement*) of the rock scarp on Zion already referred to.

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A part of the collections made in Palestine by Captain Warren, M. Clermont-Ganneau, and other officers of the Fund, will be sent in April to the Yorkshire Exhibition, which will be held in Leeds.

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Many of the back numbers of the *Quarterly Statement* are out of print. Inquiries are constantly made as to the possibility of procuring complete sets. The Committee would be very much obliged to any subscriber who does not want his old copies if he will kindly forward them to the Secretary.

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In the January *Quarterly Statement*, p. 6, the name of Dr. Thevictz is wrongly called Thevier.

Also, p. 51, *Lckiyeh* should have been placed opposite to *Giloh*: opposite to *Holon* should be *Hilch*. No identification has been as yet suggested by Lieut. Conder for *Goshen*.

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# THE SURVEY OF PALESTINE.

LIEUT. CLAUDE R. CONDER'S REPORTS.

XXV.

RETROSPECT OF THE PRINCIPAL RESULTS OF THE SURVEY  
WORK IN 1874.

At the close of the year which has proved the most eventful of the three which have yet passed during the Survey of Palestine, I may, I think, very well sum up the results as far as they are new and important.

The first number of the *Quarterly* contained the account of the site of Gilgal at Shejeret el Ithleh, where first Robinson (though vaguely), then Herr Zschokke, had already found the name Jiljulieh applied to certain mounds, and a ruined pool in the neighbourhood of a tree which is considered a famous and sacred site to the Bedouin. It appears that in all probability there was a convent once on the spot, and the name may be a relic, not of Jewish but of early Byzantine memories. Mr. Drake, however, pointed out that this site, the only one in the plain where any relic of the name of Gilgal has ever been found to exist, fulfilled the requisites of the Biblical and Jewish accounts better than any formerly proposed.

In February we commenced our difficult and trying work in the Jordan valley, and our first results were the exploration of 'Ain Fasail, the Phasaelis of Herod, and the discovery of the true junction of Wady Far'a, seven miles lower down than it had been ever fixed before. We also discovered a large area in which salt springs occur, possibly one of the sources of the Dead Sea salt. Up to this point also I succeeded in tracing the old geological shore line of the Dead Sea, the geological notes being throughout of the highest interest.

Our second camp was in Wady Far'a at the feet of the mysterious Kurn Surtabeh, the identification of which with the great witness altar *Ed*, one of the most interesting sites in Palestine which remained unknown, I have already suggested. The identification of the Rock Oreb, lower down the valley, was made during the December of the preceding year.

We were also able to give fresh proof of the theory proposed by Robinson, but not generally accepted, that Wady Far'a is the true site of the springs of Genon, where St. John baptized—a site of immense interest, hitherto placed at a Sheikh Salim, of which we failed to find the

name known at a spot where the supply of water is insufficient and not as at Wady Far'a perennial. In Wady Far'a, also, the town of Archelais had been placed as marked on the Peutinger tables (A.D. 393). It had, however, been always placed at Tell Busilyeh, where no ruins of any interest occur. We found that at the plain which lies at the base of the Kurn-Surtabeh, through which Wady Far'a flows, there are remains of a large and important site, with tombs of the Greek period, one having a much defaced Hebrew inscription, containing, however, nothing beyond a common Jewish name. This ruin, called Keiáwa, is probably the site of Archelais, of which Josephus tells us that it was built by Archelaus the Ethnarch (*Ant.* xvii. 13. 1).

We passed next to Wady Maleh, where we were obliged to drink brackish water for ten days, and suffered much from the rain and oppressive atmosphere. We here took the temperature of the various springs and visited the site of Succoth ('Ain Sakút). The geological observations here were very interesting, tending to show that another lake once filled the plain of Beisan, and that a region of great volcanic activity hitherto unknown existed round Wady Maleh. This is the last salt stream, and the springs higher up the valley, as well as the Sea of Galilee, are sweet.

We continued the work to within a few miles of the Sea of Galilee, and made a large plan of Beisan, showing the hippodrome and other interesting details, as well as the line of the Roman walls. We also were able to throw much light on the defeat of Midian by Gideon, identifying the Zerzerath of that account with 'Ain Zahrah, and showing that the account is in accordance with the existence of the Rock Oreb near Jericho.

Marching across the country to the Maritime Plain, we completed 100 square miles and surveyed Arsúf (Apollonia), confirming Major Wilson's identification of Antipatris with the ruins of Kala'at Ras el 'Ain, and showing the improbability of any large town having stood at Kefr Saba, the ordinary identification.

The period of my absence in England was not without work. The site of Alexandrium was visited, and the great tower which there exists measured and observed; various other short expeditions, intended to check former observations, were made, and 100 square miles completed.

The autumn campaign commenced later than I could have wished, but was carried through country intensely interesting and very little known.

The principal Biblical results were—(1) The possible identification of the Choresch of Ziph (doubtfully translated wood) with the Khoreisa close to Tell Zif, and of the wood of Hareth (probably a corruption) with the town of Kharás close to the little village of Keilah. (2) The hill of Hachilah I also proposed to find at Nebi Yekín, and the striking agreement of the site with the requisites of the Bible account of David's attack on Saul's camp were explained. (3) Still more important was the examination of Robinson's position of 'Anáb, suggesting the iden-

tification of the royal city of Debir with El Dhoheriyeh, and the "upper and lower springs" with the Seil-ed-Dilbeh, the only stream in this country which is dry and dependent on rain-water throughout. (4) The recovery of Zanoah at Kh. Sanút, which is more in accordance with the position of this town in the lists of the cities of Judah than the identification by Robinson with Kh. Zanúta. (5) From Yuttah, also, we made the interesting and valuable discovery of the possible Levitical boundary of the town of Eshtemo'a (Semú'a), a large stone called Hajr el Sakhain existing beside the north road to the village, at the distance of 3,000 cubits, and forming the boundary of the village possessions at the present day.

In visiting Beersheba we made an important difference in the position of the wells as formerly fixed; we also saw reason to suspect that the stone-work of the well was far more modern than had been previously supposed. In surveying the line from thence to Moladah we discovered a site previously unknown, called El Meshash (the pits), with two fine wells, answering well to the position of the Scriptural Heshmon, not previously identified. We also fixed the sites of Hazar Shual and Hazar Gaddah, and found the interesting fact that these sites are walled towns of flint, answering to the meaning of Hazar or enclosure.

In conclusion, the report just sent home shows how important our work has been in the possessions of the tribe of Benjamin; and the suggested identification of Sechu, possibly fixing the sites of Ramah and Gibeah at Er Ram and Jeb'a, is one of the most valuable we have yet obtained. The exploration of the Adasa of the book of Maccabees, the explanation of the various places passed by in Saul's journey in search of the asses, the probable identification of Beth Car, giving the line of Philistine invasion in the time of Samuel, the fixing of many unknown sites in the west of Benjamin or on the border of Dan, the recovery of Luz at Khirbet Lozeh, close to Beitin, and further illustration of the grand descriptive passage in Isaiah x., are among the most valuable of these. The identification of Nob and Mizpeh with Sh'afát, and the suggestion that Tell el Fúl is one of the resting-places of the tabernacle, cannot fail to be considered of interest, and although not entirely new are given on new grounds.

In conclusion we have added the surveys of Tell Jezer and of the Zion Scarp, and brought the total amount surveyed to over 3,400 square miles.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

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## XXVI.

## THE HILL COUNTRY OF JUDAH—FIFTH CAMPAIGN.

ON the 5th of October, we arrived at our new camp, on the highest part of the Hebron watershed, near the village of Halhúl, and just above the fine spring 'Ain el Dherweh, which an ancient though erroneous tradition points out as the site of the baptism of the Eunuch by Philip, as commemorated by a small mediæval chapel, now in ruins. On the 7th we recommenced the out-door work, and the rest of the week was spent in erecting cairns and observing from them.

The country we have now entered is a district containing a great deal of interest, but it is fairly well known already, and was carefully explored by Dr. Robinson, whose information appears throughout to be extremely exact. The number of ancient sites is unusually large, and the majority of them have been identified in a satisfactory manner. Among these may be mentioned Halhúl itself, unaltered from the name in Joshua's time; Beth Anoth (Beit 'Ainún); Jedor (Kh. Ejdúr); Adoraim, fortified by Rehoboam (Dúra); Tekoa (Teku'a); Ramah (El Rameh); Beth Tappuah (Tuffúh); and Keilah, on the borders of the low land, or Shephelah, now the village of Kíla. Immediately north lies a district which is omitted in the list of the cities of Judah in the Hebrew Bible. This omission is supplied by an insertion in the Septuagint of eleven cities, all immediately south of Jerusalem; and it is remarkable that nine out of the eleven are easily identified. The passage, however, does not appear to have been much studied, and it is possible that one or two of the identifications will be new as given below:—

Theco . . . . .	Teku'a.
Ephrata, or Bethlehem . . . . .	Beit Lahm.
Phagor . . . . .	Beit Faghúr (Rob.) not Beit Fejjar.
Ætan . . . . .	Urtás (the name remains in 'Ain 'Atán, near the pools).
Kulon . . . . .	Kelónia.
Tatam . . . . .	
Thobes . . . . .	Soba.
Karem . . . . .	'Aiu Karem.
Galem . . . . .	Beit Jálá.
Thether (or Baither) . . . . .	Bittír.
Manocho . . . . .	

All these places are sites of some importance, if not in the early, at all events in later times. The passage, if interpolated, is due to some authority having an intimate knowledge of the country, but is more natural to suppose it lost from the Hebrew lists of the fourth century.

*Eshcol.*—Another identification of some interest proposed by Vandevelde seems to fall to the ground on careful examination. He mentions Eshkali as the name of a fountain in the valley north-west of Hebron, but the fellahín have pronounced the name to us as Keshkali. Whether the letter Kaf, or Chaf, as here pronounced, can be supposed to have taken

the place of the aleph in the Hebrew, I leave to others to determine, but those who would place the great vine valley farther south, will not readily feel disposed to accept the identification. Hebron has, however, been always famous for its vines, and their luxuriance is very striking, as no special advantages of climate seem observable, unless it be the low sweeping cloud wreaths which come up in autumn from the sea, covering the hills, as they do also in Lebanon and on Hermon, where the cultivation of the vine is still considerable.

*Bethsura*.—One of the most interesting questions in this part of the land is the campaign of Antiochus Eupator against Judas Maccabæus, which I have now studied carefully on the ground. Antiochus, coming from Antioch, arrived in Idumæa and laid siege to the strong town of Bethsura (Antiq. xii. 9). The position of this town as fixed by Robinson, is as good an identification as any in Palestine. Built as a stronghold against Idumæa, and occurring under the name of Bethzur in the list of towns between Hallûl and Jedor, with the name existing unchanged almost to this day as Beit Sûr, there can be no question as to its position. It is remarkable that a confusion should have been made which would make this word the name of the citadel of Maccabean Jerusalem, and refer the events here occurring to the siege of the capital, but a careful examination leads to the conclusion that such a theory is not supported by any passage in Josephus or in the Book of Maccabees. The importance of the site consists in its natural strength, in its commanding the only good line of advance upon Jerusalem from the south, and in the existence of a fine spring. The ruins are exactly opposite the camp, upon a rounded hill, the sides of which are scarped in parts. A large tower, of mediæval origin, stands ruined, and is surrounded by vaults and foundations of a late town, but large stones and a rude column or two have been used in these constructions, giving the usual indications of an older site. On the east are three rock-cut chambers, square and without loculi, and farther away on the west are two groups of similar tombs, but all are filled with earth or closed by the natives, probably containing the body of some unfortunate stranger, murdered at perhaps no distant period, for a robbery, causing the death of one victim and the maiming of two or three others, occurred on the high road not far off, scarcely more than a week ago. The spring itself is at some little distance, being on the main road, but situated so low as to be under control of the defenders. In case of a siege, they could also fall back on a well, fed apparently by a spring which exists on the north-west, in the midst of the ruins.

The town thus situated formed a formidable obstacle in the advance of Antiochus, as it had been the site also of many Maccabean successes before. Judas, leaving Jerusalem, hastened to raise the siege, and took up a position at Beth Zachariah, a distance of 70 furlongs north. Antiochus advanced at once to meet him, and the battle so graphically described by Josephus took place at "certain straits." The unwieldy elephants were made "to follow one another through the narrow passes

because they could not be set sideways by one another." The rest of the army was made to "go up the mountains," and "exposed to sight their golden and brazen shields, so that a glorious splendour was sent from them, and when they shouted the mountains echoed again." It was in this battle that the gallant Eleazer, brother of Judas, perished beneath the supposed royal elephant, but the commander, "seeing the strength of the enemy, retired to Jerusalem."

Nothing could well be more exact than this description. In many parts of Judæa it would be almost an impossibility to make use of elephants, and this, no doubt was the reason why Antiochus, though coming from Antioch, advanced on Jerusalem from the south. The road from Beit Sur to Beit Iskaria, though in places rough and rocky, has nowhere very steep gradients, and is generally open and smooth, allowing room for the march of a great force. The distance of the latter site is about seven and a half English miles from Beit Sur, the distance given by Josephus being a little over eight. It appears to me, however, that the exact site of the camp of Judas has not as yet been satisfactorily fixed.

Beit Iskaria stands on an almost isolated hill promontory, being contained on the east, west, and north, by valleys of great depth starting suddenly from the narrow watershed, whilst on the south is a narrow neck of land connecting the site with the spurs of the main chain.

The ruin stands just within this isthmus on the north, but shows few signs of antiquity. Two or three columns are observable amidst the remains of ruined houses, and in the entrance to the little mosque are two capitals of a Byzantine style, belonging to the eleventh century. There are two or three cisterns in the village, and the most ancient indication is a broad causeway, protected on one side by a station or guard-house. Drafted stones are observable in the stone fence on either side of the road, and on the main road beyond are two fallen columns and a Roman milestone.

The site thus described, and supposed by Robinson to be that of Judas' camp, is indeed, as he says, "an almost impregnable position;" but looked at from a military point of view, it would only have been available in case of attack from the north, for on that side the great depth of the valley forming the head of Wady Musûr would forbid any general to select a place where, in case of defeat, he would be driven down a steep and in places precipitous hill-side. In the two accounts by Josephus there is no indication of such a disastrous flight, but the idea of a regular retreat is conveyed, and we should look, therefore, for a site in the vicinity where, whilst defended on either flank and in front by the conformation of the ground, the Maccabean general would have his retreat in rear left open, and where, moreover, he would be supplied with water, which must always have been deficient at the village itself.

Now, immediately north-east of Beit Iskaria is a position which not only fulfils these requisites and answers to the description by Josephus, but which is also one of the finest strategical points in Southern Palestine.



A long narrow range, culminating about one mile from Beit Iskaria in the high summit of the Ras Sherefeh, is separated from the ruin by the deep valley already noticed. On this side the descent to the hills is very sudden, and lines of grim precipices and steep slopes run down more than 1,000 feet. On the opposite side (the east) the descent is almost as steep, and the ground is extremely rocky and difficult. In front, a low and narrow ridge leads towards the range, which widens sufficiently to allow of the deployment of a considerable force. The importance of the position lies in its communications. The main Hebron road runs beneath it on the east, and is here so bad from rocky ground and narrow passes, that a very small force on the flank would effectually arrest the approach of the enemy, who would be unable to turn the position, as the valleys towards the east grow even more intricate and impassable. Another fine road leading up from the south winds along the west brow of the range, and is marked by Roman milestones. Just in rear it joins the great Roman road from Beit Jibrin, and the two fall afterwards into the Hebron road near the Pools of Solomon. This point is therefore the natural defence for Jerusalem on the south, commanding three main lines of advance from the Hebron hills and from the plain. The retreat over open ground in rear is easy, and the water supply from a good spring on the hill side ('Ain el Kassis), with the great reservoirs behind, is sufficient for any number. The distance of the summit agrees even better than that of the ruin of Beit Iskaria, with the 70 furlongs from Beit Sur, whilst it is sufficiently near to be best indicated by the name of this the nearest village. In order to bring the elephants through these passes, it would have been necessary to divert them from the main road to the gentler approach leading to the hill, and no doubt the Jewish general foresaw that here, if anywhere, he could make certain of a position impregnable except in front.

*Bezeth.*—Another site famous in Maccabean history may perhaps be considered as now identified as follows :

Bezeth, or Bethzetho, is described as a village with a great pit. It was occupied by Bacchides, after retreating from Jerusalem (Ant. XII. x. 2), and afterwards by Judas, who was there defeated. There is no mention of the direction in which we should look for this site, but as Bacchides returns thence to Antioch, and would very probably have advanced in the same direction in which Antiochus himself had just marched on the city, we may very well look for Bezeth on the south.

I would suggest therefore the identity of Bezeth (which in the Bible Dictionary is compared with the name Beth-zait, applied in the Syriac version of the New Testament to the Mount of Olives) with the ruin of Beit Z'ata, inaccurately obtained formerly as Beit Z'áter.

The only known requisite—the large pit—may perhaps be considered as satisfied by a birket or pool of unusual magnitude from which one of the branches of Pilate's aqueduct leads. The site is without doubt ancient and very extensive. On the west is the ruined village of Kufin,

and nearer the road are crumbled stones, a broken sarcophagus, and a fine rock-cut wine-press. Farther south is a row of ancient rock-cut sepulchres, all closed by the modern villagers, and one in especial, a single chamber, is remarkable for an irregular court in front about 50 feet long by 25 feet wide, containing in its walls over 150 niches for lamps. This disposition I have never seen except here and at the tomb of Joshua. East of the road is a small tower or station, with a fine beehive cistern, and yet farther east a ruined building of considerable antiquity, though without any indication of date or origin. The site stands high on the east of Beit Ummar, and commands the road which on either side ascends to it from a valley.

*Ancient Tower.*—Between Beit Iskaria and Beit Z'ata is a ruin of some interest. It lies south of Beit Sawir and east of a ruin called Deshár. It is a tower about 50 feet square, composed of huge blocks of very roughly-hewn stone. These stones, cut from the rock of the natural thickness of the stratified bed, are only some 16 inches thick, whilst in length they are sometimes 8 or 9 feet, by 5 feet in breadth. No modern peasant hand piled such large blocks upon one another, and they bear throughout the marks of extreme age, and of having been exposed to the action of wind and rain for centuries. Such rude drystone monuments are amongst the oldest found in the country, and may well date back to early Jewish times. The tower in question is too large to be classed with the ancient vineyard towers, and must have been constructed for purposes of defence. It has fallen principally on the south, where many courses are piled above one another. Not far off is a square cemented cistern, also covered by one huge block of similar character, but allowing room for a man to creep in.

*The Valley of Blessing.*—One of the most graphic passages in Chronicles is connected with another portion of the work from this camp, and as I am able to further illustrate it by a new identification, it may be enlarged upon here. In 2 Chron. xx., we read that the children of Moab and of Ammon having come in great multitudes from "beyond the sea" to Hazazon Tamar, "which is Engedi," and having "come up by the cliff of Ziz to the end of the brook before the wilderness of Jeruel," had finally attacked the "inhabitants of Mount Seir, utterly to slay and destroy them: and when they had made an end of the inhabitants of Seir, every one helped to destroy another." Jehoshaphat meanwhile had come forth with his army "into the wilderness of Tekeá." "And when Judah came towards the watchtower in the wilderness, they looked unto the multitude, and, behold, they were dead bodies fallen to the earth, and none escaped," verse 24, "and on the fourth day they assembled themselves in the Valley of Berachah (blessing), for there they blessed the Lord." To this account Josephus (*Antiq.* ix. 1) adds but little. He mentions a place called "the eminence," apparently as identical with the "end of the brook," and also clearly explains that the "sea" in question is the lake Asphaltitis. To any one who has visited the country the description reads with remarkable force and exactness.

The mixed force from east and south-east of the Dead Sea had crossed round its southern end, or perhaps by the old fords of the Iisan, and camped at Engedi, the finest spring on the western shores. The cliff of Ziz is generally supposed to be a pass by which at the present day (as Dr. Robinson remarks) the Arabs ascend towards the villages in their marauding expeditions. The direct road leads towards Teku'a, and an important pass towards the village of Beit 'Ainun. No attempt has as yet been made to identify the Seir of this passage, which must not be confounded with that east of Jordan, or with the Mount Seir west of Jerusalem. In the pass just mentioned exists the village of S'air, hidden between the hills and surrounded with gardens; being well supplied with water, it was no doubt always a rich district, and it lies entirely unprotected from such incursions. We may, therefore, well suppose a marauding party to have come up to the village, and retreated to the desert once more on the road to Tek'ua.

The position taken by Jehoshaphat at the "watchtower of the wilderness" beyond (or, as Josephus has it, below) Tekoa, was intended to bar the approach to the capital, and was no doubt on the edge of the higher hills, whence the view extends over the long succession of rolling chalk hills which lie between Engedi and the watershed. Thence he would look down on the discomfited host, who, quarrelling no doubt over their booty, had so providentially turned their swords on one another.

The valley of Berachah is also known. The name Breikút applies to a ruin at the head of the great Wady 'Arrúb, which runs under Beit Fejjas eastward, at no great distance from Teku'a. Here, then, in a broad rich vale, well watered by copious springs, and giving space for the collection of a great multitude, the people assembled returning from the desert to rejoice in their deliverance. In the same way now, when the waters burst out from the well of Joab at Jerusalem, the whole valley is filled with the inhabitants, who, bringing down their provisions with wine or raki, sit all day long under the olive, rejoicing in the rare luxury of a flowing stream.

*Pilate's Aqueduct.*—In a report from Bethlehem, the late Mr. Drake gives an account of a part of this aqueduct, which we have been the first to trace to its source. He rode along it as far as the neighbourhood of Teku'a. Corporal Brophy, in whose district it lies, has now again taken it up, and traces it in the first place to the Wady el 'Arrúb just mentioned. Here we find a large birket, resembling those near Urtás (Solomon's Pools), fed originally by the springs of the valley. The aqueduct now divides into two, the longer line following the foot of the hills on the south side of the wady, and passing through another pool. The true source is found at 'Ain Kueizib'ha, in the wady and near the ruin of the same name. The other branch comes, as before noticed, from the birket at Kufin.

The length of this extraordinary engineering work, measured along its course, cannot be less than 30 miles. The southern source is 15 Roman miles from Jerusalem in a straight line on the map. Josephus states

that Pilate brought the water a distance of 200 furlongs, or 25 Roman miles, a computation which, taking the course into consideration, is extremely moderate. The channel winds like a serpent along the contour of the hills, and succeeds occasionally in running *up* a valley without losing its level. It is carried over Wady Maráh el Ajjál on a parapet over 12 feet high. The masonry is throughout similar to that of the pools, and of the other aqueducts near them, being roughly hewn and packed with small stones, but the cement throughout is hard and well preserved.

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## XXVII.

### THE SITE OF BETHABARA.

THE site of Bethabara is of interest as the probable one of our Lord's baptism, and as such has been eagerly sought. As yet, however, no trace of the name has been recovered, and the arguments on the probable position are far from satisfactory. Bethabara is only once mentioned in the New Testament, as the place where John was baptizing soon after, and probably at the time of the commencement of Christ's ministry (John i. 28). We learn, first, that it was "beyond Jordan" (*πέραν του Ιορδανου*); and, second, probably in the "region round about Jordan" (Matt. iii. 5); the *περιχωρος* which is supposed identical with the *Ciccar* of the Old Testament, a term by which Dean Stanley understands the Zor or lower valley through which the Jordan flows in the middle of the Ghor or broader depressed plain.

From the fact that "Jerusalem and all Judæa" went out to be baptized, Bethabara has been generally located in the southern part of the valley near to the traditional site of the baptism, and in explaining the topography of the flight of Midian, and the slaughter of Oreb and Zeeb, I have had occasion to point out that such a site would best fit the Bethabara of the Book of Judges—the ford held by the men of Ephraim, and generally thought to be identical with the New Testament Bethabara.

The word Bethabara ("House of the crossing over" or "Ford") is one very likely to be applicable to many points on the course of the Jordan. In the south it would have a special application, and might be considered as traditionally preserving the memory of the great "crossing over"—the passage of the Jordan by the children of Israel under Joshua. It would seem probable that the *Bethabara*, or *house* of the ford, was a small hamlet or group of houses in the immediate vicinity, and it may even be supposed that part was west, part east of the river, thus explaining the qualification of "Bethabara *beyond* Jordan." This is rendered yet more probable if the *περιχωρος* be properly equivalent with the *Ciccar*, as in this case the site of Bethabara is limited to a distance of about half a mile from the water.

Curiously enough the oldest manuscripts read Bethany instead of

Bethabara, but the reading is not admitted, nor would the Judæan Bethany be a fit place for baptism, or in any way to be described as in the region of Jordan. Bethabara is mentioned as a known place by Eusebius, but he seems evidently to refer to the modern traditional site. In the absence of more exact information, it has been generally identified with Bethnimrah, which has been fixed at the modern Nimrín. This identification rests solely on the fact that Eusebius describes *Νεμρα* as a large village in Katania, and called Abara.

It seems, however, to have escaped notice that there is a serious objection to placing Bethabara so far south. Our Lord descended from Galilee to Jordan, and to Galilee he returned after the baptism and temptation. In the chapter which relates the testimony of John the Baptist to Christ, and which contains the passage, "these things were done in Bethabara, beyond Jordan, where John was baptizing," we learn, in continuation (ver. 43), "the day following Jesus would go forth into Galilee," and the next chapter commences, "and on the third day there was a marriage in Cana of Galilee," at which Christ was present (John ii. 1).

It seems to me, therefore, that the search for this site should be confined to the immediate neighbourhood of Jordan, within thirty miles of the site of Cana of Galilee (the present Khirbet Kana), and it is precisely in such a position, one mile north of the mouth of Wady Jalúd, within an easy two days' journey (twenty-five miles) of Nazareth and Cana, and at one of the principal fords, that we have found the name.

The fords of Jordan, some shifting and insignificant, but others permanent and lying on principal roads, have as yet been very little known. We were careful to collect every one we could, and to verify the names and positions. It was no slight task, as our sketch of the river now shows upwards of fifty, of which eight only are to be seen on Murray's map lately published. The labour of this part of the Survey was very trying, but we should be sufficiently rewarded by this simple discovery if generally accepted.

The ford in question is called Makhádheth 'Abára, or the "Ford of the Crossing Over," for the name is derived from the Arabic root, 'Abr, having the meaning of crossing; and thus, though the second a is an *alph*, and would not occur in the Hebrew Beth'abara, the Arabic root and the Hebrew root, and consequently the meaning of the name in both languages, is identical.

Makhádheth 'Abára is one of the principal northern fords; the great road descending Wady Jalúd on its northern side, and leading to Gilead and the south of the Hauran, passes over by it. The situation is well fitted for the site of the baptism, not only on account of its nearness to Galilee and Nazareth, but also because the river bed is here more open, the steep banks of the upper valley or ghor lesser and farther retired, thus leaving a broader space for the collection of the great crowd which had followed John the Baptist into the wilderness.

As regards the village itself, no traces seem now to exist. In the valley of Jordan there was scarcely any ruins, and those round Jericho all date seemingly in Christian times. Were the former villages similar to the miserable mud hovels of Jericho, Scythopolis, and Delhemiyeh, it would, however, be quite possible for all traces to have vanished of the hamlet here standing eighteen centuries ago. The position on a principal road would in any case make the proposed site that most probable for a hamlet, and it seems unlikely that any more important place would have been situate so near to the banks of the river.

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## XXVIII.

### THE SURVEY OF TELL JEZER.

IN accordance with the instructions of the Committee, we took the earliest opportunity of visiting Tell Jezer, to make a special survey of the country within a mile of the tell on each side, to the scale of six inches to the mile. In sending home a finished copy of this survey, as well as the photographs taken by Lieut. Kitchener, I think best to append a detailed report on the work and notes on its bearing upon the questions which make the spot specially interesting.

We started on Thursday, the 3rd of December, and reached the village of Kubab about two p.m., where we arranged a camping-ground, and then at once proceeded to the work. We measured a base line on the tell, and found the position of the various stones, and made the necessary preparations for beginning the theodolite work next morning.

On Friday we started again early for a long day's work. Our base line, which was traced on a distant tree to ensure accuracy, measured 2,312 links, and had a true bearing of  $73^{\circ} 30'$ . From the east end the position of the first stone and of a cairn erected near the second, as well as that of the inscription found by Dr. Chaplin, were visible. Observations were made with a five-inch theodolite from both ends to the top of the dome of Sheikh Mohammed el Jezair, which is a point in the triangulation of the one-inch survey. A point was chosen south of the base line, and observed from both ends of the base. Observations were then made from this point to the first stone, Dr. Chaplin's inscription, and the cairn near the second stone. These lines will be calculated and the position of the stones definitely fixed.

Having finished this part of the work, we plotted the results, and commenced filling in the necessary detail. The plan of the tell itself will be reduced from a much larger compass sketch made last winter. The rest was done by the ordinary method of interpolation used on the one-inch plan, and every precaution has been taken to ensure accuracy.

The day was one of the worst we have had this autumn. A strong east wind blew in our faces during the whole course of the observations, and the dryness and peculiarly depressing absence of ozone made our task far from pleasant. Lieut. Kitchener succeeded in obtaining some

photographs under peculiarly unfavourable circumstances, and after nine hours fatiguing work we returned to camp very tired.

Saturday morning we devoted to the vicinity of the inscriptions. At the stone visited by Dr. Chaplin we made a careful measured sketch of the letters, and a rough plan of the position of the blocks. Between the first and second stones Lieut. Kitchener at once found the other inscription noticed by M. Ganneau. We took a sketch of its position on the stones, but I was aware that M. Lecompte had made a good drawing, and taken a squeeze of it; we therefore only fixed its exact position.

*The Stones.*—The first and most interesting question as regards Jezer is that of the position of the inscribed stones. The bearing from the second or south-eastern stone to the cairn erected for observation was  $145^{\circ}$ . From the cairn to the first or north-west stone the bearing was  $323^{\circ}$ . The first distance was 53 paces, the second 138 paces. This makes the bearing from one stone to the other as nearly as possible  $152^{\circ}$ . The variation of the compass was  $4^{\circ}$ , which gives  $148^{\circ}$  as the true bearing, being  $13^{\circ}$  off the north-west line. The stones are so near one another that this difference would make a very sensible error in the plotting of such a large area as is supposed to be represented by their direction. The reason why the bearing was obtained through an intermediate point was, that the two stones are not in sight of one another. The true east and west line from the south-east stone passes through the tell towards the south side.

It must not be supposed that these inscriptions occupy a conspicuous position; they are on a low hill-side, among rough rocks, and far from any road or track. The south-east stone is not visible from the tell, or from the first inscription. It is with difficulty that one recovers the places, even when knowing approximately where to look for them. No indication of the foundations of a *cippus* or other conspicuous monument which, as M. Ganneau pointed out, might have been thought to stand above them is traceable near to either.

The next question is that of the distance of the stones from the tell, which is now definitely settled by the theodolite observations from an accurately measured base, the only method which could with safety be adopted, owing to the hilly nature of the ground. It will be seen that they measure (85 chains) 5,600 feet from the centre of the tell, but it is impossible to give this very accurately, as there is no fixed point from which to start.

In addition to these two stones, which, as will be seen, lie at a distance of 480 feet apart, there are two other rude inscriptions in the same locality. I was under the impression at the time of our visit that a fifth was known to the villagers of Kubab. Another inscription south of those mentioned is spoken of by the fellahin of Kubab as existing still, but they profess themselves afraid to show it. I informed them that I knew of four altogether, at which they appeared surprised. At length one volunteered the information that the stone which remained

lay between the other two. This refers, of course, to the Hebrew inscription seen by M. Ganneau, which lies eight paces from the line of the boundary stones, and seventy-two paces on the line from the north-western or first stone. I send a sketch of the block upon which it occurs; the face of the stone is sloping, and a sort of rim is left above, as if to protect the inscription.

The fourth inscription, north of the two others, was noticed by Dr. Chaplin in a late visit to Jezer; it consists of only two letters. The bearing from the first stone is  $310^{\circ}$ ; it is therefore not on the line.

The stone on which they are found is irregular in shape, and lies upon a second with one side seemingly cut hollow. The inscribed stone may once have stood vertically; the whole group may be natural, but bears some resemblance to a rude dolmen. Lying on the ground between the first stone and the last described, Lieut. Kitchener pointed out a broken fragment not far from the road, on which appeared to be two Roman letters. It seemed most likely a fragment of a milestone, but we did not consider it of any interest in its present condition.

*The Site.*—I will here briefly describe the points noticed whilst making the survey of the district. The first point of importance was the examination of the other angles corresponding to that supposed to be represented by the second or south-east stone. We determined that there was no hope of finding anything on the north or west, as both places would lie beyond the rocks and in the middle of the corn land. On the south also we found no inscription. The ruin of Sheikh Jobás lies near to the point in question, upon the summit of the hill.

The most marked feature at this site is the great number of wine-presses.\* We have marked twenty-three on the plan, and it is possible that one or two may still be omitted. The finest specimen, of which I send a plan, is on the east side of the tell, at the spot where two tombs and two winepresses are marked. I have only seen one finer specimen in Palestine. The tomb is also interesting. It is of that kind which has for its opening a shaft descending from the surface of the rock, and covered usually, as at El Medyeh, by a huge block of stone. A single loculus, parallel to the length of the shaft (which measures 6 or 7 ft. by 2 or three ft., and is about 5 ft. deep), is placed on either side. I have given reasons before for considering this style of tomb early Christian. In the north of Palestine tradition makes them so. At Iksal is a large cemetery of such tombs, called the Frank cemetery. In no instance that I know has any Hebrew or pagan inscription been found on such a tomb, whereas Greek inscriptions, with crosses, have been found in more than one instance on the Mount of Olives. Such a tomb was found containing two leaden coffins, each with crosses on it. We have therefore, it seems to me, evidence of Christian work at Tell Jezer.

In a former report I have described the Tell itself (*Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly*, April, 1874, p. 57), with its terraces of rude stone and the sort of citadel at its eastern end, as also the great cistern near

\* See M. Ganneau's letter, *Quarterly Statement*, Jan., 1874.



the farm, which seems to have been at one time a chapel, the apse hollowed in the eastern wall being still visible. There are comparatively few tombs at Tell Jezer, and none in the vicinity of the inscriptions. According to the Talmud, no tombs should exist within the Levitical boundary. At Tell Jezer there are several within this area, but the same objection would hold good of the sites of Yutha and Semn'a as well as at El Dhoheriyeh, so that too much stress must not be laid upon this fact.

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 XXIX.

## THE MURISTAN.

1st February, 1875.

LIEUT. KITCHENER and I have lately paid two interesting visits to the large site in Jerusalem known as the Muristan, and some of our remarks seem likely to be of value.

This large area is bounded by the streets known as Christian Street (the Crusading "Street of the Patriarch") on the west, David Street on the south, the small street now called Harat el Dubbaglin, and by the Crusaders, Street of the Palm-sellers, on the north, and on the east by the Bazaars (the Crusading "Street of the Latin Goldsmiths"). It measures about 170 yards east and west, and 150 north and south, and in the year 1869 it showed only ruins of a church, and a field some fifteen feet in level above the outer streets. The eastern half of the property was granted to the Prussian Government (see *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1872, p. 100), and is now completely excavated, proving still to hold the piers and walls of those noble buildings which had, it was supposed, entirely disappeared.

The site thus recovered is, however, unfortunately that of less historic importance; under the western banks of rubbish lie the remains of the most interesting of mediæval ruins—the Hospital of the Knights of St. John of Jerusalem. That which has been recovered is, however, of considerable importance as a beautiful example of the best period of Italian Gothic in the East.

The history of the site is very fully given by Count de Vogüé ("Churches of Palestine"), and a few words will suffice to explain it. The large church of Ste. Marie la Grande was erected in the north-east corner of the domain in 1130-40, and was the abbey church of a nunnery of the same name existing south of the church. This establishment was connected with the order of the Hospitallers, founded in 1099 by the monk Gerard Tunc, who held the western portion of the property. A narrow street separated the church on the east from the hospital on the west; but after the Christians under Godfrey entered Jerusalem, the importance of the order of military monks so increased, that by the time of King Amaury they obtained leave to build beyond the street bounding their property eastwards, and filled the south-eastern corner

of the parallelogram with buildings belonging to the hospital, occupying the part south of the nunnery, and thus extending over more than two-thirds of the whole area described above. These additions also date about 1140.

The original hospital is mentioned by Bernhard the Wise in 867 as the Hostel of Charlemagne; and the later Crusading works by Benjamin of Tudela in 1160-73. In 1216, Sheháb ed Din, nephew of Saladin, converted the church of the hospital (which was opposite to the Church of Calvary, and is not to be confounded with that of Ste. Marie la Grande) into a mosque, under the name Kubbet Dirkah, which is probably that now known as the Jami'a Sidna 'Omar, conspicuous for its tall minaret, dating from about the fifteenth century. We endeavoured lately to penetrate into this mosque, but only reached its courtyard by a circuitous passage, and saw no signs of ancient work. Its floor is about the level of Christian Street, and the mosque itself is kept locked.

The hospital was still standing when visited by Sir John Maundeville in 1322, and he notices 124 marble columns and 54 stone pillars built into the walls. In the seventeenth century it had become a total ruin, and subsequently it entirely disappeared, and still lies buried beneath the rubbish, which has accumulated in an inexplicable manner.

The most complete part of the ruins is the shell of the church of Ste. Marie la Grande, described by Count de Vogüé, a plan of which has been published by the Fund. The walls and the apses alone remain. The great piers are now entirely broken down, and only their bases remain *in situ*, with fragments of the tessellated pavement which once covered the whole floor. The little staircase, with its window surmounted by a double horseshoe arch, is no part of the original plan, but an Arab addition of the fifteenth century. The only points of special importance are the two doors. The principal one, on the north from the Street of the Palm-sellers, is spanned by a round arch carved with representations of the months symbolised by small figures. The southern door near the apse consists of another round arch, ornamented with a billet pattern of simple character. The same billet pattern occurs on the exterior of the north windows of the church. I would here point to the fact that semicircular arches were used by the Crusading architects as late as the middle of the twelfth century, in combination with the pointed arch, which occurs in the windows of Ste. Marie, of a peculiarly graceful shape, and which is generally found in all the Crusading churches of Palestine.

Passing through the southern door, we enter the square court surrounded with cloisters in two stories. Most of the masonry is inferior in size and character to that of the church and of the Crusading buildings hereafter to be described. It is ascribed by the Count de Vogüé to the fifteenth century as Arab work, and the arches are all pointed, badly shaped, and the vaults made of rubble, with ribs of ashlar. It is here to be remarked how far more coarsely the stones are dressed, and that

we found no masons' marks, after careful examination, on any of them. They are also more worn, having been more exposed and less carefully chosen.

The walls of the courtyard appear to be of the same date with the church, as are also the piers, with attached slender columns having capitals of various design, some unfinished occurring in the north cloister. The piers in question have a simple cornice, similar to that on the south wall and east end of the church. The south-east pier of the cloister is the same, but in the southern, eastern, and western walls the piers are of later work. The arches are throughout the same. The appearance of the Crusading cloister must have been extremely fine; the piers alternated with pillars, and from these interior arches probably sprung to the small attached semi-pillars.

The masonry of the south wall of the church is Crusading on its interior or north face, but on the south face the wall seems to have been thickened by the Arabs when rebuilding the cloister. The tooling of the stones of Crusading origin is here almost entirely diagonal, but in the more careful apse stones for the most part vertical.

Under the church wall a grave was built, from which a skull deeply dented with a long sword cut, and various small trinkets, were taken during the excavations. At the east end of the church was a solid bell-fry tower, and beside this, in the west wall of the court, is one of the most wonderful windows I have ever seen. Lieutenant Kitchener has photographed it, and this will give a better idea of its character than any description. It has a broad pointed arch, and a number of mouldings remarkable for their bold relief and their effective shadows. The dentellated and network patterns resemble the details of Norman work in the West; but these are not, as far as I am aware, usually found in connection with the pointed form of arch here visible, as well as in other Crusading relics.

The intelligent Abyssinian (an old overseer of Captains Wilson and Warren) who showed us over the place, took us out of the middle door on the west side of the court (see plan) to where a pier stands, between two doors leading south and west, and on the bottom of this pier on the east side he pointed out to us the following inscription:—

+ΘΗΚΙΑΔΙΑ  
ΦΕΡΟΥΣΑΜ  
ΗΝΑΥΠΕΡΩΠΡΟΤΥ

The first two lines are of well-formed letters, perfectly distinct. In the lowest line the letters are much crowded. The last letter is evidence of the barbarous character of the inscription.

The third photograph devoted to the Muristan shows the piers which have been lately cleared out, and which belong probably to the buildings of the hospital, dating about 1140. They stand on huge walls of rougher masonry, and beneath are great reservoirs, forty to fifty feet deep, sinking down to the rock in the Tyropæon valley. These cisterns I visited

in 1872, but the notes I then made are now in England. In a former report I have mentioned the rock-cut steps at the bottom of the principal reservoir, and the manner of raising water by a huge wheel fitting in a slot between the arches of the vaults. We have as yet obtained no plan of this part of the building, but I shall endeavour to get one now that the excavations are completed.

On the west of the Prussian property some vaults are now being explored which may prove of interest. The roofs are perfect, and consist of rubble work in black mortar (full of cinders). They seem to me evidently to be the *Volte Concambii Hospitalis*, which opened on the narrow street between the hospital and the church. A document relative to the letting of these as storehouses bears the date 1144.

There is one point of great interest which I may here enlarge upon—namely, the masonry of the Crusading portions of the Muristan.

M. Ganneau, in a late report, *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1874, page 91, pointed out the distinctive character of mediæval dressing. In fact it is almost always easy to tell a stone of the Crusading time, for several reasons. First, the masons' mark, which neither Jewish, Roman, early Christian, nor Saracenic builders seem to have used, except in the case of the north wall of Baalbek. Second, from the stone having been well selected, its edges sharply cut, the joints fitting very closely, and the corners very squarely made. The stone is laid apparently with due regard to its quarry bed, and a hard species of mezzeh is preferred. Thirdly, from the dressing, which differs from that of the earlier styles, and is far finer than the Saracenic tooling.

In those specimens of masonry belonging to Crusading interiors, which I have studied with special regard to the tooling of the masonry, and of which the best examples are the Madeleine and Ste. Marie la Grande in Jerusalem, I find that the stones are finely dressed with a pointed instrument, in lines generally parallel, or very nearly so, and differing in interval.

Some of the lines are continuous chisel-marks, others are in detached strokes of various lengths. These are diagonal, vertical, horizontal, or, in less careful specimens, curved; and sometimes the same stone is differently dressed in various parts. All the varieties will occur in a single wall. In very many cases some parts (perhaps harder, or found to project when the tooling had been completed) are tooled with short strokes in a direction opposite to the general lines. Of these various details I have made sketches on the spot. The great blocks of the piers, which are remarkably fine specimens of masonry, are differently dressed. In these the surface of the hard stone has a mottled appearance, as though worked with a blunt point, carefully and lightly struck at right angles to the face of the stone.

In studying the masonry of the Arab additions to the Muristan, I find the Crusading tooling imitated, but the work is less patient, the strokes less regular and farther apart, the corners and edges rougher, and the appearance of the stone often very patchy. A toothed instrument is also often used.

It seems to me, therefore, that there would always be some danger of mistaking between the better specimens of Saracenic masonry and the worse of Crusading origin; and although the tooling of the stones may be at times of use in absence of other indications, its importance must be held secondary to that of the masons' marks. In general, the appearance of the stones, without a more minute inspection, will suffice to give a tolerable guess at their character; but nothing like certainty is possible unless masons' marks can be found.

These remarks only apply to the smooth-dressed masonry of interiors. The coarse hammer-dressed stones of the outer walls show neither masons' marks nor fine tooling in any Crusading building I have examined.

Of masons' marks the late Mr. Drake first pointed out to me the value. We commenced a classification, at which I am still engaged as new examples come in. We agreed in considering that they show *date* to a certain extent, but have no reference to the position of the stone in the building.

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### XXX.

#### THE ROCK SCARP OF ZION.

JERUSALEM, 10th *January*, 1875.

HAVING, in accordance with my instructions, made a proper survey by traverse, with five-inch theodolite, of the rock scarp of Zion, which very probably formed the south-west angle of ancient Jerusalem, I think it best, in sending home a tracing of the plan, to give a detailed account of the work.

Mr. Henry Maudslay, to whose unassisted exertions this interesting exploration is due, arrived in Jerusalem last winter with the intention of executing some work, which should be at once a benefit to the town and a labour of archæological interest. The jealousy of the Turkish Government prevented his carrying out his original intention of clearing the Birket Isrâil, making it fit to hold water, and at the same time carrying out an exploration of the highest interest; and his attention was diverted to the precincts of the Bishop's School on Zion, where there was room for much improvement in the comfort of the children and in the sanitary arrangements. Mr. Maudslay very ably contrived to extend his researches for stones and building materials in such a direction as would ensure valuable archæological results, and enable him to procure the ancient masonry ready cut for use. His work is now nearly complete; his trenches and clearings, extending in places 35 fêet below ground, are pushed along the face of the scarp as far as (and even beyond) the property of the bishop. The school has been completed and re-opened; and Mr. Maudslay has so arranged that the old work can be easily seen throughout; thus an attraction has been added to the school premises, which will well repay the attention of visitors to Jerusalem, who, I believe, for the most part visit this school for its own sake.

It will perhaps be remembered that in an early report I gave an account of the then existing condition of this place (*Quarterly Statement*, Oct., 1872, p. 167). I pointed out that no spot near Jerusalem was so likely to give good results with tolerably easy work. I supposed that mining would not be necessary, but that trenches and short shafts, perhaps not lined, such as Mr. Maudslay has successfully sunk for some 50 feet or more, would be sufficient. Here, if anywhere, we have a solid basis, whence to commence our reconstruction of the city of Herod and of David, and if we add to this the valuable work of Captain Warren on Ophel, we only want two more points to enable us to reconstruct the first, or *old* wall of Josephus—namely, first, the northern line, which probably passes very near Dr. Chaplin's town house (as generally admitted); and, second, the point, where the Tyropæon is crossed, which, I hold, could now be found by continuing Mr. Maudslay's work to the eastward, following the scarp, and thus tracing the line of the wall along the brow of the hill.

Commencing from the west I will now describe in detail all that has been discovered.

The scarp has been traced from the corner of the north wall of the school-house for about 100 feet, and in a line directed on the south-west corner of the present city wall. The scarp is here perpendicular, and at the corner by the tower 24 feet high; it is not quite in a straight line. Mr. Maudslay's work terminates at a wall built at right angles to the scarp, and beyond this nothing is visible, a high mound of shingle covering every vestige of rock. A curious buttress of rock is observable about four feet broad and eight feet long, as shown on the plan. At this point there is a great quantity of Mosaic pavement, rather rough, with good mortar, apparently fallen from above. A rubble wall has been built on the top of the rock, but at what date it is impossible to say; I should not, however, be disposed to consider it very ancient.

Close to the school-house wall a cistern is cut in the top of the scarp, bee-hived in shape, with a square mouth. This is no doubt very ancient. The square mouth is rare in the north of Palestine, though very common round Hebron. This cistern is 12 feet deep, and is now entirely cleaned out and in good repair.

The ground in front of the scarp is here occupied as a cemetery by the Greek Catholics, and could not therefore be lowered to show the whole scarp. Mr. Maudslay has, therefore, built a wall at right angles to one scarp, leaving a narrow passage by which the rock may be reached and seen to great advantage. The wall consists entirely of fine stones from three to four feet long, having a deep marginal draft. To me, after comparing them with other work I have seen in Palestine, they appear to be Roman, though of what date it is of course difficult to say. Their size is not great, but we have no reason to suppose the masonry of the *old wall* to have been of any great size, as Josephus only speaks of the wall of Agrippa and the royal towers as containing extraordinary ashlar. The stones of which I speak were all found during the excavations, and evidently had fallen from above, most being discovered with the







drafted side downwards, as though pushed over from within. One of the stones has a curious loophole in it. Evidently the greater part was cut through the next stone below, and in this only the circular head of the loophole is visible, the draft on the stone following the circle. The loophole is about six inches diameter without and a foot or more at the back. I am particular in mentioning this wall, for one traveller has already taken it as conclusive proof that the line of the ancient wall ran in a direction at right angles to that which it actually took, and in a few years it is possible that theories may be founded on a wall built in 1874 of old material from various places. We have, therefore, been careful to note its character on the plan.

We now arrive at the first tower or buttress of rock upon the top of which the dining-room of the school-house is placed. This square foundation of rock is about 45 feet either way, and its general level is 20 feet above an outer ledge of rock which surrounds it. The ledge is, roughly speaking, 20 feet broad, and beyond another scarp appears to exist, for the shafts sunk to find the rock were continued to a depth of from 12 to 20 feet in the spots indicated on the plan by the numbers (19, 16, and 12), being the height of the rock above the zero level, which will be mentioned immediately. The section and plan will best explain how these various levels occur. The general result is that a tower projected 46 feet from the scarp at this point, having its top level with the crest of the scarp, and that it stood upon a broad ledge, also scarped, which probably had steps leading down from it, although from the impossibility of tracing the whole line, they have not been discovered. In the passage leading to the upper story of the school-house, the south face of this tower is exposed, forming one wall of the passage, and the steps which led up from the outer ledge or platform are seen in profile as they run parallel to the south face. Their width cannot be ascertained, as the school dining-room wall is built upon them, and unfortunately no record seems to have been preserved of the appearance of the rock before the school was built.

Mr. Maudslay has also made it clear that a cistern once occupied nearly all the top of the tower scarp, which in turn supplied the other cisterns cut in the main scarp from which the tower projects; of these there were four, but three have been lately blown into one by Mr. Maudslay, and extend as shown on the plan.

The cistern with an oval hole to the south of the three blown into one is of great interest, for it was found to have been entirely and purposely filled, probably at an early period, with masonry set in mortar even harder than the stone itself. The wall of the tower, as found under an archway in the bakehouse, would appear to have been of similar character.

Behind the school dining-room is a passage the floor of which is just above the rock level, and on the other side of it are offices—kitchen, bakehouse, and wood store. Here Mr. Maudslay discovered two other large cisterns, cut in rock and roofed with masonry, as shown in the plan. He

also found that the scarp has an inner as well as an outer face, and that the rock slopes away so much that when the walls of the offices, on the side farthest from the passage, were built, they had to sink eight or ten feet before reaching a foundation. Farther east, in a carpenter's shop, at a point marked 32 feet, the level of the rock sinks, at the back, to that of the outer platform of the tower.

This proves, then, that for at least a third of its length, and presumably throughout the whole extent, the great scarp is a parapet of rock presenting a vertical wall, in places forty feet high on the outside and at least fourteen feet within. This discovery has a certain bearing on the interesting question of the scarp in the Via Dolorosa, and shows that it may possibly be the interior face of a similar rock parapet upon which the wall was built, and not, as has been supposed, the *counter-scarp* of a ditch beyond the wall. ¶

The scarp, after passing fifty feet east of the first tower, turns through an angle of some forty degrees, and runs in this direction, about 100 yards, to the outer or eastern wall of the Protestant cemetery. Immediately beyond the turn a curious detail was discovered in consequence of exploration undertaken by Mr. Maudslay at Mr. Drake's request. There is here a laundry room, the floor of which is on a rock ledge raised five feet above the level of the outer platform, on which, as has been explained, the tower stands. The north wall of the laundry is the face of the main scarp, and in this a large square trough, with a recessed arch above, resembling the *loculus* of a tomb of the later period in Palestine, was found behind the plaster, and a little farther west two mangers cut in the rock, similar to those planned by us in the rock-cut stables of Khirbet Dustrei (Petra Incisa) at 'Athlît. It appears, then, that a small stable, having, no doubt, an entrance from the tower platform, was here built on the very edge of the scarp, and probably outside the fortification wall. Its outer wall must have been of masonry, and it is quite possible that a small force of cavalry may here have been held in readiness for a sudden sally, more rapid and unexpected than any issuing from the body of the place could be.

Continuing our course east along the plan, we arrive next at a buttress of rock fifteen feet high and about five feet square. At its foot is a trough, rock-cut, and within at the back is another fine rock-cut cistern. The level of the scarp here rises suddenly five feet by a sheer wall, irregularly dressed, which runs in at right angles to the general direction, and forms, as shown, the east wall of a carpenter's shop. There is a good deal that points to there having been an intermediate tower at this spot, probably with a shallow ditch, the line of the counter-scarp being traceable for a short distance. As I have previously explained, two large cisterns were at one time built up against the exterior face of the scarp at this point, lined with a hard, red cement, and with outer walls of masonry. I am, however, inclined to consider these cisterns as later Saracenic work, from the character and appearance of the cement, which is extremely hard and full of pottery, resembling that used in the scarp at Cæsarea and in other places.

In the excavations at this point, whence a great number of the stones were obtained, large voussoirs, belonging to semi-circular arches, were found, with bases of pillars, some eighteen inches' diameter of shaft, and corbels as if to support a floor, roof, or projecting turret. The most interesting find was, however, the tombstone of a Crusader, with the inscription in Gothic characters, *Hic requiescit Johs de Valenciis*. It has no date.\*

A little farther on there are interesting remains of a quarry, whence stones of size similar to those discovered in the débris were hewn, the process at the same time making the scarp higher and more formidable. Four of these stones remain in their places, having been cut out on every side, but requiring to be prized out beneath. A series of steps were left in the quarry, by which, as Mr. Maudslay pointed out to me, the stones could gradually be raised from the lowest bed to the very top of the scarp.

It will be seen by the plan that a portion of the scarp here projects to form an intermediate tower, twelve feet broad as measured from the scarp. It is, however, at a considerably lower level, being eight feet below the level of the platform upon which the first or great corner tower is based.

Mr. Maudslay kindly excavated this at my request, and traced the face of the projection some twelve feet. The buttress already mentioned has some connection with the structure of this tower, which, like the former, seems to have had a great cistern above its base.

The scarp continues eastwards without any remarkable details. The rock is rough and irregular at the top, but the general level is about forty feet of height. The amount of labour expended on this magnificent work can be well appreciated by any one standing at its foot, in the passage cut by Mr. Maudslay, and when some forty or fifty feet of strongly built wall stood above the rock, the result must have been a splendid and impregnable fortification which might well defy any attempt to take Jerusalem from the south.

We now reach the flight of steps first explored by Captain Warren, who at this point reached the bottom of the scarp. The natural lie of the rock according to the stratification gives a dip of perhaps five degrees towards the east, and it is therefore possible that the levels 19, 16, 12, outside the tower outer platform, already described, with the levels 17, 15, 13, at the bottom of these eastern steps, and west of them, and the zero level farther east, represent the surface of a path or ledge running along the foot of the scarp, and gradually ascending westwards; perhaps forming a narrow path from the valley, leading up to that gate called the Valley Gate, which it is supposed lay somewhere in this neighbourhood.

From the sudden rise of thirteen feet between the point where the zero level is found, and the bottom of the steps to the third tower, it

\* A facsimile of this inscription has been forwarded by M. C. Ganneau.

seems probable that the steps return, and that a second flight, containing probably twelve or fourteen steps, could be found beneath the ledge which here occurs at the foot of the scarp and leading from it to the zero level.

At the top of the thirty-six steps (see "Recovery of Jerusalem," p. 280) the arch of a small cistern used to be visible. This and another also is now cleared out and holds water. They are cut in rock, with broad steps, giving six feet of water at the back of each. The first is roofed with beautiful masonry in a round or barrel vault. This work resembles exactly the arching of the reservoirs at the Convent of Zion, and those in the Haram (Nos. 1 and 3 O. Survey), which I wrote about lately. The keystone is narrow, and the width of the voussoirs gradually increases towards the haunches. The workmanship is excellent and appears to be Roman.

It will be observed at this point on the plan, that a semicircular wall is shown, and the number 0 ft. shown within; this is the zero point, or lowest level of the rock. The excavation was 35 ft. beneath the soil, and the grand scarp was here 45 ft. high. Another tower evidently existed here, to which the flight of steps led up. This is shown by the fact that the scarp runs perpendicularly to its general direction, which forms the foundation of the cemetery wall. A very little excavation would probably result in laying bare the whole tower, but the property here belongs to the Mosque of David, and special negotiations with the proprietors are requisite.

The rest of the scarp remains as when first I described it, and is of the highest interest. A broad trench here exists, and forms in all probability an approach to a gateway. Two caverns are found in the face of the scarp somewhat resembling those in the Via Dolorosa, and on the other side is a square rock platform, with a cistern 9 ft. deep, and some flat steps. The rubbish on every side is flush with the surface of the rock; but a straight line of rock is visible on the eastern side, and I am sanguine of the success which would attend excavation at this point.

I have previously noticed and sent home plans of the caverns, of which I have no copy, and as they were closed at our recent visit, the entrances only are shown on the plan.

Such being the present state of this interesting exploration, I should wish to call attention to its archæological value, and to the light which it throws on the accounts of the fortifications of Jerusalem given by Josephus and Tacitus.

Josephus thus describes the fortifications of the ancient wall of Jerusalem, and that of Agrippa especially:—

"Now the towers that were on it were twenty cubits in breadth and twenty cubits in height. They were square and solid as was the wall itself. . . . Above this solid altitude of the towers, which was twenty cubits, there were rooms of great magnificence, and over them upper rooms and cisterns to receive rain water. They were many in number, and the steps by which you ascended to them were every one

broad. Of these towers, the third wall had ninety, and the spaces between them were each 200 cubits, but in the middle wall were forty towers, and the old wall was parted into sixty; whilst the whole compass of the city was thirty-three furlongs" (B. J., v. 4, § 3).

The dimension of 200 cubits here given is evidently a mistake or corruption, as the length thus given to the wall is at least double what it could possibly have been, and even (as is the plain meaning of the sentence) if the measure refers only to the latest wall—that of Agrippa—it is still impossible; whilst, if it refers to the old wall as well, there is a manifest error, as the total circumference of the city in that case would be about sixty furlongs. If, then, we can rely upon the numbers of the towers (although a difficulty occurs in the text as to the forty of the second wall), it becomes interesting to see what the distance apart of Mr. Maudslay's three towers is, and how they tally with the generally accepted course of the old wall.

The distance between the inner sides of the two eastern towers is 162 ft. or 108 cubits of eighteen inches (the medium cubit used ordinarily in the dimensions of buildings). The distance to the east wall of the great corner tower from the east wall of the intermediate tower is 200 ft. Subtracting 40 ft., which makes the breadth of the intermediate tower come to the place where a buttress projects, and where the scarp rises, which would seem most probably the line of the western wall of this intermediate tower, we obtain 160 ft. or 106 cubits. We may say roughly, then, that the towers are 100 cubits apart, though doubtless not quite regular, and placed in suitable positions where the rock projected or the scarp was low. The result, if a line be taken from the Citadel to Wilson's Arch, and from the Ophel wall round by the contours to the cemetery and school-house, and so to the Citadel (a rough mean of the extreme lines given by different authorities), gives, by measurement of it on the Ordnance Survey, just sixty towers, the proper number for the old wall.

As regards the towers themselves, they answer well, as will be seen, to the general description of Josephus. The mean height of the scarp being thirty feet is the twenty cubits of the description. The projections of the towers seem to be about thirty cubits broad, but the building above would be set back, and thus, in all probability, twenty cubits square. The steps and cisterns belonging to each tower have been already described.

It will appear from the plan that no less than eighteen cisterns supplied the three towers with water.

It is interesting here to notice that the bases of the towers of the modern wall, at its north-east corner, are rock-cut, and similar to those just described. The foundation of the Burj Luglug is a little over twenty cubits either way; the tower south of it is close upon 200 cubits from it, and the two west of it are ninety cubits apart. This may, perhaps, when coupled with the new discoveries, point to their being on the line of the old wall also, and show that the distances were not uniform, but differed according to circumstances.

We may further inquire whether this scarp, which forms so marked a feature when exposed, was not of sufficient importance to be noticed in the very exact accounts which we possess of the fortifications of Jerusalem.

It is not to be expected that it continued on every side, for the slope of the rock and character of the ground would, in places, preclude the possibility of this, and although nothing conclusive can as yet be said on the subject, I may here note that the *Broad Wall* of Nehemiah, according to some restorations, would come close to this part of the enceinte.

Josephus, describing the course of the old wall, says:—"It began at the same place (Hippicus), and extended through a place called Bethso to the gate of the Essenes, and after that it went southward" (*facing south*, according to the best authorities, B.J., v. 4, § 2). Hence we see that the "place called Bethso," and the Gate of the Essenes, were towards the south-west corner of the city, which renders it possible that for Bethso we should read Bethsur, "the house of the scarp," and that by excavating the supposed approach to a gate, mentioned above as east of Mr. Maudslay's work, we should recover the gate of the Essenes.

I have, I think, said enough to show how valuable Mr. Maudslay's work has been, and how desirable it is to continue it from either end. The discovery of a second tower, north of the corner tower, under the school-house, would make the question of the intervals much clearer; and if a gate were found, as seems probable, it would be a valuable discovery. Eastward, also, I contend that a little further exploration might set at rest the question as to where the old wall crossed (as it undoubtedly did) the Tyropæon valley.

But the discovery that a basis of rock, and not a mere solid mass of masonry, formed the foundation of wall and tower, has an even more interesting bearing, as it shows that there is a well-grounded expectation that we may yet recover the Royal Towers, on the position of which so much depends in Jerusalem Archæology.

Tacitus (Hist. v. 11) explains—"The extreme parts of the rock were craggy, and the towers, when they had the advantage of the ground, were sixty feet high; when they were built on plain ground they were one hundred and twenty feet. . . . To those who looked at them at a great distance they appeared equal." Thus we may suppose that the three royal towers, which differed considerably in height, were built up to the same level at the top, and that the difference was in the solid base according to the dip of the ground. This is unquestionably the case with Hippicus and Phasaelus, each of which was fifty cubits high, though the totals were eighty and ninety, because the solid bases were respectively thirty and forty cubits high. (In the case of Hippicus the base was in part at least artificial.) Mariamne also, if it was seventy cubits high, had the difference made up by the higher ground on which it stood, its solid base being only twenty cubits. This is to a certain extent an indication of the position of the royal towers, and it is quite possible that the sloping scarp of David's

Tower covers the solid base of one of them (most probably Phasaclus), as it is popularly supposed to be solid within, and as we have many instances in Palestine of sloping scarps being added in the middle ages to ancient sheer walls. The shortest and surest way to solve these questions, which are amongst the most important of those connected with Jerusalem Archaeology, is to follow along the line of Mr. Maudslay's excavations, which are very valuable as showing that, however the masonry may have been destroyed and lost, we may yet hope to find indications of the ancient enceinte in the rock scarps, which are imperishable.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

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XXXI.

MEDIÆVAL TOPOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE.

29th January, 1875.

THE early Christian and Crusading sites of Palestine, furnishing as they do many of the principal ruins of the country—churches, castles, hospices, and walled towns, of an architecture far exceeding in strength and beauty the majority of earlier work, are in themselves of considerable interest; and occasionally we are able, by means of the traditions they preserve, to fix upon the true locality of a place of Scriptural importance.

The majority of such sites are well known, and recur in the accounts of the various pilgrimages, but I propose here to give an account of some of the more obscure names, which I select from a list of about 150. And, first, to consider the topography of the famous march made by the English under King Richard Lion Heart from Haifa to Jaffa. (Itin. of Rich. I., Book IV., chap. 12.)

*King Richard's March.*—The army having reached Cayphas, the modern Haifa, so called, we are informed, by Sir John Maundeville, A.D. 1322 (who, however, confused it with 'Athlit), because Caiphas was lord of it, encamped at the foot of Carmel, between the town and the sea; that is, on the plain near the Kishon, in all probability, as water was the first necessary; and a river, as will be seen subsequently, generally chosen. No description of the town at this period exists, and Benjamin of Tudela, who visited it thirty years before the arrival of King Richard, mentions only the Jewish tombs which, with the candlestick rudely carved upon them, still form an important feature on either side of the town. (See the specimen Map of Carmel.)

The baggage was here lightened, and the march commenced on a Wednesday, towards the end of September in the year A.D. 1191.

The first day's march was a long one, "impeded by the thickets and the tall and luxuriant herbage," proving that the amount of wood has sensibly decreased since that date, for now only occasional bushes are found, and most of the land is under cultivation, except where

the sand has encroached. Arrived at Capernaum, "which the Saracens had razed to the ground," the king rested, but the camp was fixed for the night at the house called "Of the Narrow Ways."

One would naturally expect that 'Athlit was the first stoppage, especially as it is about half way to the next camping-ground, and yet further because the old name for Khirbet Dustrey, the outlying fort of 'Athlit, is Petra Tucisa—the scarpèd rock—a title due to the fort itself, with its stables, being principally rock-cut, or perhaps from the rock-cut passage through the bar of rock separating the narrow plain from the sea-shore by which the main road, with the marks of wheeled vehicles (chariots or Crusading carts) still visible upon its surface, reaches the fortress of 'Athlit, or Castel Pelegrino. We have, however, an identification of this Capernaum by the venerable Rabbi Benjamin, which makes it most probably the same as Tantara.

"It is four parasangs hence" (from Cayphas), he says, "to Khephar Thancum (probably the Kefr Tanchumin of Jerome and of the Talmud), which is Capernaum identical with Meon. . . . Six parasangs brings us to Cæsarea, the Gath of the Philistines" ("Early Travels in Palestine," p. 81). The proportional distances are about those of Tantara, which is eighteen miles from Haifa and eight from Cæsarea. The identification of Scriptural sites had got into considerable confusion at this time. but where so definite an account is given by a writer generally pretty correct, we can have little hesitation in fixing Capernaum at Tantara, where a supply of water could easily be obtained. There is no doubt that a considerable Crusading place was once standing at the ruins of El Burj, close to the modern village. A tower stands conspicuously on a little headland, once forming one corner of a square fort. The remains of a harbour and landing-place, with a colonnaded building of early Christian date, are noted in former reports. The harbour is necessary for the identification, as we find that the army "remained two days in the above-mentioned station, where there was plenty of room for their camp, and waited there until the ships arrived." The country is open and level near Tantara, and besides the rock-cut passage described above, four others were found, and are described in our notes, having guard-houses cut in the rock on either side, and completely barring communication between the shore and the interior. Two are between 'Athlit and Tantara, one opposite the latter town, and the last some little way south of it, probably the one here meant, as the principal road passes through it.

The distance thus traversed was nearly twenty miles, which in the hot September days on foot, or heavily laden with armour, must have been a march of extraordinary length, no doubt rendered necessary by the absence of water in sufficient supply for an army of about 100,000. Two days' rest were required to recover from its effects, and on a Saturday the king arrived at the River of Crocodiles, passing by a town named Merla, a march of five miles. There is no doubt that the river is the Zerka, the only river in Palestine where crocodiles now exist



according to native evidence,\* but the name Merla seems probably a corruption, and may possibly apply to El Mezra'a, where a strong Crusading tower still remains in ruins beside the main road here traversed.

The route taken by King Richard is, I may observe in passing, the same which we followed in our journey from Beirút to Jaffa, but being unmolested by Saracens, and not encumbered with armour, we accomplished a distance of 44 miles in one day, where the Crusaders took in all ten days.

At the Zerka the Crusaders rested for Sunday, and on the Monday they advanced by Cæsarea, which was ruined by the Saracens, but which the chronicler admires considerably. "The circuit of the City of Cæsarea is very great (alluding, no doubt, to the Roman town), and the buildings are of wonderful workmanship." Here also the fleet communicated with the land force, and by night the camp was fixed at the Dead River, five miles from the Zerka.

It will be found that in all, five rivers are mentioned (including the Crocodile River) between Capernaum and Joppa, and as there are five streams of considerable breadth, and of perennial supply, we cannot hesitate in identifying these with the rivers of the narrative in the order in which they occur. The Dead River, therefore, is the Nahr el Mifjir, as it is generally called, although it has four other names in various parts of its course. The remains of a bridge, with 15 ft. width of causeway, here occur at a part where the river is 60 to 70 ft. broad, and by this no doubt the main part of the army crossed, though the baggage train, which, for protection, followed close to the sea-shore, would have forded this and the others, as we were obliged to do, close to the mouth.

On Tuesday, apparently another short march of five miles brought the army from the Dead River (so called, no doubt, from its sluggish character) to the Salt River, being harassed all day by the flying clouds of Turks and Bedouin. It is remarkable that one of the names of the Nahr el Mifjir, near its head in the hills, is Wady Maleh (salt), but, nevertheless, we must identify this river with the Nahr Skanderúneh, a very broad and marshy stream, which flows through the midst of "a country of most desolate character and destitute of everything." The chronicler adds: "For they were compelled to march through a mountainous country because they were unable to go by the sea-side, which was choked by the luxuriant growth of the grass."

We must, I think, understand from this that the way lay over the rolling sand hills, which extend along the coast in this part, and that the object was to avoid the difficult and intricate rushy and marshy ground which is impassable to those not well acquainted with its windings, and unfitted for the advance of a large body of men.

The next was the longest march undertaken, with the exception of the eighteen miles to Tantura, and was again necessitated by the absence of water. The army had rested by the Salt River two days, and proceeded

\* Mr. MacGregor asserts that crocodiles exist in the Kishon.

on Friday through the forest of Assur, or Arsuf, to the river "commonly called Rochetaillé." In this forest we recognise the long extent of park-like scenery in the neighbourhood of Mukhalid, where groups of Sindian, the ordinary oak of Palestine (*Q. Infectoria*), are dotted over the rolling plateau of red semi-consolidated sand, covered with thin grass and carpeted in spring with flowers. But very little brushwood exists, a few low bushes of the Abhar (mock orange) and other shrubs are seen in places, but the accidents of the ground would have furnished abundant cover of that kind which the Bedouin prefer, and it was accordingly here that an ambush was fully expected. The *River Rochetaillé* we at once see to be the Nahr Falik, a considerable stream, now almost dry in autumn, where the papyrus grows even more luxuriantly than in the Zerka River. The reason of the name is found in the long narrow rock channel, cut artificially at some former period through the inland cliffs, by which the river finds a channel to the sea-shore as marked on the Cæsarea sheet of our map.

The distance from the Nahr Skanderúneh is nine and a-half miles, the way being through the greater part over forest, or rather open park-like scenery.

"On the Saturday, the eve of the Nativity of the blessed Virgin Mary," the great conflict with the enemy took place. The Saracens, emboldened by the apparent impunity with which they attacked the heavy advancing columns, became so insolent that a conflict was unavoidable, and the vivid description of the great battle on the moors round Arsuf, or Arsuf, occupies six long chapters of this interesting chronicle. Sunday was spent on the field in masses for the dead, and on Monday the army arrived at the River of Arsuf, and immediately after passing this (evidently the Aujeh) they reached Joppa, where they "refreshed themselves with the abundance of fruits."

The account of this famous journey occurs in the Itinerary of Richard I., by Geoffry de Vinsauf, B. iv. chap. 12 to 25.

The enumeration of the castles destroyed by Saladin, which follows, is of great interest. Some such, as Mirabel (Ras el 'Ain), Ramula (Ramlah), Blanchard (Tell es Safi), and St. George (Lydda), are well known. Others, such as Galatia, Belmont, Toron, Ernuald, Beauverie, in the south, still require identification. Two others, Maen and the Castle of Plans, I propose to notice further.

After the requisite rest at Jaffa, Richard set out to rebuild Maen and Plans, and encamped (the chronicle says "after a short march") between the two. The Templars, whilst engaged on the latter, received an attack from "Bombrac," and Richard sent reinforcements to them, apparently from Maen, though whether in return for a message is not clear. I am ignorant whether these castles are mentioned in any other chronicle, but Benjamin of Tudela evidently identifies Maen, or Maon, as we have already seen, with Tantura, which, as mentioned above, was in ruins. Bombrac is, no doubt, the modern Ibn Ibrak, and this would point to *Plans* as being in an intermediate position

on the plain. I should propose, therefore, to identify the Castle of Plans with Kalensawieh, an important Crusading site, which I have described in a former report. It is a about twenty miles from Ibn Ibrak, and the same distance from Tantura. How the name came to be so elongated or contracted (as the case may be) it is not easy to imagine, but there are parallel cases in the Crusading chronicles, and orthography seems to have been a very neglected science in the 12th century. The distance seems rather long, but we see that ten miles was not an extraordinary march, and, indeed, much longer ones were frequently made in the latter part of the campaign. From the camp, at some station half-way to Tantura, the Castle of Plans would not be over this distance.

Kalensawieh stands on the edge of the woodlands of Mukhalid, not far from the foot of the hills, and is a miserable mud village, in the centre of which is a strong Crusading tower. Beside this grows the only palm which (as far as I am aware) exists between Haifa and Jaffa, and east of the tower is a hall of beautiful masonry, with vaulted stables beneath, of which a plan and description will be found in our notes.

From these notes on the identification of the eight opposite sites of *Capernaum*, the *House of Narrow Ways*, the *Salt, Dead, and Rochetaillé Rivers*, *Merla*, *Plans*, and *Maen*, I now turn to one or two interesting sites mentioned in yet earlier accounts.

*The Tower of Ader.* This site is first mentioned in Genesis xxxv. 21, as the residence of Jacob, and is stated in the Onomasticon to be 1,000 paces from Bethlehem. Arculphus (A.D. 700) and St. Bernard the Wise (A.D. 867) notice it, the first as "containing the monuments of the three shepherds to whom, on the spot, the angel announced the birth of our Lord," the latter as the "Monastery of the Holy Shepherds," one mile from Bethlehem.

The Mediæval site is recognisable in the Keniset el Ra'wat, a small chapel, with pillars and other traces of a larger former building, which is to be seen still in use, although the door is generally locked, on the outskirts of the Shepherd's Plain east of Bethlehem, and close to Beit Sahur el 'Atika. From the context we find that the original place of the "Tower of the Flock," as Edar is properly translated, was between Rachel's Tomb and Mamre. In Micah (iv. 8), "The Tower of the Flock" is mentioned as "the stronghold of the Daughter of Zion," seeming to connect it with Jerusalem; but the identity with the site now discussed is doubtful, and it seems to me not at all improbable that the true site of Jacob's Camp is preserved under the tradition of the Shepherd's Plain, for considering the extremely rugged and difficult character of the country round Bethlehem, there is no spot so well fitted for an encampment as is this, especially when we remember that it was occupied apparently for a considerable period.

*St. Eustochium.* The number of monasteries upon the plains of Jericho was very great, and yet more names are known, but not identified. Amongst these is St. Eustochium, which was placed, according to St. Willibald, "in the middle of the plain between Jericho and Jerusalem."

The only site which at all fulfils this definition is that of Tell Moghyfer (at one time identified with Gilgal), where are remains of a considerable convent of early period, fed by aqueducts which come down from Elisha's fountain.

The same writer, who was more enterprising than most of the early travellers, mentions *Thecua* as the site of the murder of many children by Herod, and a *Saint Zacharias*, which is evidently *Khirbet Beit Skaria*—the ancient Beth Zacharias. This brings back the date of the Church at Teku'a (of which only a few pillars and a magnificent octagonal font remain) to the eighth century, to which also, from the style of architecture, we should be inclined to attribute the remains of a church at Beit Skaria, now much destroyed, but showing capitals of early Byzantine character.

*The Pillar of Salt.* The traditional site of Lot's wife appears to have been entirely lost to modern writers. Benjamin of Tudela thus describes it:—"Two parasangs from the sea (about eight miles) stands the salt pillar into which Lot's wife was metamorphosed, and although the sheep continually lick it, the pillar grows again, and retains its original shape." It appears that the traveller did not visit it.

Sir John Maundeville (1322) speaks of the same site:—"At the right side of the Dead Sea the wife of Lot still stands in likeness of a salt stone, because she looked behind her when the cities sunk into hell."

Mandrell, in 1697, says:—"On the west side of the sea is a small promontory, near which . . . stood the monument of Lot's metamorphosed wife, part of which (if they may be credited) is visible at this day." He was not, however, tempted to visit the spot.

These descriptions seem all to refer to the same place on the west shore of the sea, and I would suggest that they refer to the unique and extraordinary crag which M. Ganneau describes on the western shore near to the Hajr el Sulah. This curious pinnacle of rock, standing out from the cliff, and rudely resembling a shrouded figure, is called by the Arabs, *Kurn Sahsûl Hemeid*, a name for which I am unable to give any interpretation. It seems well fitted for the legend attached to it, and no other monument to which it could have been applied is to be found on the north-western shores of the sea.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.,  
*In Command Survey of Palestine.*

## NOTE ON LIEUT. CONDER'S IDENTIFICATION OF NOB.

It seems to me that in seeking to identify Nob with Neby Samwil, Lieut. Conder has completely misunderstood the force and meaning of one of the most graphic and picturesque passages in the Bible, that of

Isaiah x. 28-32, which I give in full, as detached sentences are often misleading:—

He comes to Ai, passes through Migron,  
 At Michmash deposits his baggage ;  
 They cross the pass, Geba is our night station ;  
 Terrified is Ramah, Gibeah of Saul flees.  
 Shriek with thy voice, daughter of Gallim ;  
 Listen, O Laish ! Ah ! poor Anathoth !  
 Madmenah escapes, dwellers in Gebim take flight.  
 Yet this day he halts at Nob :  
 He shakes his hand against the mount, daughter of Sion,  
 The hill of Jerusalem. (See *Dictionary of Bible*, art. Nob.)

In this passage, if it has a meaning—and I cannot suppose that it has not—the prophet describes, in such detail that it is difficult to believe he is not describing an actual event, the march of an Assyrian army upon Jerusalem ; and we may be quite certain that, with his knowledge of the country, and writing as he did for those who were equally well acquainted with it, he would describe a line of march which, under certain conditions, an army would naturally follow if its special object were the capture of Jerusalem. The conditions to which I allude are the passage of the great ravine at Michmash (*Mukhmas*), and encampment for the night at Geba (*Jeba*) ; why this route was selected in preference to the easier road along the line of water-parting we have no means of ascertaining, and it does not affect the question.

Of the places mentioned by Isaiah, we know with a considerable degree of certainty the positions of Michmash, Geba, Ramah, Gibeah, and Anathoth ; of the others nothing is known. From Geba to Nob was evidently a day's march in the progress of the army, and the order in which the villages are mentioned leads us in the direction of Jerusalem, and not of Neby Samwil. If we are to suppose that the King of Assyria went to Nob simply for the purpose of shaking his hand against Jerusalem, the lofty summit of Neby Samwil would answer admirably ; but if, as I believe, the passage means that the fierce Assyrian warrior was leading an army from Geba against Jerusalem, and that his progress was suddenly arrested at Nob on the way thither, we must seek a site for Nob on the road between those two places ; and I cannot imagine a more natural one than some place in the vicinity of that Scopus whence, in later years, Titus and his legions looked down upon the Holy City. Certainly no general advancing with an army from Geba against Jerusalem would lead it to Neby Samwil, a high peak four and a half miles from the city, and separated from it by an intricate country and the deep ravine of Wady Beit Hanina.

The only other passage in the Bible which gives any clue to the position of Nob, and that a very slight one, is the account of David's flight from Ramah to Gath by way of Nob ; it is of course possible that David may have reached the Philistine plain by way of Gibeon (*El Jib*), but it is equally possible, and in my opinion more probable, that he took

the road passing by Jerusalem and Bethlehem, his native place, which was quite as short and convenient, if Gath were, as there are some reasons for believing, at Tell es Safieh.

The fanciful derivation of the Neby of Neby Samwil from Nob will not bear a moment's scrutiny; there is no reason why this particular Neby should be derived from Nob more than any one of the hundred other Nebys in Palestine, and the Arabic Neby is hardly an exact reproduction of the Hebrew Nob. It may also be remarked that the tradition respecting Neby Samwil is antecedent to the Moslem conquest; in the time of Procopius there was a convent of St. Samuel on the summit, and it is only a natural transition from the Christian tomb and convent of St. Samuel to the Moslem tomb of the prophet (*Neby*) Samwil.

In his attempt to identify Nob with Neby Samwil, Lieut. Conder identifies it also with the "high place" of Gibeon, the site of the tabernacle during the early part of Solomon's reign; this, however, is unsupported by any passage in the Bible, and the quotations from the Talmud given in Lieut. Conder's paper seem to me to prove conclusively that Nob and the high place of Gibeon were distinct places. It is also reasonable to suppose that after the massacre of the priests at Nob the tabernacle would be removed from the scene of so much bloodshed; we do not know when it was erected at Gibeon, but there are some grounds for supposing that it was with Saul on Mount Gilboa. Dean Stanley has proposed to identify the high place of Gibeon with Neby Samwil, but he is careful to state that there are no grounds for the supposition except the apparent suitability of the place for the magnificent ceremonial on the occasion of Solomon's visit; on the other hand, it should be remembered that Neby Samwil is one and a quarter miles from El Jib (Gibeon), a distance so great that it would lead us to expect the place to have its own distinctive name rather than one derived from Gibeon. We may also observe that Gilgal and Shiloh, where the tabernacle rested for many years, were not prominent places; the Temple at Jerusalem was on the lower hill of the two; and even the temples of Jeroboam, at Dan and Bethel, were not on prominent sites such as Neby Samwil and many other peaks in Palestine. It would almost seem as if these positions were selected as a sort of protest against the general custom of worship on the high places, and there is certainly no indication that prominence was an object in selecting a resting-place for the tabernacle.

C. W. WILSON.

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#### NOTE ON THE SOUTERRAINS IN THE NOBLE SANCTUARY, JERUSALEM.

A CONSTANT feature of the rock-cut tanks of Palestine is the rock-cut staircase running round the walls from top to bottom; the small bottle-shaped tanks of twelve to fifteen feet diameter being an exception to the general rule.

These staircases may be seen in the tanks at Beit Jebrin, Deir Dubban, Maresa, and at Nos. V., VIII., XI., and XXII. in the Noble Sanctuary.

We may therefore look for traces of these staircases in Souterrains Nos. I., III., and XXIX. ; and not finding them, may we not fairly draw the inference—

1. That these souterrains are not tanks, but are ancient passages, which must have entrances and exits not now apparent ?

2. That if they are tanks, either (a) the steps have been cut away ; or (b) they still remain in the tanks blocked up with masonry ?

As it is very improbable that rock-cut staircases would be cut away without any apparent object for so doing, we may, from the absence of these staircases, have much reason for supposing (whether they be tanks or no) that these souterrains are of greater extent than the plastered walls would at present indicate. It is very desirable that all information on the subject should be collected together, as the matter has an important bearing on the question of the site of the Temple. Lieut. Conder's recent researches cause renewed interest in the matter.

Jan. 4, 1875.

CHARLES WARREN.

## THE TEMPLE OF HEROD.

[This article and the following note on the tomb of David are reprinted from the *Athenæum* of Feb. 20th and Feb. 6th respectively, by kind permission of the proprietors.]

THE measurements of the Temple given in the *Mischma* are rendered with great precision, and are so perfectly intelligible that they have the appearance of having been taken on the spot or from a correct plan of the buildings. In the works of Josephus, on the other hand, however correct may be his descriptions, some of his measurements are given with a certain vagueness and want of method, rendering it very difficult to realise the form of the buildings he describes, and rather inducing the supposition that he spoke to some extent from recollection, and was often in want of memoranda or notes for the purpose of refreshing his memory.

For example, he tells us that the old cloisters of King Solomon (*Ant.* XX. ix. 7) were 400 cubits in length ; that Herod, in rebuilding the Temple, encompassed a piece of ground twice as large (*Bel.* I. xxi. 1) as that before enclosed, and yet that the courts of Herod measured only a stadium or 600 feet a side (*Ant.* XV. xi. 3). It is not in these passages alone that Josephus appears to contradict himself, for, on the several occasions when he mentions the size of the Temple courts, there is an ambiguity presenting great difficulties.

I offer a solution to the problem by assuming that the 600 with regard to Herod's outer courts should be applied to cubits instead of feet ; that Josephus's memory recalled the 600 feet, which is the measure (by my construction from the Talmud) of the length of the Inner Court, and ap-

plied it in error to the 600 cubits of the outer court. This solution will clear up the anomalies in Josephus's own text, and will allow it to agree with the Talmudic measurements.

From this standpoint let us reconstruct the outer courts of Herod, represented on the exterior by the east, west, and south walls of the present Noble Sanctuary, and by a line defining the exterior of north wall drawn parallel to northern edge of raised platform, 8 cubits north of the Golden Gate. These walls, measuring respectively 1,090, 1,138, 922, and 997 feet, give an average of 593 cubits, a very close approximation to the 600 cubits I have imputed to Josephus. If we now allow 8 cubits (Bel. VI. v. 1) for the wall all round, 30 cubits (Bel. V. v. 2) for width of cloisters on north, east, and west sides, and 105 feet (Ant. XV. xi. 5) for that of the Southern Cloister, we obtain an average length of 505 cubits for inner sides of these cloisters, the Talmudic measurement being 500 cubits, this again being a close approximation. We thus obtain coincidence between the external measurements of the Mischna and of Josephus. Within the area thus obtained let us re-construct the plan of Temple and courts according to the above authorities, and observe what buildings, souterrains, and cisterns now *in situ* can be identified with portions of the Temple of Herod.

The Golden Gate (the old foundations of which are still *in situ*) will now be found to form a continuation of the double wall of the Northern Cloisters to the east, just as the Arch of Robinson led from the Southern Cloisters to the west. The Golden Gate is thus that on which "was portrayed the city Shushan. Through it one could see the High Priest, who burnt the heifer, and his assistants going out to the Mount of Olives." There appear to have been steps on arches leading down from this gate into the Cedron towards the east, and leading up again past the southern end of present Garden of Gethsemane: even now (see Ordnance Survey  $\frac{1}{100000}$ ) there are stone walls in the valley which perhaps may indicate the line of these steps; they appear to have ascended again to east, and, reaching the present road to Bethany, to have continued south-east on to a spot on level 2,460 feet just below some existing ruins shown on the Survey plan.

From this spot a view could have been obtained direct over the east wall, through the Gate Nicanor, over the altar into the Sanctuary. The production of this visual line to east passes through the centre of the present open court of the Ascension on summit of Olivet.

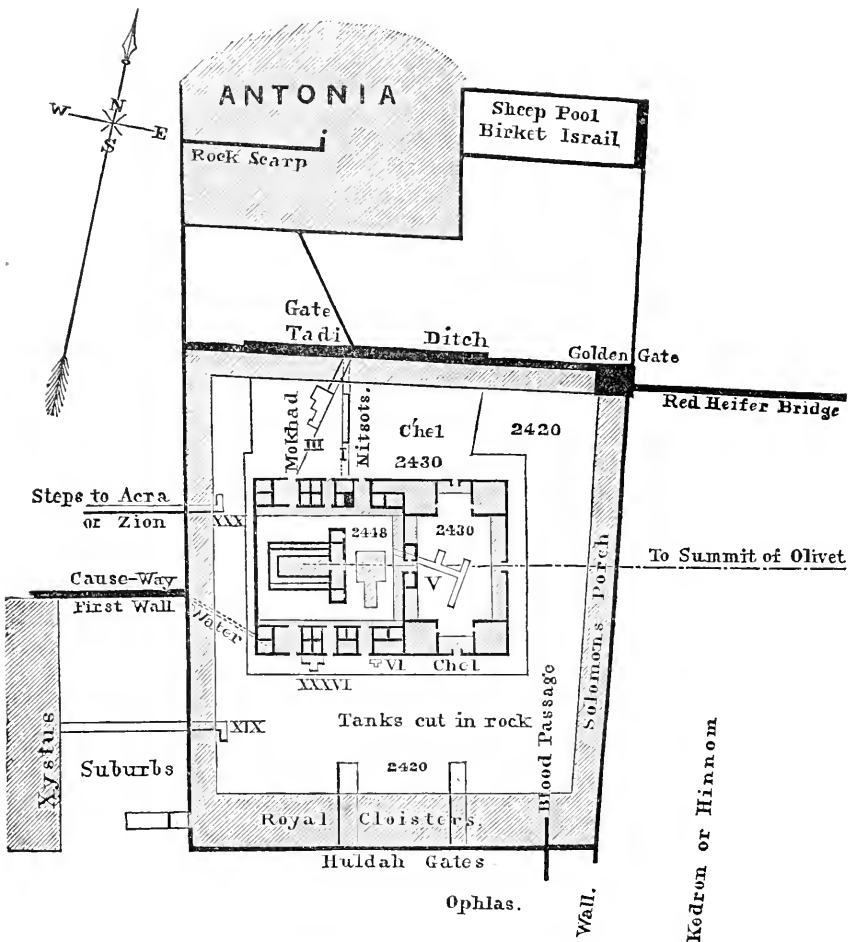
On this east wall, in which the Golden Gate is built, are, at the south-east angle, the Phœnician characters in red paint, establishing the great antiquity of this wall, and on which, until the destruction of Jerusalem, stood the Porch or Cloister erected by King Solomon (Ant. XX. ix. 7).

The Temple lies square to the west wall of the outer court, its western end coincident with the western side of raised platform, and its southern side eleven feet south of southern end of said platform.

This position is governed in some measure by the following passages



in Josephus:—Ant. XV. xi. 5, Ant. XX. viii. 11, Bel. II. xvi. 3, where it is stated that King Agrippa built himself a dining-room (overlooking the Inner Courts of the Temple) in the palace of the Asamoneans, which was situated at the northern extremity of the Upper City overlooking the Xystus, where the Bridge (Wilson's Arch) joined the Temple to the



Xystus. It can be seen on plan that in order to see into the Inner Court it would be necessary to be in a line parallel to the side of the court, and thus the position can be fixed to within a few feet either from the northern or the southern portion of the Inner Court. Taking other

matters into consideration, it is apparent that it was the southern portion which King Agrippa built his dining-room to overlook.

The Altar, as suggested in "Recovery of Jerusalem," p. 207, stands over the western end of Souterrain No. V., a remarkable underground passage, which may well have served as a communication under the courts of the Temple in connection with the great water system necessary for keeping in order the Temple courts; whether it may have led from the altar to the Blood-passage, which appears to have been discovered at the south-east angle of Noble Sanctuary, or whether it connected the Gates Mokhad and Nitsots with the waterworks, or whether it was the underground communication to Gate Nicanor (Ant. XV. xi. 6), under which it runs, is not yet certain; possibly it may have served for all these purposes, but in either case it would have been a passage of some importance. There is a legend in Mejr ed Din that one of the ancient kings threw a roll from Olivet, which fell near the portion of raised platform where No. V. is situated: it is possible that this may have some reference to the concealment of the volume of the Sacred Law in this souterrain. The plan of Temple and Courts is constructed entirely from the Talmud; the chambers of the court can only be obtained from the descriptions in the absence of any measurements. The three gates to Inner Court, both on north and south, are placed at equal intervals from each other, and from the corners of the courts. The Gate Nitsots falls in such a manner that the Sakhra Cave entrance opens into it: this cave would appear to be continued through into Souterrain No. 1, forming a passage to the Gate Tadj. This may be the passage into the chil mentioned in the Talmud as leading from Nitsots, and, if in connection with No. V. Souterrain, it would have been also the occult leading from Antonia to the Gate Nicanor, made for King Herod (Ant. XV. xi. 6). Between this and the Gate Corban lies the rock over which the present dome is built. On this fall the chambers of the washers and of Parva. The drain discovered on the top of the rock may be the passage by which the refuse from the "inwards" was carried off.

The room Parva lies directly over the Sakhra Cave, and the notes in the Talmud (see "Prospect of the Temple," p. 377) are sufficiently curious, and appear to prove a complete identification. "Parvah is the name of a man who was a magician, and there are some of the wise men that say that he digged a vault underground till he could come to see what the high priest did on the day of expiation."

The gates, according to the Talmud ("Prospect," p. 326), were  $46\frac{3}{4}$  cubits from centre to centre, and, if we produce the Souterrain No. III. upon the line of the Inner Court, we find it falls upon the Gate Mokhad. The position of this Souterrain and the chambers in it appear to coincide very closely to the chambers spoken of as leading from Mokhad. It passes obliquely towards where Souterrain No. I. is supposed to run out at the gate Tadi, on northern edge of raised platform. The Mischna tells us, "in the gallery that went under the chel he passed out through

Tadi." Again we read, "the priest gets out and goes along in the gallery that goeth under the Temple, and candles flare on every side, till he cometh to the bath-place;" and, again, "he goeth down a turning staircase that went under the Temple." Dr. Lightfoot says that it was some vault underground through which they passed from the north-west room of Mokhad, and thence to Gate Tadi. The position and shape of Souterrain No. III., with its chamber adjoining, appear to exactly fulfil the requirements of the case.

In the southern side of the Inner Court the chamber of the draw-well lies just north of Cistern No. VI., and not far from No. XXXVI., which two cisterns are in communication with the large tanks of the southern portion of the Noble Sanctuary, and with the water supply from Solomon's Pools and Wady Biyar. Dr. Lightfoot (p. 351) supposes the house of Abtinus to have been over the chamber of the draw-well, and the Mishna tells us that the priests guarded the Sanctuary in three places: in house of Abtinus, in the house Nitsots, and in the house Mokhad.

We thus find the priests guarding the Inner Court at the three points where there were subterranean communications with the exterior.

The Huldah Gates are represented by the double and triple gates on south side, the latter of which was also formerly a double gate, its old foundations being still visible.

The western gates are still *in situ*, that leading from Souterrain No. XXX., south of Bab al Mathera, is the gate (Ant. XV. xi. 5) leading to the other city, or Aera, by a great number of steps down into the valley, and thence up again by the ascent. This may be the Gate *Kipunnus* spoken of in the Mishna, the meaning of which word is "hole" or "through passage" ("Prospect," p. 226), giving a correct description of this vaulted descent.

South of this is the bridge or causeway leading over the valley north of the Xystus to the Upper City, along the first wall, at Bab as Silsile. This causeway is still *in situ*, except at Wilson's Arch, where a more modern construction has replaced the ancient bridge.

Further south are the two suburban gates (Ant. XV. xi. 5) at Bab al Magharibe and Robinson's Arch.

In the absence of further information, the shape and position of the Castle Antonia must remain highly conjectural; probably it stood on site of the modern Military Serai, connected with the Outer Court of Temple by two passages or cloisters.

The plan now put forward is thus shown to suit the features of the ground in a remarkable degree, and to coincide with existing ancient remains.

Throughout this article the cubit is assumed to be 21 inches.

C. WARREN.

## THE TOMB OF DAVID.

January 27th, 1875.

WE learn (Josephus, Bel. V., iii. 2) that Titus, when besieging Jerusalem, wished to pitch his camp nearer the city, and for this purpose made all the place level from Scopus to Herod's Monument.

Again we read (Bel. V., vii. 3) that Titus, on getting within the city, took up his position at the place called "The Camp of the Assyrians," and that Herod's Monument (Bel. V., xiii. 3) was near to the camp on north-east of Jerusalem.

We know (from Ant. XV., ix. 4; Bel. I., xxxiii. 2, and other passages) that Herod was buried in the fortress Herodium, which he had built for himself, eight miles south of Jerusalem, and we have no account of any of Herod's family having been buried at Jerusalem.

Whence then arises the term "Herod's Monument" (*μνημεῖον*), applied to the erection on north-east of Jerusalem?

The answer appears to be supplied by Ant. XVI. vii. 1, where it is related that Herod, having met with some strange obstacles in his attempt to plunder David's Tomb, built a propitiatory monument (*μνημα*) in white stone at the mouth of the Sepulchre.

From this it follows that the entrance to David's sepulchre was situate outside the north wall of Jerusalem to the east.

On turning to the account of the city wall (Bel. V., iv. 2), we read that the north wall, after passing by the royal caverns (translated by Whiston, "sepulchral cavern of the kings"), bent again at the tower of the corner.

The propitiatory monument would thus have stood near the royal caverns, which may have contained the sepulchres of the kings.

If we now examine the ground itself, regarding the present north wall as on the site of the old outer wall, we find the extensive caverns, or subterranean quarries, called the Cotton Grotto, to be situated on the spot where we would expect to find the royal caverns.

These quarries were apparently used in getting out the stone for the ancient buildings of Jerusalem, and it has been surmised (by Major Wilson, I think) that the blocks were brought down on an incline to the Temple platform through an opening to the south now lost to view.

May we suppose that David, having hewn the stones from these quarries ready for the building of the Temple, took advantage of the subterranean recesses thus afforded for the formation of his sepulchre?

Portions of the roof of these quarries have fallen in, which may prevent effectual search, but it is possible that further examination may result in the discovery of the continuation of the cavern to the south, and advance us a further step in our knowledge of the Holy City.

Major Wilson (p. 50, Vol. II., "Palestine Exploration Fund," 1872) proposes to identify the aqueduct which runs over the Cotton Grotto to Convent of Sisters of Sion, with the conduit of the upper pool in the

highway of the fuller, by which Rabshakeh stood when he addressed the Jews on the walls of the city (2 Kings xvii. 17). In this he appears to be borne out by the account of Josephus, who places (Bel. V., iv. 2) the royal caverns (Cotton Grotto) near the Fuller's Monument. Major Wilson also suggests that this conduit was cut across near the grotto in the time of Herod, and this appears to strengthen my proposal as regards the Tomb of David, and accounts for its entrance being found on *north* side of the city.

I suppose that on first cutting into the quarries of the Royal Cavern the entrance was to the south, opposite the Temple, the entrance to the royal tombs also being in same place, that this continued until after time of Nehemiah (Neh. iii. 16). On the re-building of the Temple by Herod, the ditch was cut to north of present wall, exposing to view the northern end of the cavern; and this new entrance being well outside the city was used in preference to the old southern entrance, which may possibly have been filled in for defensive reasons. The conduit of the upper pool (2 Kings xvii. 17) is so often supposed by the best authorities to be identical with the upper water-course of Gihon (2 Chron. xx. 30) that I should mention that I consider them to be quite distinct; the former entering the city (as suggested by Major Wilson) over the Cotton Grotto, the latter entering at the Tower of Hippicus (Bel. V., vii. 3), near the present Jaffa Gate, and running straight down to the west side of the City of David (2 Chron. xxii. 30) into the pool of the Bath, otherwise called Hezekiah's Pool, which I suppose to be Gihon in the Valley (2 Chron. xxxiii. 14).

CHARLES WARREN.

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### GREEK INSCRIPTION.

In the *Quarterly Statement* received this morning I observe, at page 19, an imperfect inscription, of which Lieutenant Couder remarks it "seems to have been only a text or religious sentence." No doubt many others will find no difficulty in completing the text, but in case it should not have been so obvious as it seems to me, I beg to send you the solution.

E. B. FINLAY.

Folkestone, January 16, 1875.

Psalm cxviii. 20 (Septuagint, Psalm cxvii.).—*Αὔτη ἡ πόλις τοῦ κυρίου δίκαιον εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ.*

ΑΤΗΗΠ(Υ)  
 (Α)ΗΤΟΤΚΥ(Ρ)  
 ΙΟΥΔΙΚΑΙΟ  
 ΙΕΙ(Ε)ΔΕΥ(ΟΝΤ)  
 ΑΙΕΝΑΥ(ΘΗ)

## INSCRIPTION AT EL GEBAL.

M DE VOGÜÉ, French Ambassador at Constantinople, has recently made a communication to the Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres, of which he is himself a member, on a Phœnician inscription found at Byblos, the Biblical Gebal. It contains fifteen lines, the sixth and the seventh of which are much damaged on the right-hand side, and many letters in other parts of the inscription are scarcely to be recognised. We are informed by M. J. Dérenbourg that the bas-relief represents the goddess Baaltis, in the shape and with the emblems of the Egyptian Isis, the king Yehumelekh in a Persian costume facing her, and offering her a cup which he holds in his hand. Since we know that the kings of Gebal are represented in Greek costume on other bas-reliefs, we may date the present inscription from the Persian time. As far as we are informed, the inscription does not contain historical facts, but important contributions to Phœnician grammar and lexicography, which we shall enumerate, partly according to the kind communication of M. Dérenbourg. 1. The pronoun זא and זן in the inscription, such being a composition of the Hebrew ז of זה and the Aramaic א and ך of רא and רן. 2. The ן occurring for the first time in Phœnician inscriptions as the possessive pronoun of the third person. 3. הויה, "to live," for היה, root which we find in the name of Hava (Eve), and probably in the *avo* in the *Poenulus* of Plautus. 4. The root הרץ, in the sense of carving, and כןבן with the meaning of "grandson."—*Academy*, Feb. 5, 1875.

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PREFACE.

THE following pages contain the final reports on the survey of the south of Palestine, with accounts of Masada, Gaza, Gerar, the Shefalah, Gath, Adullam, Keilah, Ascalon, Ashdod, the Crusading sites, the caves, and Roman camps. The papers written by Lieutenant Conder and M. Clermont-Ganneau, separately, on the site of Adullam, will be found, between them, to give everything that can be urged in favour of a site whose identification, if it be accepted, will remove many difficulties.

The survey of western Palestine, which has occupied the Committee for four years and a half, now approaches completion. It is calculated that another year's work in the country will finish it completely. The work of the Americans will be fitted in to our own, and the whole may be expected to be published in the course of the next three years. As yet nothing has been decided as to the manner of publication.

In April last the Committee asked for £3,500 before the end of the year. One-third of this sum has already been received

since that date. Perhaps subscribers will remember that the summer months are comparatively barren, and that those who forward their subscriptions at once are helping the Committee to tide over the dead season. A great part of the debt has already been cleared, and the Committee look confidently to work it off completely before the end of the year.

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NOTES.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications by officers of the Fund, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.

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Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year at their *earliest convenience* and without waiting for application. It is best to cross all cheques to Coutts and Co., and if so crossed they may be safely left payable to bearer.

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The Committee are always grateful for the return of old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

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At a meeting of the General Committee held on June 22nd, 1875, Mr. William Longman in the chair, the following were added to the General Committee:—

The President of the American Association.  
 Rev. Dr. Joseph Barclay.  
 Mr. John Cunliffe.  
 Rev. F. W. Farrar, D.D.  
 M. Clermont-Ganneau.  
 Mr. Holman Hunt.  
 General Sir Henry James.  
 Mr. F. Leighton, R.A.



Mr. Henry Maudslay.  
 Sir Charles Nicholson.  
 Herr Petermann.  
 Viscount Sandon.  
 Dr. Sandreczky.

It was also resolved that the Executive Committee should in future all resign at the annual meeting of the General Committee in June.

The following gentlemen were then elected from the General Committee, to serve as an Executive Committee for 1875-76 :—

Mr. S. Birch, LL.D.  
 Mr. J. D. Grace.  
 Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon.  
 Professor Donaldson.  
 Mr. F. A. Eaton.  
 Mr. Glaisher.  
 Mr. William Longman.  
 Mr. Henry Maudslay.  
 Rev. Canon Tristram.  
 Mr. W. S. W. Vaux, F.R.S.  
 Capt. Warren, R.E.  
 Major Wilson, R.E.

The honorary officers were re-elected.

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The amount received from all sources from March 22nd to June 30th was £950 5s. 7d. The balance of current account at the latter date was £320 10s.

In the last *Quarterly Statement*, page 61, it was stated that the amount received from June 1st to March 22nd was £1,439 14s. 5d.; it should have been from *January* 1st.

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M. Ganneau's paper has been unavoidably delayed in publication. It is expected to appear in the August number of *Macmillan's Magazine*.

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The second American expedition is now (July 7th) in London on its way to Syria. It is commanded by Colonel S. Lane, who has with him the Rev. Selah Merrill, Mr. Treat, and Mr. Rudolph Meyer.

At Beyrout his party will be increased by the accession of a photographer. The graduated students of the Syrian Protestant College will act as his Arabic interpreters. The tract of country which Colonel Lane proposes to triangulate reaches from the south of the Dead Sea to Damascus, and has an average width of forty miles. He considers that two years will suffice for the completion of his survey.

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Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Association are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W.

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# ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

HELD AT THE ROYAL INSTITUTION, 10TH JUNE, 1875.

HIS GRACE THE ARCHBISHOP OF YORK IN THE CHAIR.

THE CHAIRMAN: I call upon Mr. George Grove to read the Report.

MR. GROVE read the Report as follows:—

“The Committee rejoice in being enabled to report a year of uninterrupted progress and thoroughly sound work.

“The archaeological mission of M. Clermont-Ganneau, for which his services had been granted for one year by the French Foreign Office, terminated in November last, when he returned to Europe.

“Reports of his labours were published as they arrived in the *Quarterly Statements* of the Fund; these will now be re-written and published in a single volume, which the Committee hope to issue in the autumn of the present year, when the importance of his discoveries will be fully recognised.

“The present work of the Committee consists wholly of the survey.

“A heavy loss was sustained last year in the lamentable death of Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, which took place on the very day of the Annual Meeting. His place has been taken by Lieut. H. H. Kitchener, of the Royal Engineers.

“The party now consists of Lieuts. Conder and Kitchener, Corporals Armstrong, Brophy, and Junor, with a Syrian scribe.

“Field work was resumed in October in the hill country south of Judah, a little known and most important part of Palestine. It was interrupted for a short time by the extremely severe weather of January, but, by the last account received a few days ago, the Committee are enabled to report that in spite of this drawback the whole of the south country, including Philistia, with the exception of a very small area, is now completely triangulated. Fifteen hundred square miles have been added to the map since the last meeting. The survey has not been confined to map-making alone. Among the more important identifications proposed or confirmed by Lieut. Conder are those of the Hill of Hachilah, the Rock of Maon, Zanoah, Arab, Maarath, Chozeba, Beth Zetho, the Levitical City of Debir, the Cave of Adullam, the Tower of Ader, the Forest of Hareth, the Wood of Ziph, the Altar of Ed, the Ford of Bethabara, and many others. Some idea of the work done by the surveying party may be gathered from the facts that during the spring campaign alone 1,000 square miles have been surveyed, and 1,067 names, a very large number of which were previously unknown, have been collected.

“Further, Lieut. Conder reports in his last letter thirty new identifications, the details of which he reserves until he has been able to consult books. It will be understood that such archæological results as are obtained in the course of exhausting labours in triangulation must not be taken as part of the duty which the officers are sent out to execute, so much as additional proofs, if any were needed, of their zeal and ability. The real work for which Lieuts. Conder and Kitchener are responsible is the great map of Palestine.

“Two of the most valuable discoveries of the year are due to M. Clermont-Ganneau. The first of these is that of the boundary of Gezer. He has found *in situ*, and absolutely for the first time, the actual inscriptions marking the limits of a Levitical city. There are two of these, carved on the rock, in Greek and square Hebrew, and pointing probably to a Maccabean date, which contain the word Gezer precisely as it is written in the Bible. Casts of the inscriptions have been sent to England, and a full account of this precious contribution to Biblical research will be found in M. Ganneau's new volume. This discovery is the more interesting as it confirms the theory which M. Ganneau had already advanced on the site of Gezer. The fact, also, that the name of the place is still Tell Jezer, furnishes another illustration of the vitality of Bible names. The second discovery is that of the city of Adullam. The name had been found and the place visited by M. Ganneau in 1871, and again in 1874. It was first mentioned in Captain Burton's “Unexplored Syria” (1873). Lieut. Conder has now, acting on M. Ganneau's information, visited and examined the site in the course of the survey.

“The identification of the Altar of Ed must not be passed over. This most striking recovery of a site mentioned only once in the Bible, and belonging almost to the earliest history of the Hebrew race, is entirely due to Lieut. Conder. Full particulars have already been published.

“The total area surveyed up to this time reaches the amount of 4,430 square miles, leaving some 1,500 miles still to be filled in. To this must be added the reconnaissance of the Negeb or south country, on the completion of which the survey of Western Palestine will be finished. The Committee can now with reasonable confidence promise that a complete and exhaustive map of the whole of Western Palestine—including, that is, nine-tenths of the scenes of the Bible narrative—will be brought to England in the autumn of 1876 and given to the world about a year later.

“This invaluable and enduring work will be the result of the subscriptions of private individuals united by the one common bond of being students of the Bible; it will be completed without State aid, and once finished will be a work for all time absolutely indispensable to every future student of the Bible. As the survey approaches completion the Committee feel more deeply thankful, not only that the necessary funds have been subscribed by their friends, but also that it has been carried on without hindrance or opposition, and up to the present time without any serious check.

“The Committee of the American Association are now sending out

their second expedition. It will be commanded by Colonel Lane, who will have under his orders Herr Rudolph Meyer, of Hamburg, as assistant surveyor, and the Rev. Selah Merrill as archæologist. The New York Committee have set aside the sum of £6,000 to meet the expenses for the two years which, it is believed, the survey of Moab and the country east of Jordan will require. It is worthy of remark that whereas most of our income is derived from one-guinea subscribers, the larger part of the money raised by the American Society has been subscribed by leading New York merchants.

“The Committee have to report that a special effort has been made in Manchester to raise the sum of £500, more than half of which, by the liberality of the residents in that city, has been already forwarded to the London office. The expenses of one man, Corporal Junor, will be wholly defrayed by the Manchester subscribers.

“The income of the Fund since the last annual meeting has been up to this morning, from all sources, £4,179 18s. 11d., and the amount received since the 1st of January is £2,163 4s. 5d., being £550 more than that subscribed up to the same date of last year. The cost of the expeditions in Palestine has been £3,500.

“The Committee have realised during the year, by the sale of their books and publications, the sum of £160. They have just published the eighth edition of their small popular book called ‘Our Work in Palestine.’

“The present year was commenced under a heavy load of debt but a diminished expenditure. About half of the liabilities have been already cleared off.

“Among the donations received within the last twelve months must be specially mentioned those of the British Association, the Syrian Improvement Committee, Mr. Charles Morrison, the Grocers’ Company, and an anonymous donor whose initials are “G. M. E.” These have each given £100 to the Fund. Dr. Peter Wood, Miss Chafyn Grove, and the Mercers’ Company, have also given £50 and 50 guineas respectively.

“The Edinburgh Local Association has sent £100, Leeds £65, and Newark (an association of ladies) £77, and smaller sums have been received from other Local Associations.”

“To these donors, to the city companies, to the hon. secretaries who have given their personal exertions to the cause, and to all their friends and subscribers, the Committee desire to express their most sincere thanks.”

The CHAIRMAN: My Lords, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It is not my fault that I occupy this chair again this year. It would have been much more in accordance with my feelings if I could have made way for some worthier person instead of occupying this responsible post. I have no pretension to be connected with the inner working of this Society, for I feel myself rather in this position to represent the figure-head of the ship, while Mr. Grove may be likened to the engine that gives it its rapidity and successful motion. At the same time, in zeal for the

objects of this Fund, I yield to none. No member of this Association watches its proceedings with a greater wish for its success than I do myself. I am obliged to repeat what I have said in former years, because it is necessary for the chairman to say something of the general purposes of the Association. I have, however, first to mention that I have received a letter from that venerable man, Sir Moses Montefiore, who regrets his inability to attend the meeting, and I have also a letter from the Rev. William Wright, who was advertised to speak at this meeting, but who finds he cannot attend. I shall presently give way to the Earl of Shaftesbury, and no one is more fully entitled to speak to a meeting of this kind than the President of the Bible Society, because we are in our way a kind of Bible Society. We have also to-day to welcome the Rev. Dr. Barclay, who for many years lived at Jerusalem, and who there welcomed and assisted our explorers to the utmost of his power. We have also the presence of Captain Burton, who has been our Consul at Damascus, a gentleman whom it would be impertinent in me to praise, whose reputation is of European growth, and who, I am sure, does not require a word of mine to introduce to you. We have, moreover, to welcome the Rev. Horrocks Cocks, who has paid great attention to this subject. I will now proceed to discharge my duty in the best way in my power. This Society was instituted some years ago for the purpose of increasing our knowledge of the Holy Land, and at our first meeting it was surprising to listen to the testimony of people representing almost every field of human knowledge to the effect that we knew very little about the Holy Land. Many had visited it, and a great deal of excellent and accurate work had been done, and if I were permitted to lift my hand I could point out some of the principal explorers in that sacred country. But they found that they could do but little. The work of exploration in Palestine is attended with great expense, great risk to health and life, if continued month after month and year after year; and it was found that there must be some organisation with a good long purse in the background, so that when one investigator is weary another might be found to take his place. I am obliged to say it is not merely that weariness may overtake them, but sometimes they sink under their exertions. Only a year ago Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, as you know, lost his life in our cause. The Society whose claims we are now considering takes its origin from the meeting I refer to, and there is no cause, on the whole, to say that we have been unsuccessful in the high task we then proposed to ourselves. It is very true that persons who do not accurately attend to the subject might have expected greater and more sudden results; not those who did give attention to it, and who knew the country, because they knew that the work would necessarily lie underground, and that work of this kind is necessarily slow and difficult; and as Sir Henry Rawlinson said at one of our meetings, our explorers are not always very welcome to householders in that country. I am sure we can well understand that, for if I knew that a gentleman was burrowing 100 feet under York Minster, it is very probable that I should wish to

go down myself and put a stop to his operations; and we find that persons in Jerusalem take the same line of action. We have done a good deal of exploration in Jerusalem itself. Those among you who have looked at our *Quarterly Statements* and the Reports of Major Wilson and Captain Warren, and particularly the book called "The Recovery of Jerusalem," must have come to the conclusion that a great deal has been done by this Society in the way of actual exploration. But we have for the last three years turned our attention in another direction—namely, to the survey of the country of Palestine. We depart somewhat from our original undertaking about the poetry and romance of exploration, in comparison with which a survey of the land is a most prosaic thing. The signification of the names of places, and putting them upon the map, would appear to be no better or worse than going on our own hill-tops and making an ordnance survey of England. Nevertheless, I may appeal to every geographer and man of science whether we have not taken the right line in endeavouring to get a great work completed upon which many future discoveries might be hung. And here, to our general astonishment, we find that we had a great deal to do. The outer black line shown upon that map on the wall marks out what has been already *triangulated*. There is a little portion at the bottom which has not yet been done, but all the rest is as correctly laid down as our own ordnance survey of England. Now, I do say this is the very work for the people of England to undertake. The people of England have done more for the Bible than any other people in the world. They have circulated more copies over the face of the earth, and I believe they have read it more than any other people; and, if so, our going on to pay attention to the scene or stage upon which the great events recorded in the Bible transpired was a natural and logical proceeding on our part. We pride ourselves on being a logical people, and on a belief that no obstacles can daunt us. If there is a mountain higher than the rest in all the world, half a dozen Englishmen will be sure to be climbing up it. If there is ever an expedition involving some kind of danger in it, an Englishman is sure to volunteer to go upon it. It was said that people could not be found to go in the Arctic Expedition which has recently left our shores, but it was soon found that there were not only plenty of volunteers well qualified for the work, but others who it was thought would not be able to survive the rigors of the climate, and who were rejected on that account. And in like manner we have gone in for this Survey of Palestine. I will admit that it has cost a great deal of money, and people may say, "Oh, your box of ointment might have been sold for a great deal and given to the poor, and there are many things that you might have given your money for which would have been better than that." But I do not admit that argument. It is always used in the wrong place, and by the wrong people. It is used by those who wish to give to the poor, but it is not as if there was only one purse. The wealth of the earth is great, and the wealth of the people of England is enormous, and the wealth we have drawn from it is not worth mentioning. What is the money spent for a purpose like

this to the honour and glory of the people of England. What is it to the 130 millions of money which they spend for their drink every year? But I approach the subject from a totally different side. So far from taking money from higher and better objects, if higher and better there be, it is taken for the purpose of increasing our interest in that religion which we profess, and to which we belong, and to give a higher aim and open fresh sources to our benevolence, so that the poor will still take the benefit of our exertions, and a purer tone of thought will be created about these things. Therefore on that score I have not the slightest sympathy with the objectors to our proceedings. We are striving to get a rich nation, which is spending thousands and thousands on its amusements, to spend a little in order to put on record an object worthy of the nation. But we are no monopolists. Every man, whatever his profession or religion may be, or whatever country he belongs to, may co-operate with us. It is true that an archbishop of the English Church occupies the chair of your Committee, but on that Committee are members of the most various denominations, and there is only one qualification for a supporter of this Fund, that he shall feel an interest in the land of the Bible, and a desire to promote a knowledge of that land. With regard to other nations, I may remind you that while we are exploring Palestine on one side of Jordan, the Americans are exploring it on the other side. And we have here a proof of what I wish to draw your attention to, and that is the power we have to raise up an interest in the subject in others who have not yet taken an interest in it. Here are two great peoples busy in exploring Palestine. America is a younger sister of England, and, I say it with great respect, perhaps a little emulous of her elder sister; but she does not sit down and grumble at what we are doing, she wishes to take a share in our work, and, in fact, we are working in entire harmony; and when the question was asked about the copyright of the map which we shall produce together, it was answered immediately that there is not the slightest reason to suppose that our American brethren will offer any difficulty in that respect. That is, of course, very delightful, and it will do a great deal of good in every way. I have a little sheet here, issued by Mr. Henry Maudslay, who has been exploring at his own expense, which is most valuable and important; and I dare say Mr. Maudslay would admit that the fact of our having paid attention to the subject turned his own attention to it: so that, besides the work we do ourselves, we stimulate enterprise and interest in this direction, and I have no doubt we shall in time have a great many explorations going on besides our own. With regard to this Survey of Palestine, it may be supposed after all that there is very little to do beyond the triangulation of well-known sites. I do not pretend to give an explanation of the operations of surveying, but I know it is a great organised system of research, and that it requires the very closest research. It is all very well for a policeman to walk up and down Regent Street, but that is a very different thing from a house-to-house visitation and exploration of the lanes and alleys adjoining it. We have to search



in every hole and corner of the country and see what is there, and classify everything in proper form. We know that in the best maps of Palestine eight fords of the Jordan are marked, but we have ascertained that there are about fifty across the river. What is topography if it does not give the roads and passages across the country? Upon the whole, not to detain you longer, our object is to know Palestine through and through, to work with every one who will assist us; and our reason for turning to Palestine is that Palestine is our country. I have used that expression before, and I refuse to adopt any other. That is my country, which has given me the laws by which I try to live—which has given me the best knowledge I possess—that is my country, to which I look for rules in the conduct of my life—in which has dwelt my King and my Lord. England is my country, I know it and feel it, but Palestine also is my country. I am sure you all know and feel as I do, and that is the reason you take such an interest in the quiet work of this excellent Society. (Cheers.) I have now great pleasure in calling upon the Earl of Shaftesbury to move the first resolution. (Cheers.)

The Right Hon. the EARL of SHAFTESBURY, K.G. :—May it please your Grace, Ladies and Gentlemen,—It has always appeared to me a matter of great wonder in past times that men did not rush by common consent into the exploration of the Holy Land; but since the discoveries which have been made, and the certainty of greater treasures which are yet to be developed, I am perfectly astonished that our Report should only represent an income of about £4,000 a year—and as to those antagonists of this Society who complain of the waste of money which we expend on foreign objects, I repudiate it altogether. Gentlemen of that kind might well be informed of the advice which Bishop Stanley, of Norwich, gave me many years ago. He was often pestered by similar remarks, but he said, “Whenever I give a guinea to go across the water, I give a guinea to be spent on this side of it.” These are convenient arguments which cover parsimony under a pretext of discrimination. I have not in this matter any great geographical or antiquarian knowledge; though I have a strong antiquarian feeling on the subject. I have always considered this question upon a broader basis, and therefore this resolution is one of the most satisfactory I ever moved in my life, although the words in which it is expressed are somewhat too weak to express my feelings:—It is “That this meeting cordially approves of the action of the Committee, and pledges itself to use every effort to carry the survey to a successful termination.” Now, *approval* is much too weak a word; we ought to have one far more powerful to express what we feel. And then, as to the successful termination of our work, we must use a stronger expression than that we *pledge ourselves* to bring this about. Let us not delay to instruct our friend the Hon. Secretary, Mr. Grove, to send out the best agents he has in his power to search the length and breadth of Palestine, to survey the land; and if possible to go over every corner of it, drain it, measure it, and, if you will, prepare it for the return of its ancient possessors, for I must believe that the time cannot be far off

before that great event will come to pass. We have there a land teeming with fertility and rich in history, but almost without an inhabitant—a country without a people, and look! scattered over the world, a people without a country. I recollect speaking to Lord Aberdeen, when he was Prime Minister, on the subject of the Holy Land; and he said to me, “If the Holy Land should pass out of the hands of the Turks, into whose hands should it fall?” Why, the reply was ready, “Not into the hands of other powers, but let it return into the hands of the Israelites,” and surely there are signs to show that the time is near at hand when the Lord will have mercy upon Zion. I had once a conversation with that grand old Hebrew, Sir Moses Montefiore, now in his ninety-first year, but yet on the point of starting again on a pilgrimage of mercy. I had a conversation with him a few years ago, and we entered upon the whole subject of the Jewish question. A more liberal-hearted man does not exist on the face of the earth. I see in him a concentration of the spirit of the Maccabees. “The future of the Holy Land,” he said, “is this: Give us security for life and property, and the Jews will return and take possession of their ancient territory.” I have had letters to a similar purport from the Bishop of Jerusalem, who will no doubt confirm what I say. The number of Jews who have already returned to their land is considerable. Villas are growing up in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, they are occupied by Jews, and I hear that there is manifested a great inclination among the Jews in all parts of the South and the East for their return to the Holy Land, whenever they are assured that the Turkish Government will be not only able but willing to carry into effect the measures which have been ratified in their behalf. I do not wish, far from it, to disparage the labours of those men who hitherto have been engaged in the exploration of Palestine. On the contrary, I am astonished at the skill, diligence, and ability they have manifested, and I feel that everything they have added to our knowledge of the country is so much added to our knowledge of revealed truth, and, therefore, their exertions are to be spoken of with the highest gratitude and esteem. But I cannot help saying that we want to go much farther than the point they have reached. We may be told that we are impatient, and that we are not prosaic enough. I admit all that, and yet I cannot restrain myself, when I have such an object before me, from a desire to go into the matter deeper and deeper, so that not the coasts only, but the very bed of the River Jordan, should be explored; but, more than all, do I want to get, where we shall get at last, into the Mosque of Omar itself, and dive down into the cellars and recesses which are excavated in that limestone rock. I have heard from Jews, living on tradition as they do—and some of their traditions are well-founded—that the Ark of the Covenant is yet to be found there. They know that it was never taken away—there is, at least, no record of it—either in the time of Nebuchadnezzar or of Titus. Then, how could it disappear? The priests regarded it as the holiest of all their treasures; they hid it in some hour of peril in the vaults of the rock on which the Temple was built.

The priests who did it, so runs the belief, were slain in the siege, and the secret perished with them. At any rate, it is well worth our looking for; and if it could be brought to light—that grand old Ark of the Covenant—good heavens! what a discovery it would be! What an evidence in a day of trouble, of rebuke, and of blasphemy! This is particularly an age in which all our thoughts, and the whole of our hearts, are given to the present, indifferent to the past, and regardless of the future; but if we can bring men's minds to look back with reverence to days gone by, we shall, as Dr. Johnson says, have advanced somewhat in the dignity of thinking beings; and it might create in the minds of many people that strong desire expressed in the happy and burning words of old Moses, “Lord, I pray thee let me pass over and see that good land,” that goodly mountain, and Lebanon. I can only say that such feelings have passed through my own heart thousands and thousands of times. My old age is on this point not much tamer than my early life, nor am I singular, for I believe you will find, among the great mass of our people, thousands who read and love their Bibles, and who have a burning affection for that land, over whose “acres walked those blessed feet which eighteen hundred years ago were nailed, for our advantage, to the bitter Cross.” It is somewhat remarkable the passion which people in my own county of Dorsetshire have for Hebrew names, so delighted are they to be connected with the Old Testament. Thus, in my little churchyard, there is a tombstone, which I have often shown to strangers, with this inscription: “To the memory of Methuselah Coney, who died at the age of twelve months.” The love they have of Bible names neglects all consistency. Who would speak in disparagement of the antiquities of Mexico, of Greece, or Rome? but none of these can lead us to the sentiment which must be derived from the antiquities of Palestine, to the sanctifying effect of such researches, and which must excite solemn and reverential feelings in the heart of man. I may be speaking only my own sentiments, you may perhaps not all sympathise with me, but if so, I can only apologise for warmth of expressions which come from the depths of my own heart; and I cannot stand forward to move a resolution of this sort without saying thus much. And here, to conclude, I wear upon my finger something which hourly reminds me of these truths. When Dr. Alexander, the first bishop of Jerusalem, himself a Hebrew, went to the Holy City, he found one man, and one man only, who was cunning to engrave. That one man presented to him a small square bloodstone, which you see here on my finger, very rudely carved. Knowing the zeal I felt in the welfare of Israel, he sent it to me in a letter, and I have had it set, and wear it in a ring, which I hope to transmit to my posterity. On that stone is engraven—and I may point it out as a ground of union between us and the poorest Hebrews, though they believe but one half of the Bible—you will concur with me in the prayer which is engraved upon it—it will, I trust, be the prayer of all this assembly—“Oh, pray for the peace of Jerusalem; they shall prosper that love thee.” (Cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. BARCLAY:—My Lord Archbishop, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—When the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund did me the honour of inviting me to second this resolution, I naturally turned over in my mind what I ought to say, and a story flashed across my memory, which was once told me by a clerical friend of mine. Many years since, some friends of his were travelling in Palestine, and he directed a letter to one of them in Jerusalem. Two months elapsed, but he received no answer. Another month passed by, and there was still no answer. He then went to the village post-office, and asked the post-mistress if she had seen such a letter. After thinking the matter over, she said, “Oh yes, that is the letter I have upon the shelf. I have not posted it, because I knew Jerusalem was a place in the Bible, but I did not think it was a place on earth.” The schoolmaster has been abroad since then, but people are not altogether so wise as they should be now. Five years ago I was living with my family in Jerusalem, in which holy city some of my children were born; and there were people who saw them afterwards, not perhaps with disappointment, but with surprise that they were not born black. Now, the Americans have done much to spread the Bible abroad, and we cannot know too much about its history and geography. When an American minister proves to be a useful man to his congregation, they put apart a certain sum of money to send him to Palestine, on the condition of his writing to them a series of letters describing what he sees: and they consider that money has been well invested, for they feel that a religious teacher ought to be stored with information. But the majority of book writers cannot speak the language of the country when they get to Palestine, and they are therefore cut off from information, and are obliged to rely upon their dragomen. These men are very polite, and give them every information they think they desire, but the Arabs sum up their position by saying that “unless a man speaks the language of the country he is in danger of dying of starvation.” All the information we have got respecting Palestine does not satisfy the increased desire for further enlightenment on this important subject; and we especially want an accurate Ordnance map and survey of the whole country. Some people have an imaginary Palestine of their own, and do not want to go too much into detail about it. I have met with clergymen who have declined to visit Palestine because their minds are so made up about its geography that they do not wish to be disturbed in their ideas. Such persons have a paradise of their own, in which they live, but we want men who are competent to seek after truth, and they cannot seek after truth in a better land than Palestine. It is the whole earth in miniature, for while you have perpetual snow on the summit of Lebanon, you have, perhaps, the hottest spot on earth in the neighbourhood of the Dead Sea. In the mountains and valleys, also, we have a variety of climates, which are not met with anywhere else. All animals can live there; all plants can grow there; and a ride of a few miles will take you to another atmo-

sphere. Besides, Palestine is a special object of interest to the devout mind. When you turn to the Bible you find it said, "It is a land the Lord thy God careth for; the eyes of the Lord thy God are always upon it from the beginning of the year even unto the end of the year." "Careth for," in this passage means "seeketh after," and consequently it ought to be an object of interest to us. I am sure that underlying this movement there is a desire to know more and more of Palestine, and it is with this object that different explorations have been made in different parts of the country. I remember, by the kind permission of Captain Warren, going down the shafts which were sunk under Jerusalem, and particularly under the south-eastern wall of the Haram enclosure, and I shall never forget the wonderful feeling I experienced in seeing the red-paint marks upon the stones, as fresh as if the workmen had just left them. I felt as if Hiram and Solomon were quite close to me. When we investigated the fallen arch in the Tyropœon valley, we searched the court pavement for the ruts of the carriage wheels of ancient times, and it brought before us vividly the scene when the Temple was in flames, and Titus was standing in the outer court expostulating with the Jews and entreating them to spare the upper town. In exploring Jerusalem, my Lord Shaftesbury has touched upon one important point. We have still to get under the Mosque of Omar. I do not think the arguments I have heard, and which his Grace has alluded to, are valid ones. There is under the "Dome of the Rock" a place with a slab laid over the entrance, and if we could lift that up and let a man down, we might make important discoveries. I have often remonstrated with the keepers of the mosque, and tried from time to time to induce them to let me go down, but the answer was, "My beloved, we love you too much to let you do that; we do not know what might occur to you. There was once a sultan from Egypt who went into the Cave of Machpelah, and there he saw Sarah sitting up combing her hair, and she struck him blind." "Well," I replied, "you have more concern for me than I have for myself." "Even so, my beloved," was the reply. There is, however, still another work to be done in Jerusalem, and that is the exploration of the second wall. Captain Warren made some excavations in this direction, but he could not find the continuation of the wall. But, twelve years ago, I was commissioned to build a house in Jerusalem, and the plans were sent out to me from England. It was to be built on the northern slope of Mount Zion. We excavated to the depth of 39 feet, and could not find a foundation; but after a time we came upon the remains of an old tower, in what we thought was the wall. I had neither the means nor the time to engage further in the exploration, but we made it into a cistern to contain rain-water. But, even supposing that to be the second wall, it would only obviate one objection to the Holy Sepulchre, it would not prove the genuineness of the present site. Time would fail me to allude further to these excavations; but it is most interesting to

think of any spot on which our Lord stood. The question is often asked, "Can you show us, amid all these traditions, any place where our Lord stood?" Now, as you go out to Bethany there is a road on the hill-side, cut in the solid rock; an old Roman pavement remains there now, and a gentleman of eminence and knowledge of this question rode out with me upon this road, and when we came to the spot where our Lord must have passed, he said, "I cannot ride over that place: will you hold my horse?" and he walked over it. I hope, by the exertions of this Society, we shall arrive at a true solution of the dimensions of the Jewish eubit. With regard to the other discoveries which have been made there is specially that one of the Moabite stone, which I look upon as a page from Josephus himself. And, with regard to Josephus, I may say that I went to Palestine with a prejudice against that author, but I have tested him, so far as his topography is concerned, and have found it correct, and therefore my estimate of his accuracy has been increased a hundredfold. The more we investigate these things the more we shall be able to realise the facts of our religion, for it is a system of facts. Before I sit down I will venture to express what I think is the feeling of all Bible scholars, that we owe the greatest gratitude to Sir Henry James and his officers for the work they have done in Sinai. We have now established without doubt the site of the giving of the Law. What we wish done for Palestine is the same that was done for Mount Sinai; but we must not forget that this is expensive work, and that we want money. There is not only the cost in money, but the wear and tear of human life. Some of our explorers have given their lives to this work and are now sleeping their last sleep there till the roll-call of the Great Captain; and others may have to suffer in the work. It is a very difficult thing to make explorations amongst old ruins, but the men selected to do the work of this Society have been the right men in the right place. They have felt their responsibility, and they have done their duty. Everywhere throughout the world people are now waiting for the result of this Survey, and I have no doubt the speech of the noble Earl this day will find a response, for it is written, "Thy servants take pleasure in her stones, and favour the dust thereof." (Cheers.) I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

Capt. R. BURTON: Your Grace, Ladies, and Gentlemen,—Almost at the last moment your excellent Secretary, my good friend Mr. Walter Besant, sent me an "immediate" inviting me to speak about the trans-Jordanic region, and gave me the following resolution :

"That this meeting has heard with great satisfaction of the despatch of a second expedition by the American Association for the exploration of the Holy Land, and heartily wishes it every possible success."

As this meeting well knows, that part of Syria has been the happy hunting ground of your Anglo-American colleagues, who propose continuing their researches. They will doubtless prove formidable rivals

in the extent and value of their discoveries. The invitation so kindly conveyed orders me to renew a great sorrow. I had, as early as 1870, proposed to myself two trans-Jordanic trips. The first was to the great plateau of central Arabia, known as El Nejd, on a line a little north of that taken by Mr. Gifford Palgrave, whose charming book is in the hands of every one. But his geography is perhaps the loosest on record; he gives us no intelligible account of the mysterious region El Jauf, or the "hollow," an exceptional feature which, from the reports of the Bedawin, I am disposed to consider a great meridional depression corresponding in lay and length with the Jordan Valley, but wanting the river. To this feature especially I would draw the attention of our future travellers. The picturesque pages of Mr. Palgrave give no notice of the Roman, or rather the classical ruins which are said to extend from the Haurán to the highlands of El Nejd. I have often been assured of their existence by the Bedawin, who compared them with the Kasr el Hayr, the ruin near Karyatayn, on the way to Palmyra, and for a description of the latter I venture to refer you to Mrs. Burton's book, "Inner Life in Syria." The walls are reported to be "mukattab," that is, covered with inscriptions. The second excursion which I had kept for myself, and which I now recommend to others, is a visit to El Hijr, the district lying south-west of the Dead Sea, on the road to El Medinah. It is annually traversed by the great pilgrimage caravan which travels from Damascus to Meccah, and I had made all my arrangements to travel with the Arab chief who escorts the Tayyáreh or flying caravan sent to relieve the returning pilgrims with provisions and medical comforts. The strangest tales are told concerning El Hijr, and yet, though many have proposed visiting it, the tract remains unexplored. Thirty years ago the Ritter von Kremer, at the recommendation of that most distinguished Orientalist, Baron von Hugel, went to Damascus for the purpose, and was deterred by the large sums demanded from him. Lately at Bern, in Switzerland, I passed a couple of days with my kind friend Professor Aloys Sprenger, and we discussed at full length the wonders of El Hijr. I only hope that our Anglo-American collaborateurs will not neglect to borrow some of his local knowledge. Finally at Basel I strongly advised my young friend Prof. Socin, so well known by his travels from Damascus to the Euphrates, to attack El Hijr. He is one of the best men for explorations amongst Arabs, as he knows them thoroughly. The following two anecdotes may prove his tact and *savoir-faire*. On one occasion when a revolver was stolen from him he procured its restitution by threatening the Shaykh with a reference to Constantinople, and he punished him by the fine of a dollar by way of permit to his servant. They who know what the Bedawi thinks about a "stone dollar," as he calls it, will appreciate the just severity of the proceeding. On another occasion his escort attempted to desert him, when he cocked his rifle and declared he would shoot the first mare that moved. Had he said the first man, all would have laughed at his beard, but they thought much more seriously

about the murder of a mare. Mohammed, as many of you know, when passing through El Hijr, hooded his head, veiled his face, and hurried at full speed to escape from the phantoms which appal the sight, and the terrible voices which shriek in the wayfarer's ear. He declared it to be an accursed land, and every caravan, I am told, still follows his example. I would suggest that the idea arises from the number of statues and figures carved in the rocks. The peculiar measure of converting Damascus, the metropolis and head-quarters of Syria, from a consulate to a vice-consulate, caused my recall in 1872, and lost for me the chance of visiting the Nejd and El Hijr. But the glory of a discoverer is not the small addition to general knowledge which his individual efforts may secure; his aim is to excite emulation, and induce others to labour in the field which he has opened up. A certain book called "Unexplored Syria," has, I am told, had this effect, and has sent to Palmyra many students who before never thought of going there. The same, I hope, will be the result of a translation of Dr. Wetzstein's "Reise" to Haurán and the (two) Trachones. He describes and figures a world of ruins which is now passing away; the next generation will probably see nothing of these weird and ghostly basalt walls, which, deserted a thousand years ago and more, look as if the tenants had passed from them yesterday. These wondrous buildings, in which the hardest stone was worked like wood, are being pulled to pieces by the Druzes, and other races, to make their miserable cots. I will not call them, with the Rev. Dr. Porter, "the giant cities of Bashan"—in fact I hold, with Mr. Freshfield, that they are not "giant cities" at all. But I strongly recommend them to Colonel Lane. Another book is about to appear, and you will hail its appearance. The irreparable loss which the Palestine Exploration Fund, not to mention individuals, has sustained in the death of my lamented friend, that noble worker, Charles F. Tyrwhitt Drake, need not be enlarged upon in your presence, especially as it has been alluded to by Mr. George Grove. His widowed mother has resolved, you will be glad to hear, to publish in a collected form all those letters whose arrival in England used to be anticipated with so much eager curiosity, and read with so much pleasure and profit. *Non omnis moriar* will thus apply to the memory of that good and gallant English gentleman.

It is reported that the United States expedition has been amply provided with funds, the sinews of travel and of war, and we may believe the report, for our Anglo-American cousins never "do things by halves," as the phrase is. Their liberality contrasts strongly with the feeble support which the general public of England has bestowed upon your great undertaking; and this lukewarmness has ever been a marvel and enigma to me. We should of course have expected that in a country in which the Bible is the book most read, Bible lands would have been the most interesting on earth, and that your especial object, which is to illustrate those lands, would be the most popular of objects. You are changing careless and incorrect for highly finished maps upon a large



scale; a κτήμα ἐς ἀεὶ—you are labouring at the geology, the botany, the archaeology, and the *omnis res scibilis* of Palestine. “Sylvia’s Lovers,” a clever novel by Mrs. Gaskell, told me long ago that amongst the lower, that is, the uneducated classes of England, there is an idea that Biblical sites and cities like Jerusalem and Nazareth once existed, but now exist no longer; and did this idea extend to cultivated levels it would explain the curious apathy with which the vast additions to our knowledge proposed by the Palestine Exploration Fund have been received. The same, strange to say, appears to be the case with the Israelites dwelling in Europe; theoretically they take an immense interest in the homes of their forefathers—practically, it is difficult, I am assured, to unloose their purse-strings for the benefit of Judea. I have trespassed long upon the patience and courtesy of this meeting; but when wishing long life and success to the Palestine Exploration Fund, I would also express a hope that it will not consider its mission perfect when its map is published. North, south, and east of Palestine proper, there are wide regions whose inhabitants were and are still connected with it by ties of blood, and by the sympathisers of society. The country immediately about Damascus, the Lejá, the ’Alah, the Haurán, and many others, still await serious study, and this will be the work of long and laborious years. I will conclude with proposing the resolution, and with requesting this influential meeting to join me in offering our best wishes for the safety and success of Colonel Lane, the chief of the American Expedition, and his adventurous companions.

The Rev. HORROCKS COCKS, of Kensington, on rising to second the resolution, expressed the great pleasure it afforded him to be present at this annual meeting. He said he presumed that one of the reasons why he had been requested to speak to the resolution so ably moved by Captain Burton was, that he had several times visited the United States and Canada, though he thought that on this question England could justly claim the co-operation of the friends of Palestine in the Dominion, and he had, therefore, endeavoured to awaken an interest in the minds of some of the leading men of Canada in the important investigations which the Committee were carrying on in the Holy Land. The United States had no hoary past to glory in, no great international questions to discuss, no York Minster, no Westminster Abbey, no grand old buildings nor ruins to boast of; but most of the problems the Americans had to solve were territorial and material, and this to some extent explained the characteristics of the Transatlantic press. Still a section of the American people were devoting their attention to Palestine, and as this Society was rather emulous of co-operation than jealous of competition, the resolution would commend itself to them for cordial adoption. Having in a very humorous manner replied to the objections of certain would-be philanthropists who maintained that the dens of London needed exploration more than the sites of Palestine, the speaker pointed to the untiring labours of the Earl of Shaftesbury in grappling with the evils of our overcrowded cities, and said that the noble Earl was quite as much

interested in foreign as in home enterprises, as indeed his speech that day indicated. The speaker said that his mind was first awakened to the claims of Palestine by the labours of Dr. Traill and Isaac Taylor, whose joint translation of Josephus he eulogised, and said that some of the plates for this important work were prepared in his own residence, though he regretted that Dr. Traill was cut off so sadly and so suddenly by disease. He felt assured that in ten years to come where ten travellers now visited the Holy Land fifty would explore the regions east and west of the Jordan, and the important work projected and accomplished by this Society would materially assist future travellers and explorers in the Eastern lands. The speaker then said that he did not think it necessary, after the admirable addresses which had been delivered, for him to detain the meeting by any speech, though if there was one theme which fired his enthusiasm, and on which he delighted to dwell, it was Palestine, and he had come prepared to speak for an hour, if necessary, upon the work which this Society had accomplished. He did not intend to dogmatise on questions of theology or prophecy, but if he might be allowed to add another article to his creed it would be—Judea for the Jews. Dwelling on this topic for a few moments, the speaker concluded by stating that the Palestine Exploration Society was carrying on a most important enterprise which challenged the sympathy and support of all Christian people. The survey which they had already accomplished was of great importance, and he predicted for the land which they were now exploring a brilliant industrial, commercial, agricultural, and spiritual future.

Mr. GROVE proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman.

Rev. G. WILLIAMS: I have great pleasure in seconding the resolution, and am glad to avail myself of the occasion of doing so to say that lately when I was staying at Oxford I had an opportunity of talking over this map of Palestine with Dr. Pusey, and I promised him that if I had the opportunity I would communicate to this meeting the very great value he attaches to the work which is being done in Palestine by this Association. No person can better appreciate the work than Dr. Pusey, and I am glad to say that it has his most entire approval and support; and I may perhaps be allowed to mention, as a hint to the Executive Committee, that many of us would, I am sure, be very glad indeed if this map could be at once taken in hand and published in parts as rapidly as those parts can be completed, and then put into a complete form perhaps two or three years hence. In the meantime many of us who are interested in the geography of Palestine are exceedingly impatient to have the results of that great work which this Society has undertaken. It is a great satisfaction to me, my Lord Archbishop, to second the vote of thanks to your Grace, who has watched with such interest the proceedings of this Society, and whose services in advocating it have been so valuable. (Cheers.)

# THE SURVEY OF PALESTINE.

LIEUT. CLAUDE R. CONDER'S REPORTS.

XXXII.

BEIT JIBRIN, 20th March, 1875.

THE SURVEY OF THE DEAD SEA DESERT, AND A VISIT TO MASADA.

THE wearisome period of indoor work which we are yearly compelled to undergo during the violent cold and wet winter weather—a time when we all suffered much in health, and which is never looked forward to with pleasure—is at length over, and I hope that only one more winter in Palestine remains to be gone through.

On the 25th February, as soon as a storm of rain and wind had subsided, we once more took the field. The expedition was cut down to the utmost, only such clothes as could be carried in the beds were allowed. Books, meteorological instruments, photographic apparatus, and one tent were left behind. Lieut. Kitchener having only just recovered from a sharp attack of fever, as well as our head servant, who has for some time past suffered very much from the effects of our hard campaign in the Jordan valley, remained in Jerusalem in order to complete the selling off of Fund property authorised by the Committee, and thus the party being reduced considerably, we managed to place our whole equipment, including barley for three days, upon twelve pack animals. The reason of this change was that we proposed, by forced marches and rapid work, to fill in the Judæan Desert from the line of Wady el Taamirah to the boundary of the trigonometrical survey at Wady Seiyal, 330 square miles in all, and as supplies were not to be obtained, nor camels to be hired in this wild district, we had to carry all we wanted with us, and it was a great object to move as rapidly as possible.

Our success was greater than we could have expected; we were not stopped by weather until quite the end of the time. In twelve days we surveyed the whole 330 square miles, settled over 200 names, and only paid about £7 in backsheesh, whereas other travellers had been obliged in fourteen days to pay as much as £30. We made a correct plan of the fortress of Masada and visited 'Ain Jidy. Thus, in spite of two days during which we were detained in Hebron by a violent storm, we succeeded in reaching our present camp in the western plain on the 11th

March. On the 13th Lieut. Kitchener re-joined, and the ordinary survey work was re-commenced.

During the whole of this period not one of the natives who accompanied us was able to speak a word of any language but Arabic—a fact which is, perhaps, worth mentioning, as showing that the party has become pretty independent in the matter of language.

The main points of Biblical interest in this area were, first, the recovery of those of the six cities in the *Midbar* or wilderness which are as yet unknown—namely, Middin, Sekakah, the City of Salt, and Nibshan, apparently all lying between Jericho and Engedi; and, in the second place, the identification of the famous cave “by the sheepcotes (Gederoth) on the way” from Engedi to the land of Benjamin, where Saul and David met on the occasion when the king came down “to seek David and his men upon the rocks of the wild goats” (1 Sam. xxiv. 2).

As regards the first our success has been indifferent; with the exception of Middin, I am unable to propose any identifications. We found the Arabs very willing and intelligent, and every ruin we could hear of we fixed and explored, but the total number did not exceed seven, and of these only one (Khirbet Umm Halesch) seemed undoubtedly an old site. The remainder were the traces of small convents, hermit's caves, and other indications of early Christian monkish establishments, probably belonging to the fifth and sixth centuries, when such numbers of saints and hermits came to these dreary solitudes to spend their days in retirement.

There is no want of care or thoroughness in the work which can account for not finding the ancient sites and names we had hoped to fix, but a reason which seems to me to preclude the possibility of the preservation of the names exists in the *modern and descriptive character of the nomenclature throughout the district*. We have always found it far easier to collect names among the Arabs than among the Fellahin or villagers. The names are quite as numerous and better known; the nomadic tribes far more intelligent and more willing to give the names. At first sight, the chance of identification would seem greater in the wild country where no plough has passed over the ground, and no village has been built from the dismembered relics of ancient structures, but experience teaches us that the reverse is the case. The settled population have preserved the ancient names under forms more or less modified, the wandering Bedouin have replaced them by descriptive titles of their own, and thus the names of ruins are merely “Mother of Pillars,” “Father of Caves,” “Pigeon's Cliff,” “Valley of Nests,” “Valley of Wild Goats,” “The Convent,” “The Steps,” or some similar insignificant but well-known appellation. The nomenclature already obtained before the survey is far more correct here than in other parts of Palestine; we were able most fully to confirm the results of Dr. Tristram's work along the shores of the Dead Sea, as well as to admire the energy which must have been necessary to enable him to push for-

ward in places where I should have thought it impossible for pack animals to pass. The labours of Robinson here, as everywhere, are marvellously accurate and satisfactory; and of the forty names on Murray's map (one-fifth of the number we obtained) we found all but two correct, although the positions of some places were altered as much as four miles.

It was extremely fortunate for us that the great storm which caught us at Tekú'a last December and drove us back to Jerusalem forbade our attempting to push through the Desert as we intended. Even in the early spring we had considerable difficulty in obtaining water, and I think that, as scarcely any rain fell in this desert, we should have found it impossible to proceed at the former time, even if there had been no danger of fever, as we were warned there was; and, indeed, considering the pestilence which raged over the plains last autumn (reducing the population of many villages one half), and also remembering the unhealthy condition of Jericho, even as late as January, we should probably have suffered severely in the lower country near 'Ain Jidy.

The route we took through the country differs from that of both Tristram and Robinson. We camped for two days at the principal well in Wady Hasásah (Bir el Sekeiríyeh). Thence we removed to 'Ain Jidy, where our Arabs were anxious for us to camp at the fountain. Looking down, however, from the top of the cliffs at the narrow serpent-like path or *Nukb*, which led down 1,200 feet to the spring, I came to the conclusion that it would be impossible for heavily-laden animals, tired with five hours' march, to get down in safety, so we camped on the top of the cliff, and sent all the beasts down unloaded to drink and to bring up water. It took them one hour to get down and one hour and a quarter to get up again. We afterwards descended to the Dead Sea shore for survey, and were of opinion we should have lost half of our beasts if we had followed the advice of the Arabs (who have no idea what a horse can or cannot do). One false step and an animal might roll to the bottom without stopping, as we afterwards heard had happened to more than one unlucky camel bringing loads of salt from Jebel Usdum. We afterwards found water in a hollow of the rocks, and on this we existed for two days.

From 'Ain Jidy we removed to Bir es Sherky, a fine rock-cut reservoir, nearly full of water, and containing also many frogs and weeds. The taste was unpleasant. We stayed here one day, and visited Masada, nine miles distant. Thence we removed to Wady Seiyal to the encampment of Abu Dahúk (son of the famous sheikh of that name). Here we were caught in the most tremendous gale which we have yet experienced in tents; and our next march of nineteen miles in a perfect hurricane of bitter wind, with showers of sleet and hail, necessitated by the fact that all our barley and other stores were consumed, was the hardest bit of experience we have yet encountered. Our dogs and two muleteers were unable to face the storm, and took refuge in caves. Old Sheikh

Hamzeh (the famous guide, of whom Dr. Tristram, Mr. Palmer, and others have written) fell off his pony twice, and had to be tied on. The brave beasts struggled for eleven hours, and crossed more than one torrent of cold water up nearly to the girths, but by eight at night they were in a warm stable, and we had found refuge in Hebron in the house of a German Karaito Jew, whose hospitality was as great as his subsequent charge was high. We passed the following day in the house, and on the Wednesday encamped on the green in front of the town. On Thursday we again packed the tents wet, and descended to our present camp at Beit Jibrin, where a day was devoted to getting the camp dry, resembling a ship after a storm, with every sort of article, bedding, clothing, tents, &c., exposed to the sun and the breeze. The horses showed for several days the effects of the two nights' exposure to cold and wet in the forms of rheumatism, sore back, and sore heel, but so hardy are these Syrian horses that not one was off its feet through the whole of the time.

To return to the results obtained. There is an important canon of identification which, though it is hinted at more than once by Mr. Grove, has been entirely ignored by many of the later writers on Biblical sites. As it is in perfect accordance with the discoveries made during the course of the survey, I feel no hesitation in confirming its value, and the beauty of the explanation thus given to what has often been supposed a confused and fragmentary inventory of towns will be at once recognised. The proposition may be briefly stated as follows:—"The order of occurrence of the names in any of the groups of towns mentioned in the book of Joshua is invariably an indication of relative situation." The order is, in fact, the natural one in which any modern inhabitant of the country might enumerate the sites, whilst the different groups are all natural divisions of the country according to physical characteristics. This fact, which I hope to prove definitely in my next report, is the next step to the classification in groups under the various royal cities which I pointed out as being the first step in systematic distribution of the sites. The third step remains: the identification of each site in accordance with these propositions, towards which the survey will have done more than has been done since the time of Robinson; and thus I hope that one and not the least valuable of its results will be the vindication of the systematic and contemporary character of the topographical passages of the Book of Joshua.

I feel that this subject is of such interest that it cannot be too strongly insisted on. In the papers which I have sent to the Committee on the topography I have, to a certain extent, followed it out. In the tribe of Judah the towns, 126 in all, are divided into twelve groups. The cities of the south country (the first group) lie beyond the Beersheba limit of our work. The fourteen towns of the Shephalah, the sixteen cities of the Plain, the nine cities of the lowlands of Libnah, are so little known

that I hope my report on the identifications in these districts will quite revolutionise some of the theories previously put forward. The three cities of Philistia are all known, but the Western Negeb (capital Debir) and the group between this and the Jeshimon were scarce known at all till last autumn. Last, but not least, is the group of nine, of which Hebron is the capital, and of which we have newly identified three. The remaining groups are better known, being those in the hills; six cities, of which Gedor was the capital; and those mentioned by the Septuagint immediately south of Jerusalem, with six in the Midbar. In every one of these groups I hope to be able to show that the canon of identification proposed above holds good, but more than one old identification will be found to fail under the test in cases where a similarity of name alone has been thought sufficient.

Judging by this indication of position the site of Middin should be on the northern limit of the Midbar or Desert. The position of Betharabah, first in the list, though not certainly identified, is known to have been near to W. Kelt, south of Jericho. Middin stands next to it. This consideration leads me to identify it with Khirbet Mird, a famous site on the edge of the Bukeia, east of Mar Saba. It is noticed by M. Ganneau and Mr. Drake in former reports, and there is no doubt that it was an ancient site of considerable importance. It stands upon a steep cliff, and the water supply is derived from a fine aqueduct leading to rock-cut reservoirs. Other caves containing water are hewn at the foot of the hill. Further details I cannot give from memory alone, and my notes and plans connected with the site are now in London. At a later period the site was known as Mons Mardes, but if it be, as I believe, an acknowledged law that R and D are often interchanged, then we have in Mird a corruption possibly of Midd, and the name is the same as that of Middin, the loss of the final N being very common in the Arabic modification of Hebrew names. Were it not for the position of the site and the impossibility of identifying it with any town except one of the list of six cities in the Desert, I should hesitate to put forward this suggestion, but taking the various circumstances in favour of the identifications, the name seems to me to be sufficiently near.

It is not, however, possible to suppose that any large or important places ever existed in the dreary wastes, rocky valleys, conical chalk mounds, white flint-bound ridges, or in the winding muddy wadies, with an occasional reservoir hewn in the harder stratum of the limestone to supply water in a country destitute of springs. Except at 'Ain Jidy, the Hazazon Tamar, or Southern City of Palms, there is no natural site for a city in this "solitude," aptly so called in the Bible (Heb. Ha-Jeshimon). One may travel all day and see only the desert partridge, and a chance fox or vulture. Only the dry and fleshy plants, which require no water, grow on the hills, and in the valleys the most luxuriant vegetation consists of the Retem, or white broom bushes which were just coming into bloom. Wearisome to ride over, and uninterest-

ing to survey, the Jeshimon is in parts (as below 'Ain Jidy) deserted even by the Arabs, and is the most desolate country we have ever come across. I am strongly tempted to suppose that Sekakah, Nibshan, and the City of Salt, were small mud villages on the borders of the Dead Sea, in the vicinity of such springs as 'Ain Terábeh and 'Ain el Ghuweir. The name City of Salt suggests a connection with the Salt Sea, unless, indeed, it were to be placed at Tell el Milh, "the Hill of Salt;" but here the question of relative position comes in, and seems to me to prevent the identification. It might possibly be thought that Sekakah has some connection with Ras el Shngf, but the suggestion is scarce worth mentioning, and unless some future careful explorer is more fortunate than we were, I fear that the four cities of the desert have shared the fate of Sodom and Gomorrah, and have left no trace behind.

In the second question, that of the cave where Saul and David met, we shall, I hope, turn out to be more fortunate. In the lower country the ridges above the Dead Sea caves are not numerous, and all my inquiries failed to produce one sufficiently large for the requirements of the case. A few small *Tors*, as they are here called, exist, but in none of these could "David and his men" be hidden "in the sides of the cave," so as to be unseen by Saul as he entered. There are, however, caves on the edge of the higher hills, and we at last heard of a cave, said to be of considerable size, at Khirbet Minieh, on the direct route from Jerusalem to 'Ain Jidy. I was not able at the time to visit it, but shall make a point of doing so from Jerusalem in May. These caves are still used by the peasantry from the hill country as sheepcotes; and if, as seems likely, this cave prove to be of unusual extent, upon the direct route, and as far as we have been able to find the only one upon that route, there will be at least a considerable probability that it is the site in question.

The difficulty of the country, especially towards the north of the district, is very considerable. On our first day's expedition across country it took us over four hours to advance five miles, owing to the great depth of the valleys, and at length, when we fancied we had arrived at our point, we found it would take two hours more at least to reach it. Fortunately we got a good view of the valley at our feet, and were not absolutely obliged to revisit the point in question. Farther south the country is absolutely impassable, as huge gorges 1,000 to 1,500 feet deep, and nearly a mile wide in some places, are broken by the great torrents flowing in winter over perpendicular precipices into the sea. We descended and followed the shore at 'Ain Jidy as far as the sulphur springs discovered by Dr. Tristram. These proved to be dry, though there was a very strong and local smell of sulphur, observable only for some few yards near the shore. The season was much drier than that when Dr. Tristram visited the shore, and the *Seil*, or brook in Wady Sideir, which he saw, and of which our Arabs spoke, was quite dry, as well as that in Wady el Areijeh.



The scenery along the shore is so magnificent in its wild and desolate grandeur that it was worth any discomfort or weariness to see it. Below is the blue oily water, the white capes, and little mud cones of a soft deposit, marking a former geological level; above, the tall crags and castellated precipices of the great wall, which runs ever higher and steeper to near Masada. From 'Ain Jidy the square isolated block of Masada was visible, and the low mole-hill of Jebel Usdum; whilst on the east above the deep gorges of the Arnon and lesser streams among the Blue Mountains, "scarred with an hundred wintry water-courses," the white towers of Kerak were distinctly visible, standing apparently unapproachable upon a great cliff. The ride to Masada was equally grand; and the appearance of this wonderful fortress, as it stood up black against the morning sun, and the shining level of the Dead Sea, while below, in the valley, a herd of *beden* (the Ibex, or wild goat) were hopping from boulder to boulder, was as grand and picturesque a bit of savage scenery as a painter could desire. I was sorry Lieut. Kitchener was unable to accompany us for photography, especially as I had no time for sketching. Corporal Armstrong took three dry-plate views, two of which seem satisfactory, but the great gale at Masada made photography almost an impossibility.

The Ta'amirch Arabs, amongst whom we were first, have a very bad name in Jerusalem, but we found them civil and obliging, and very intelligent, especially Sheikh Abel el Kader, at whose camp—the largest encampment I have yet seen, twenty-eight tents, or about thirty guns—we first pitched in Wady Hasásah. These Ta'amirchs are not true Arabs, but half Fellahin. They are fine-built fellows, of a browner colour than the true Bedawi, and wear shoes and turbans, instead of the kufeyeh and sandal. They are also so degraded as to cultivate the ground, and grow corn, which they store in Bethlehem, and sell for very high prices.

On the second day, when out alone with Abel el Kader, I met some very wild-looking fellows belonging to the K'aabineh; they were true Bedouin, with the peculiar silvery tint which overlies the brown of their complexion, giving them a dusky appearance. They all wore sandals, and a single shirt, with ram's horn for powder, and a very long gun slung behind. Though at first they ran at us as though to annihilate us, they were very civil, knowing the sheikh well, and on his explaining that I was one of a party of Kanasil, a term I afterwards found to be the plural of consul, a European dignitary for whom the Bedawi has unlimited respect. I hope that I shall be pardoned for thus involuntarily assuming such a title, but it appears that in the desert it is not always possible or wise to refuse honours when "thrust upon one."

The Bedouin appear to look forward to a millenium, when the Christians will turn the desert into a Paradise of running streams, gardens, and vineyards. In this, it seems to me, we have a tradition of Crusading times. The Crusaders appear to have turned considerable attention to

the cultivation of the Jordan valley and Dead Sea basin. At Beisan and Jericho we found traces of sugar manufacture, and the drystone walls of the Crusading vineyards extend over all the Bukeia, or low plain beneath Mar Saba. Farther south we found the Roman camps were called by our guides to Masada, *Karum Kharban*, or "ruined vineyards."

The great luxury coveted by the Bedouin is tobacco, and we soon found that the present of a pipeful would bring the whole tribe on us in a swarm, in relation to which the Jehalin pipes, as I informed Abu Dahuk, had *finjans*, or coffee-cups, by mistake, for bowls, being, I should fancy, about double the capacity of the ordinary native pipe.

From 'Ain Jidy southwards, the country belongs to the Jehalin, who, as far as our experience goes, we found fully worthy of Dr. Robinson's remark that they are the filthiest and most degraded of Arabs. The former tribes have no horses, but the Jehalin have some strong and large mares—not, however, I imagine, very well bred. The young Sheikh Abu Dahuk is one of the greatest ruffians I have ever met, and I have no doubt might any day endeavour to emulate the prowess of his father.

At Wady Hasásah we heard great accounts of a raid by the Dhullam Arabs, and that the Jehalin had been driven from their country, but I was inclined to disbelieve the story altogether, and it was not till we were leaving the country that we found a body of cavalry posted close to our camp at Wady Seiyal, and that a serious fray had really occurred just before we arrived, which may account for the excited bearing of many of the Arabs we met. The Bedouin are for some reason or other all much excited just now in the south, and we hear that war is going on within three hours' distance of our present camp at Beit Jibrin.

Two sites of especial interest demand a special description, namely, 'Ain Jidy and Masada.

*'Ain Jidy.*—The spring of 'Ain Jidy comes out from beneath a rock on a little plateau 500 feet above the Dead Sea, and 1,200 feet below the top of the cliffs. Its temperature at the spring head on a cool cloudy day we found to be 83° Fahr., unpleasantly warm to the taste, though the water is clear and sweet. I was not previously aware that it was a thermal spring. The stream flows in a long cascade over the steep face of the cliff, and is lost in channels for irrigation beneath. Its course is marked with tall rushes and low bushes, and the gigantic leaves of the 'Osher, the yellow berries of the *Solanum*, or apple of Sodom, and the flat cedar-like tops of the thorny *Dardára*, make a thicket round the spring. The bulbuls and hopping thrushes delight in this cover, and on the cliffs above, the black grakles, with their golden wings and melodious note, may be seen soaring. Beneath the spring on every side are ruined garden walls and terraces, and a large terraced mound or tell, perhaps the site of the ancient town. An aqueduct leads from the spring to Wady el Areijeh, where are other smaller

water channels, relics of some well-watered garden of perhaps Crusading times. The tombs found by Dr. Tristram we did not see, but what seemed to me of most interest was a rude, square, solid platform, about 10-15 feet wide, and 3 feet high, consisting of unhewn blocks, and having very much the appearance of what might not unnaturally be expected to exist in such a spot—namely, an ancient altar, dating back, perhaps, to Jewish times.

There is a ruined mill, apparently modern, at the spring, and a building resembling a small tower, beneath the gorge of Wady el Areijeh, but beyond what is mentioned above, we saw no indications of antiquity. Not a single palm exists this side of the Dead Sea, and the shore presents alternately masses of boulders and broken stones, or fine shingle, very tiring to walk upon. The whole extent is utterly barren until the cane-brake and marshy ground near the northern springs and Ras Feshkiah are reached.

*Masada.*—The site of Masada requires, perhaps, more careful exploration than we were able to give to it. Time pressed, and we could only afford a single day, so we got into the saddle by 6 a.m., reached the ruin by 9 a.m., and remained till 3 p.m. We executed a traverse survey of the top with the prismatic compass and tape, and special plan of the chapel. We also fixed the positions of the Roman camps below. A very severe gale of wind came on, and we found great difficulty in taking our observations. I was disappointed in the hope of descending to the tower at the north angle, being afraid to venture in so strong a wind 70 feet down over the edge of the precipice, although I had brought ladders and ropes for the purpose. Perhaps some opportunity may occur later of making this interesting exploration. We returned to camp at 6 p.m., and were kept awake all night by the wind.

To give an adequate idea of the appearance of Masada is by no means easy, a great plateau standing 1,500 feet or more above the Dead Sea, and measuring 2,080 feet along its greatest length, which extends north and south, and 1,050 feet east and west; it is surrounded on every side with vertical walls of rock, and cut off from the rest of the cliff by deep gorges on the south, south-east, north-west, and west, whilst on the east it stands above a broad plain reaching down to the shore of the Dead Sea.

The first point which strikes one on approaching the ruin and climbing to the plateau is the wonderful exactitude of the description by Josephus (B. J. vii. 8. 2). Left last to the Jews as a stronghold after the capture of Herodium and Machærus, it was not until every other disturbance had been quelled that the Romans turned to the tremendous task of reducing Masada. Flavius Silva "got together all his army" and besieged Eleasar, chief of the Sicarii, and having garrisoned the surrounding country, "he built a wall quite round the entire fortress; he also set his men to guard the several parts of it; he also pitched his camp in such an agreeable place as he had chosen for the siege, and at which place the rock belonging to the fortress did make the nearest

approach to the neighbouring mountain." Yet further, the main difficulty of the siege, the absolute impossibility of obtaining not only provisions, but even a drop of water, was overcome by Roman energy and system, and supplies were brought into camp probably from a great distance; as no water exists, as far as we could discover, within a radius of about ten miles, the principal supply was probably from 'Ain Jidy and the springs near it along the seashore.

Josephus goes on to describe the fortress and the valleys, of which he says well "that the eye could not reach their bottoms." Two approaches alone existed, one on the seaside, one on the west or land side. The first, called the "Serpent," from its innumerable windings, appears to have been a mere track by which a man could climb, and has almost entirely disappeared; but looking cautiously over the edge I could see far down faint traces of a parapet wall near the bottom of the precipice, looking like an outwork perched upon the crags. This is no doubt part of the more difficult ascent. The land approach was easier, a narrow knife-like promontory of softer limestone here juts out from the rocky wall. This is the *White Promontory*. The junction of the tongue with the main cliff is now hidden by a huge mound of *débris* reaching up perhaps 300 feet. This huge earthwork is the ramp which the Roman general made to attack the fortress from the side of his camp in the most accessible (or rather the least impossible) direction.

On reaching the summit one is struck, first, by the small extent of the ruins compared with the area of the plateau; secondly, with the difficulty of supplying the garrison with water. The first is fully explained by Josephus: "For the king reserved the top of the hill, which was of a fat soil and better mould than any valley, for agriculture, that such as committed themselves to this fortress for their preservation might not even there be quite destitute of food in case they should ever be in want of it from abroad." Thus it is quite natural that the principal and most ancient ruins should be confined to the northern corner of the enclosure. The whole plateau was surrounded by a wall which now remains in heaps of good-sized masonry rudely squared and apparently never laid in mortar. The length of this wall we make to be 4,880 feet; according to Josephus it was seven furlongs, or about 4,620 feet; another instance of the fact that the supposed exaggerations of this author disappear before careful examination. Even the great length which he ascribes to the "Serpent ascent," thirty furlongs, only gives an average length of thirteen times the vertical height to be scaled, which cannot be thought excessive, being, as far as I can calculate, almost exactly the gradient of the terrible *Nakb* or descending path from the upper cliff to the spring at 'Ain Jidy.

The towers round the wall are still traceable in places, and the block of Herod's palace "within and below the walls of the citadel, but inclined to its north side at the western ascent," is to be identified, I think, with the great square area 200 feet wide, which now presents nothing but a confused mass of fallen walls and masonry, and which

adjoins the top of the western ascent close within the wall. There is a striking resemblance between the masonry and that at Jebel Fureidis. Near the north corner of the fortress a small vault remains perfect. It has a cradle roof semicircular, and with the narrow keystone and broader stones at the haunches which I have so often had occasion to point out as being distinctive of Roman work. Another peculiarity is common in the two sites. The main part of the ruins consist of long parallel walls of rudely squared masonry extending some 100 feet, and having intervals of only 10 feet. It will be found that a precisely similar disposition equally puzzling exists in the ruins of the great building generally considered the site of Herod's summer palace at the foot of Jebel Fureidis. In all probability these foundation vaults were used as storehouses, and in them would be found those treasures of corn and fruit which, laid up by Herod, were found fresh and good 100 years later by Eleasar.

Josephus frequently speaks of "the very top of the mountain," and the expression seems to refer to the high mound at the north angle, from which a subterranean passage led to the palace. The western ascent was guarded by a large tower 1,000 cubits below (about 1,300 feet, again a very correct estimate); from the summit of this we did not remark any traces, and no doubt it was destroyed by the Romans. It can hardly, I think, be identified with the curious circular tower at the north angle, 70 feet beneath the platform, which I was unable to visit, but which does not seem to be specially mentioned by Josephus.

The next question is that of water supply, concerning which we read that Herod "cut many and great pits as reservoirs for water at every one of the places that were inhabited." Of these we found six in all pretty evenly distributed over the area, and averaging 50 to 100 feet in length. In addition to this there is a fine masonry reservoir measuring nearly 50 feet in length placed in the southern angle, and a small well on the west near the wall. The great pits were all dry, but this is probably due to no rain having fallen, and not to the decay of the fortress, for with one exception they do not seem to have ever been cemented.

To return to the Roman siege of Masada. The White Promontory was 300 cubits (400 feet) beneath the plateau, and the mound made by Silva was 200 cubits, or 270 feet high. On the top of the mound it was, therefore, necessary to raise another structure, and "another elevated work of great stones compacted together was raised upon that bank: this was 50 cubits (about 70 feet) both in breadth and in height." This, also, remains intact upon the top of the mound, a narrow causeway at a slope of about one by one, and reaching about the height and breadth mentioned by Josephus to within a short distance of the present gateway. It consists of large blocks rudely hewn and very closely built together. The exactitude of this description furnishes, I would suggest, a good answer to those writers who are only too apt to discover exaggeration and error in the descriptions of the Jewish historian, written, as they would have us believe, at a distance from the spot which he himself had never visited, and after a lapse of time sufficient to account for any

supposed errors. This is emphatically untrue as regards Masada. The description is that of one familiar with the site and accustomed to describe what he saw with an accuracy to which the majority of modern writers cannot lay claim.

The Roman investment remains perfect to this day, and as one looks down upon the long wall and orderly camps spread out as upon a plan beneath, the mind conjures up the system and discipline of a Roman army, the shining armour and orderly ranks which Josephus delights to describe, and one can imagine the despair of the wretched zealots as they looked down secure but helpless on the inevitable fate which the genius, energy, and determination of a Roman general was slowly but surely preparing for them.

On the west side of the fortress, upon a low spur of the hills, lies the camp which Silva held in person. It is a square of some 200 feet wide, as far as we can judge, rather larger than the average of such camps as exist near Jenin and Beit Jibrin. The four gates, with their internal traverse, and the Via Principalis, are distinctly traceable. In the north-west corner is an inner enclosure, which I suppose to be the position of the general's tent. The walls are now huge heaps of stones, but they seem to have been built up in courses which remain visible here and there.

A second camp, almost of equal magnitude, is laid out on the plain south-east of the rock. It has the peculiarity of a sort of bastion in the south-west angle. The surrounding wall runs in front of these camps, and in connection with this there are six small square forts of perhaps 50 feet wide, two in front of the eastern camp, two between it and that of Silva, and two yet farther west, the last being skilfully hidden behind a conical peak so as to be invisible from all that part of the fortress which is most nearly approached to this outwork. These forts remind us of those mentioned in the famous siege of Jerusalem by Titus. In fact, the attack has many striking points of similarity; it is made on the open ground north and east of the fortress, and on the other sides the great wall, as at Jerusalem, scales the steep slopes of the hills on the opposite sides of the ravine and runs along the plateau above. It is quite possible that Silva, when he planned the attack on Masada, had in his mind the example of the emperor in that successful blockade which, to a soldier, seems remarkable for its happy choice of position.

The value of this perfect example of the method employed by the Romans in conducting a siege in the stonier parts of Palestine is unquestionable; by the light of what we can here learn we shall be able to search at Jerusalem for indications of the great surrounding wall, and of the site of Roman camps, and I already see that the great flint mounds near Scopus, which have as yet escaped the attention of explorers, will require careful examination, as very probably connected with the first Roman camp there established. We cannot, however, expect at Jerusalem, where the ground is all under cultivation, that any traces so perfect as those round this desolate fortress should have been left to the

present day. The lesson we learn from Masada—untouched and scarce visited since it met its fate from Silva—is, that the destruction of ruins in Palestine is due far more to human agency than to the gradual action of time.

Roman ruins, though the most interesting, are not, however, the only ones at Masada. In the centre of the area stands a Byzantine chapel, which, from the disposition of the atrium and the rounded arches of the windows, I should be disposed to think earlier than Crusading times. There are no masons' marks on its walls, and the masonry of the apse is finished with a tooling which, as I have previously described it, belongs to Byzantine times.

The entrance gate to the fortress is, however, evidently later, and has a pointed arch with a keystone cut out beneath so as to give the apex of the arch. On the outside are the marks which M. de Sauley compares with planetary signs.

The first is the well-known *Wusun*, or tribe mark of the Rasheideh Arabs, two of the others are claimed by sections of the Jehalin. The remaining marks, some old, some fresh cut, are of the same origin, and show the assertion made by various tribes in turn of proprietorship of the hidden treasures which the Bedouin suppose to exist here. I did not observe any mark which seemed to me of earlier character.

Two curious details remain to notice—the hermit's cave and the pigeon-hole niches in the walls of the buildings. The first, a small tomb-like cavern immediately south of the chapel, I have never seen noticed. I entered and planned it, and found on the wall of the vestibule the following short inscription painted on the white rock in that curious red pigment which is observable in the graphitæ on the pillars of the Holy Sepulchre church, and in those of the Basilica at Bethlehem, in the apse of the chapel in the Convent of the Cross, and in other places where mediæval graphites remain :—

+ΚΥΡΙΩΚΟC+

On the left is a rude bit of ornamentation which I take to represent a branch with two pomegranates and some leaves.

The pigeon-hole niches formed by the disposition of the masonry in the interior wall of a tower on the west wall, and on both sides of the wall forming the chord of a semicircular structure in another part of the ruin, have been photographed before, and have considerably puzzled most explorers. I suppose them to be of Christian origin. We shall have occasion to mention similar niches in the cave chapels at Beit Jibrin. At Damascus the Burj el Rus, or "tower of heads," has similar niches, where, I believe, the skulls of criminals used to be exhibited. The niches are larger than those for lamps, so common in tombs, as at Tibneh. The disposition of skulls into trophies is a ghastly fancy, common in Italy and in parts of France as well as in Sinai, and the most natural explanation seems to me that the skulls of the monks or hermits who, as we see from the chapel and the Christian inscription, once frequented the spot, were collected and exhibited to their brethren upon

these walls. The semicircular building is away from the site of the Roman remains in an isolated position, and as it falls approximately to the east I suppose it to be a trace of another chapel, though I failed to find traces of the walls of a nave.

For further particulars I must refer to the plan which we shall send home as soon as possible, and to detailed notes which are stored in our note-books. Of subterranean caverns, beyond a few caves in the face of the cliff looking like hermits' habitations, I saw no traces; but, as I have said above, I was unfortunately unable to attempt the descent to the great circular tower, and did not therefore see those entrances which Dr. Tristram mentions as probably leading to great vaults. Such vaults are not, however, mentioned by Josephus in his general description, although he makes mention of a cavern in which the seven wretched survivors found refuge. This need not, however, of necessity have been larger than the supposed hermit's cave or tomb described above, which would hold easily more than double that number.

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### XXXIII.

BEIT JIBRIN, *March 26th, 1875.*

#### THE SHEPHALAH AND PLAIN OF JUDAH, BEIT JIBRIN, GATH, ADULLAM, AND LIBNAH.

THE survey is at present steadily advancing through the lowlands and Plain of Judah. Nearly half the towns which are noticed in the topographical lists of the Book of Joshua belong to districts now being surveyed, and for the most part almost unknown. With the exception of Captain Warren's survey of part of the plain, Robinson's journey to Beit Jibrin and Gaza, Vandeveldt's journey along the same line and along the coast, and Tobler's "Wandering," scarce any attention has been paid to this part of Palestine. The district west of the Dhoheriyeh hills and south of Beit Jibrin, as well as the very intricate hill country north and east of our present camp, more particularly require exploration. They prove to be more thickly strewn with ruins than any portion of the land we have seen, and most of these sites show evidences of great antiquity. Our progress is therefore slow and careful, and we shall endeavour, if possible, not to lose a single name. Our guides are taken from many villages, those nearest the part surveyed being adopted in turn, and the native scribe is sent into the field to secure the orthography when the natives cannot be brought as far as the camp.

Of the general results it is premature to speak in detail as yet, and I will reserve the report of our identifications till the country of Judah is completed, when it can be treated altogether. Some idea of the value of our work may, however, be derived from the following statement:—



The eleven districts into which the cities of Judah are divided (exclusive of twenty-nine cities of the Negeb, south of Beersheba, afterwards allotted to Simeon), contain in all ninety-seven names of towns; of these forty-two were placed in the low hills (or Shephalah) and on the maritime plain. Of the total of ninety-seven, thirty-five had been identified with tolerable certainty before the period of the survey; but of these, three (Adullam, En-gannim, and Beth Dagon) have only lately been fixed in consequence of the researches of M. Ganneau. Of the remaining thirty-two, by far the greatest number are due to Robinson, whilst Vandevelde, Wolcott, and others, have added an occasional stray discovery.

At the time at which I write, the number of new identifications in Judah, sufficiently well considered for publication, due to our Survey, has reached a total of thirty-three. I fully expect that at least four or five more are still to be made, as well as identifications of towns not mentioned in the 15th chapter of Joshua. I do not include in this total sites previously proposed and now confirmed by our work. But it is not only in numbers that we have made a step in advance, for, as the number of sites known will now average more than three-quarters of the total in each district, it becomes possible to understand the system according to which the names occur, and to define the limits of the districts. This is especially the case with regard to the lowlands of Libnah, a group of nine towns, of which this royal city was the capital, and of which only three are previously identified by Robinson. I hope that we shall be able to show thoroughly good identifications for the remaining six, and thus to prove that the order of occurrence of the names is perfectly regular in this case, *being in a circle from right to left*. This is only one instance of the canon which we have, I hope, established, that "the order of occurrence of the names in the topographical lists is a certain indication of relative situation." The final identification of three out of every four sites mentioned, which may reasonably be expected, is indeed a great advance in Biblical illustration.

The principal sites of interest now visited are Beit Jibrin, Tell el Safieh, the Valley of Elah, and the site of Adullam, which should, I think, be accepted as identified by M. Ganneau with the present 'Aid-el-mia.

*Beit Jibrin.*—Beit Jibrin, identified by Dr. Robinson with the Eleuthropolis of Jerome and the Betogabra of the Acta Sanctorum and Peutinger tables, was known as Beit Jibril to the Arab geographers of the middle ages, and this was converted into Gibelin by the Crusaders. Whatever the ancient name of the site, its present title dates in all probability from Christian times. There is on the N.W. side of the village a small plot of ground, with a few scattered stones, which is held sacred as a *W'ely* (a contraction meaning a spot sacred to some holy personage), but no building of any kind is erected on it. The place is called Nebi Jibril, or Nebi Jibrin (the fellahin invariably change the L into M or N, *e.g.*, Ism'ain for Ism'ail, Israim or Isr'ain for Isr'ail). The translation of this is, of course, the "Prophet Gabriel," and the veneration of this site is no doubt due to a traditionary remembrance of the church which Dr.

Robinson heard of close to this spot, "with pictures in the southern part (of the Kalah) now shut up, and indeed buried beneath the ruins." All traces of this church seem to have disappeared beneath the mounds which here exist; but the circumstance is of value, as seeming to show that the name Beit Jibrin is not a corruption of any Hebrew or Aramaic word, but simply signifies "The House of Gabriel," being so called, I would suggest, in early Christian times, from the church to the Angel within the town.

Lying low on the side of a white chalk hill, hemmed in with higher rolling ridges, and surrounded with extensive and very ancient olive groves, Beit Jibrin can hardly be seen in any direction at a distance of a mile. It is a site peculiarly rich and sheltered, but of no natural strength, and cannot therefore be identified with any place which was famous as a stronghold in early times.

The ruins in and round the town are very extensive and interesting. The soft rock seems to have tempted its inhabitants in every age, and traces of Jewish, Roman, Byzantine, Crusading, and Saracenic workmen are to be found. The most striking peculiarity, which it shares with a few other sites in the Shephalah, is the great number of enormous caverns which are to be found on every side. As a rule, there is an open court, or sunken approach, hemmed in with walls of rock, and leading to great domed apartments having man-holes in the roofs. This class, of which there are eleven principal examples, goes by the name of *Arák*. Where the entrance is a narrow door, or well-mouth, and the caves have no light, the natives call it a *Moghurah*. The third kind, the rock-cut sepulchres, they name here, as throughout Palestine, *Namús* (plural *Nawamís*), which means a *mosquito*, and is a vulgar corruption of the proper Arabic title *Naús* (pl. *Nawawís*).

That Beit Jibrin is an ancient site may be judged from the existence of rock-cut wine-presses and olive-presses in its vicinity, and of sepulchres of unusual size, one containing thirty-four loculi, running in from the sides of its two chambers in the ordinary manner of Jewish tombs, the length of each being no less than 8 feet 4 inches. There are four good examples of this style of tomb, as well as several which have been broken into and destroyed in the process of enlarging the great caverns.

The village itself consists of mud huts, with a good stone house belonging to one of the two great families in the centre. On three sides it is surrounded with mounds, which might very possibly be worth excavating, but on the north, about one hundred paces from the houses, runs the line of the old fortifications. Three or four courses are visible almost throughout the whole extent, and at the N.W. angle the N. and W. walls reach up to 8 or 9 feet, whilst within stands a fort, or Kal'ah, 200 feet wide.

These fortifications, with the remains of a ditch and counterescarp, are put down by Dr. Robinson as dating from the Roman period, but it seems to me questionable whether they can be carried back further than

the 12th century, when King Fulke, who found the place an ancient ruined site, rebuilt it in A.D. 1134, with "impregnable walls, a mound, bastions, and advanced works," as described by William of Tyre (quoted by Robinson). A careful traverse with the compass shows that the wall recedes towards the centre of the north side so as to make a curtain, and that the counterscarp is thrown out in a circle, so as probably to allow of an interior ravelin or advanced work of some kind. The Kal'ah also has towers at its corners, and the N.W. part of the line projects as a sort of bastion. These peculiarities resemble Crusading rather than Roman work. That part of the Kal'ah, at least, is of this date we succeeded in proving by the examination of a long vault, built in four bays with pillars, having marble capitals of good workmanship, the acanthus patterns in low relief, similar to Crusading buildings at Kalensawieh, Caesarea, and many other sites; there is a simple cornice, with well-executed mouldings and dentellated work above the pillars, good pointed arched and groined ragwork in the vaults; finally, on the better preserved stones we noticed the diagonal chiselling which M. Ganneau pointed out as distinctive of a certain class of Crusading work, and we found three masons' marks which I recognised as occurring in the Muristan, the castle of Kaukab el Hawa, the church at Abu Gosh, and many other 12th century buildings.

I feel, therefore, little hesitation in putting down the whole of the fortifications as Crusading, though a fine arch, seemingly of a gateway, exists within the wall at the N.E. corner, which is apparently semicircular, though it *may* have a slight point, and 24 feet span, with a double ring of masonry in the voussours. It might possibly be thought Roman at first sight, but the windows of the great church, next to be described, have precisely the same structure, and are certainly Byzantine. The length of the line of fortification visible is close upon 2,000 feet, or three times that of the village. Beit Jibrin must therefore in the middle ages have been a very considerable place.

Lieut. Kitchener has photographed the vault on the side of the Kal'ah, the Great Church of St. John, and one of the curious caves at Tell Sandahannah near the town. The weather, however, is very grey as yet, hot and hazy, with strong east wind at night.

*Sandahannah.*—About a mile S.E. of the village are the remains of the great church or cathedral, called by the fellahin Sandahannah or St. John. It is the finest specimen of a Byzantine church which I have yet seen in Palestine, and possesses a great peculiarity in its two side chapels. The nave is 32 feet wide, and must have been, it would seem, in the original plan, 124 feet in length. Two walls run out in continuation of the apse diameter, pierced with two tiers of two windows with circular arches. Each wall is 61 feet long, giving a total width of 154 feet to the building. In the two corners, N.W. and S.W., are chapels about 70 feet long by 20 feet broad, inside, their apses being in lines parallel to the main apse, which has an orientation  $20^{\circ}$  S. of east. The southern chapel has only the apse left, but in the other the foundations of its walls

remain, with two vaults, having good round arches and cradle roof below.

This original plan of the building has subsequently been altered by Crusading architects; piers are built on to the walls of the nave, supporting pointed arches, and one bay remains with its roof almost entire, 18 feet broad, from centre to centre of pier. A curious difficulty here occurs in the roof. The magnificent apse is covered with a beehive roof, of which every stone is in place, forming a hollow quarter-sphere; the height from the top is 43 feet, but the Crusading roof to the nave is about 10 feet lower. The way in which the semicircle thus left open on the diameter of the apse was closed it is now impossible to understand. There seem to have been some fine marble columns in the nave, standing on pedestals beneath the base, each pedestal about 3 feet high, with a cross upon it, surrounded with a laurel wreath. All these and other details we measured and sketched carefully. The church is a splendid example of the most careful style of Byzantine construction and masonry. The tooling of the stones is precisely that which I have described in a previous report as belonging to early Christian work. One of the stones in the great apse is 8 feet long, the average is from 2 to 5 feet. None of the stones are drafted. The height of the courses is 18 inches.

The Crusading parts of the work consist of smaller masonry, and the diagonal chiselling is visible upon the pier stones.

*The Caves.*—The question of the date of the great caverns here and at Deir Dubban is interesting and puzzling. At Beit Jibrin every cave or system of caves has a name, but these seem to be modern and trivial, unless any importance is attached to the title 'Arak el Finsh, or the *Phœnician Cavern*. The principal are 'Arak el Kheil, Abu Mizbeleh, El Moia, Heleil, Esalmi, El Mokata, El Finsh, Sandahannah, Sherraf, Sobek, and Ferhaid, with 'Arak Hala some little way west of our camp. In all of these the same disposition is visible—rounded chambers with domed roofs, from 20 to 50 feet diameter, communicate with one another; detached pillars support the roof in places; the height is 30 or 40 feet; and a thin crust only of the hard rock, pierced with a round well-hole, exists above. The walls are sometimes very rough, sometimes coarsely but regularly dressed with a pick diagonally. In two places springs exist within the cave. In many of them crosses of various character are cut on the walls, sometimes 15 to 20 feet from the ground. In one cave is a rude drawing deeply cut, and 10 to 12 feet from the ground. It is so curious that I enclose a sketch. Many of these rounded caves have the appearance of chapels, and have apses facing east. It is possible, therefore, that this may be a rude, unfinished representation of the Crucifixion, dating from early Christian times. In all the caves where crosses occur there are also Cufic inscriptions, generally at a low level, within reach, and consisting of short religious ejaculations—Ya Allah, Ya Mohammed, or "There is no God but God; Mohammed is the Messenger of God." There is, however, one very long and important one, which Dr. Robinson did not (as he afterwards regretted) find time

to copy. I send a sketch, for it requires a very considerable scaffold to approach it for a squeeze. It contains the name of Saladin, who took Beit Jibrin in about 1187 A.D.

There is one, however, of these *Aricks* which deserves special notice. It was visited by Robinson, and has the peculiarity of a chamber 50 feet long by 18 feet wide, with a well-cut barrel vault for the roof, beneath which on either side runs a band of tracery in low relief, 2 feet wide. The pattern, which is decidedly mediæval, differs on the two walls. I copied it carefully, and send a specimen. We also planned the whole of this system of caves, and found some dog-tooth moulding cut on one of the doors, which resembles the window photographed in the Muristan by Lieutenant Kitchener. There is also a niche, with what seems to be a figure, now much defaced. Another peculiarity visible in many of the caves consists of long rows of niches, some 8 to 10 inches either way, placed round the walls. In one case a sort of buttress exists, with niches in front and at the sides. South of the town, near Tell Sandahannah, is a cavern which contains 1,774 of these niches. Lieutenant Kitchener has taken a view of it; it is 96 feet long and 7 feet wide; the niches, placed in two tiers, separated by pilasters into 12 bays; each tier consists of five rows of four in a row, giving ten rows in a total height of about 12 feet. There are also four transepts, about six feet broad and 26 feet long, three having only an upper tier of niches, and a broader space below. The niches are about 10 inches either way. Two side doors led from the south end of the gallery. The object of the excavation is puzzling in the extreme. Lieutenant Kitchener is of opinion that they are catacombs, and that skulls were placed in the niches, and trophies of bones below. We have seen similar niches in rock-cuttings near Tanturah, but never before in such numbers. The only other explanation besides that above which occurs to me is that urns for ashes were kept here, in which case the cave would date back to Roman rather than to Christian times.

The whole hill round Tell Sandahannah is burrowed with caves, but these, again, are of a different character. They are not lighted from without, and the floors are reached by winding stairs. They consist of circular domed chambers, well cut, and communicating with one another. There is also a great square chamber, supported on rude rock pillars. Of the most perfect system, visited by Dr. Robinson, we made a plan. The chambers are dry, but full of mud, and may very possibly have been intended for cisterns. No other use suggests itself.

The question of the date of all these excavations is difficult. Throughout the south of Palestine, in the soft limestone district, I have invariably found the great caverns connected with Christian ruins. Even in the hard rocks of the desert the fifth century hermits hewed caves to live in. The niches, also, where we have before met them, seem connected with Christian sites, which renders the explanation given above, and enlarged upon in a former report, very probable. That the caves are subsequent to, or were at all events very greatly enlarged at, a period

later than that of the Jews is, I think, proved by the way in which the ancient sepulchres are broken into, and appear cut in half high up in the roof of the caverns. As shown above, the caves are full of Christian emblems, and it seems on the whole most probable that they are partly quarries (as is very plainly seen in places where half-quarried stones remain), and partly used for dwellings, chapels, or, perhaps, as now, for stables to flocks during the earlier Christian times. No doubt, however, more than one period should be found in them, and as Christian and Moslem succeeded one another, each may have added something to the number and size of the caves.

*Roman Camps.*—Beit Jibrin seems, at some time, to have been besieged by the Romans, if I am correct in supposing that the three great tells which surround it are the sites of Roman camps; they may, however, have been constructed later, when the Crusaders fortified the town. They are known as Tell Burnat west, Tell Sandahannah south-east, and Tell Sedeideh north-west. On each is a square enclosure, with a foundation, seemingly of a wall of small stones, but some 4 feet thick. The square faces towards the cardinal points, and the length of a side is about 50 yards. The positions chosen entirely command the town, and the artificial character of the top of each tell is at once visible from a distance. An aqueduct leads from near Tell Sedeideh to a cistern close to camp, but this appears to be of Saracenic date. It is possible we may find some clue to the identification of Beit Jibrin in the history of the places besieged by the Romans in this part of Palestine.

*Gath.*—Beit Jibrin has, I believe, been identified by some authors with Gath, but to this there seem to me to be many objections. The Onomasticon is not always a safe guide, but in this case is almost the only one we have, and, to say the least, it was easier to find an old site in the third century than in the nineteenth century. The Onomasticon defines Gath as being north from Eleutheropolis (or Beit Jibrin), on the road to Lydda, and again visible to those who went from Eleutheropolis to Gaza (probably for Gazara, or Gezer, at Tell Jezer), at the fifth milestone. This is a fatal objection, at least to the Gath of Eusebius being at Beit Jibrin; in addition to which Gath was in the country of the Philistines—the plain rather than the Shephalah—it was a strong site, and fortified by Rehoboam, not as is Beit Jibrin, a position naturally weak. Josephus mentions the “Borders of Gath” in connection with Ekron. Gaza to Gath he again gives, apparently as defining the whole extent of the southern plain taken by Jeshua.

In the flight of the Philistines down the Valley of Elah, they were smitten to Sha'araim and Gath. None of these indications, slight though they are, fit with Beit Jibrin, but they all fit well with the other proposed site at Tell el Sáfiéh, the strong fortress of Blanche Garde or Alba Specula. The most conclusive passage in Josephus may be added (*Ant.* v. 1. 22), where he defines the limit of the tribe

of Dan—"Also they had all Jamnia and Gath, from Ekron to that mountain where the tribe of Judah begins," a definition which places Gath very far north, and at all events not farther south than Tell el Sáfiéh.

In one passage Josephus substitutes Ipan (Ant. viii. 10. 1), where Gath occurs in the Old Testament (2 Chron. xi. 8), but this does not appear to assist the identification much. Gath seems to have been one of the principal Philistine strongholds, and as such its position must have been important. It is, however, curiously omitted in the topographical lists, as is also Ascalon, another Philistine city—probably because neither was taken during Joshua's campaign in the plains.

The magnificent natural site of Tell el Sáfiéh, standing above the broad valley, which seems undoubtedly the Valley of Elah, and presenting on the north and west a white precipice of many hundred feet, must have made this place one of importance in all ages. In its mounds, excavation might be productive of good results, but even of the fortress of Blanche Garde no trace seems to remain beyond the scarp side of the rock upon the east, evidently artificial. There are many large caves in the northern precipice, and excavations, where grain is now kept. The village at the top is a collection of miserable mud huts, inhabited by insolent peasantry, one of whom I had the satisfaction of sending bound to Hebron for threatening me with a stone.

The isolated position of this site would fully account for its being held (as the Jebusites held Jerusalem) by the original native population, never expelled by Joshua, whilst the plains round it were in the hands of the Jews, and from this outpost there was an easy passage up one of the great high roads to the hills—the Valley of Elah in which Samson and Samuel, and probably also David, in turn, so repeatedly encountered the Philistine invaders.

*Adullam.*—The site of, perhaps, primary interest in our work from this camp is that of the royal city of Adullam, with the cave or hold so famous in the history of David, in the identification of which I am happy to say our work entirely confirms the previous discovery due to M. Ganneau. The traditional site of Adullam is east of Bethlehem in Wady Khureitún—an extraordinary cavern with long winding passages. The general identification of later times has, however, been with Deir Dubbán, "The Convent of Flies," apparently because no name which approached more closely in the district in which Adullam was known to lie could be found, and because a cavern similar to those just described, is here to be found on the west side of the village. In a report from Beit 'Atáb (*Quarterly Statement*, January, 1875, p. 19) I described the cavern of Umm el Tuweimin under the impression that this was the spot M. Ganneau had supposed identical with Adullam, but this mistake he afterwards pointed out to me and gave me indications of the whereabouts of the true site.

There is no reason to suppose that the cave of Adullam was a site

separate from the royal city of that name. Josephus says that David, escaping from Gath, "came to the tribe of Judah, and abode in a cave by the city of Adullam" (Ant. vi. 12. 3). Thence he sent to his family in Bethlechem, and here he first collected to him "every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented" (1 Sam. xxii. 2).

The site of the city itself appears to be very ancient. The patriarch Judah is mentioned as going *down* (from the hill country it would seem to the Shephalah) to visit his friend Hirah the Adullamite. It appears in the list of royal cities taken by Joshua (Joshua xii. 15), between Libnah and Makkedah. It is again mentioned (Joshua xv. 35) in the list of fourteen cities of the Shephalah, and its name here appears between those of Jarmuth (Yarmúk) and the northern Socoh (Shuweikeh). That it was a site of natural strength we infer from the expression "the hold," which is used in reference to David's retreat, in or close to it (1 Sam. xxii. 5), and also from its being fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 7), as mentioned in the list of his fortresses, the name occurring between Socoh and Gath. In this list, however, the order of occurrence throughout seems of little value. A further indication of position occurs in the notice in Micah i. 15, where it is named with Achzib and Mareshah. The requisites for the site of Adullam are therefore as follows:—

- 1st. That it be in the Shephalah or low hills.
- 2nd. In the neighbourhood of Jarmuth and Socoh.
- 3rd. At no great distance from the district of Mareshah and the northern towns of the Libnah district.
- 4th. Probably between Gath and Bethlechem.
- 5th. That it be a strong natural site.
- 6th. That it be an ancient site of importance with rock-cut tombs, good water supply, ancient and main roads and communications from different sides.
- 7th. That it contain one or more habitable caves.
- 8th. That the modern name contain the important letters of the Hebrew, especially the 'Ain.

The fact that this town whilst in one district is yet mentioned in connection with the northern towns of the district immediately south of it, is in itself a very important indication, and would fix Adullam as towards the south part of the district to which it belongs.

The requirements are, it will be seen, fully met in every particular by the site I am about to describe. Upon Murray's new map it will be seen that a great valley separates the Shephalah from the high hills, and runs first north-west, then north, from the watershed near Hebron to the neighbourhood of Socoh or Shuweikeh; it then turns west and runs near Tell el Sáfiéh, and so into the sea, north of Ashdod. The first part to Socoh is called Wady Súr, afterwards it becomes Wady Sumt, the probable Valley of Elah.

On its eastern brink, about five miles south of Socoh, is the hill



of Keilah, above which, in the high hills, stands *Kharás*, which I have proposed to identify with Hâreth. West of Socoh are the scenes of other battles with the Philistines, and a visit to the spot explains their choice of this part of the country for raids. The broad valley is, in the greater part of its course, over a mile across, and the rich arable ground, watered by a small brook from springs farther up, presented, when we visited it, a long vista of green cornfields and brown furrows, now ploughed by fellahín, who come down from Súríf, from S'air, and from other villages in the hills. Thus from their stronghold of Gath (if Tell es Safieh be Gath), on the side of the valley, at the edge of the plain, the Philistines had a broad highway leading through the richest corn land of Judah on the one hand, east even to Jerusalem, and on the south to the neighbourhood of Keilah. Thus we see how important it was to hold the entrance to this rich but ill-protected country, and the occurrence of contests between Socoh and Gath is explained, whilst, on the other hand, we understand how the invaders came to penetrate to the apparently remote village of Keilah, where they robbed the threshing-floors (1 Sam. xxiii. 1), although it is on the west, separated from Philistia by the entire breadth of the rocky hills of the Shephalah.

Upon the western slope of this valley, north-east of the village of Umm Burj, and about half way from Keilah to Socoh, there will be found on Murray's map (1874) a Kubbeh, or Saint house, called Wely Mudkor. It is here that we place Adullam. The Kubbeh stands on the north edge of a range which rises some 500 feet above the broad valley. The sides of the hill are steep, and cut into terraces. The Kubbeh is surrounded by heaps of stones and ruins of indeterminate date, but there is no doubt of the antiquity of the site. Wherever the rock appears it is cut and quarried, and on the west I observed the entrance of a tomb, now closed up.

A tributary valley runs into Wady Súr on the north, and on the south a narrow neck of land, somewhat lower than the raised citadel near the Kubbeh, connects the site of the city with the remainder of the ridge. Thus it will be seen that the site is one of considerable natural strength.

In the valley beneath are two wells, one of great antiquity, circular, about 8 to 10 feet diameter, and provided with twenty-four stone troughs similar to those at Beersheba, but roughly shaped and oval, or quadrangular, instead of round. At the junction of the branch with the main valley stands a great tree known as Butmeh Wady Súr (the Terebinth of Wady Súr). In this, and in the name Deir el Butm (Convent of the Terebinth), applied to a ruin near Tell el Sáfiéh, we have the last traces of Emek-Elah, "the Valley of the Terebinth." The tree is conspicuous for a long distance, and is one of the largest in Palestine. There are also several smaller Terebinths along the course of Wady Súr.

Next in importance comes the question of roads. A main line of communication from Hebron to the plain passes along Wady Súr by

this site. An ancient road, with stone side walls, is traceable towards Umm Burj, but is not, as shown on the map, the Roman road from Eleutheropolis to Jerusalem. Lastly, an important road leads up to Súrif and Bethlehem, and thus on the east, west, north, and south, with Bethlehem, Beit Jibrin, Tell el Sáfiéh, and Hebron, there are ancient and main lines of communication.

Conditions numbers one, four, five, and six, are therefore satisfied, but the others are more important.

As regards the district, this site is about three miles south-east of Socoh, and rather farther south of Jarmuth, which, in the order of the list, is its natural position. As relates to the cities of the Libnah district, it is about three miles from Keilah, and eight from Maresbah, being, indeed, just on the border between the two districts.

We turn, then, with interest to the two last questions—the Cave, and the name.

There is no great cavern at the ruin in question, no such lofty chambers as at Beit Jibrin; no halls with stalactitic columns, as at Umm el Tuweimín; no winding galleries, as at Khureitún. This is precisely why the site seems most probable. Such caverns are at the present day carefully avoided by the troglodytic peasantry. The dampness, and the feverish character of the atmosphere, the size requiring many lights, the presence in the darkness of scorpions and bats, seem to prevent the large caves from being ever used as habitations. The caves which are so used are much smaller, being about the area of an ordinary cottage, some twenty to thirty paces across, lighted by the sun without, and more or less dry within. Wherever they occur the roofs will be found black with smoke, and large families are lodged in some, while troops of goats, cattle, and sheep are stabled in others, the smaller being reserved to store grain and straw.

It is in caves of this kind that our site abounds. Round one upon the western slope hundreds of goats were collected. Two moderate caverns exist on the northern brow of the hill, and another farther south. On the opposite slopes of the branch valley a regular line of excavations, all smoke-blackened, and mostly inhabited, extends for some distance. There is therefore plenty of accommodation for the band of outlaws who surrounded David at Adullam.

Finally, as to the name. The ancient site is called, according to the correct orthography, Khirbet el Sheikh Mudhkúr, “The ruin of the famous Sheikh.” As such we fixed its position with the theodolite in the autumn of 1873. There are, however, low down in the branch valley, some heaps of stones and ruined walls to which the traces of the ancient name seem to cling. We heard it from eight or ten people, and even from Beit Jibrin the situation with regard to Sheikh Madhkúr was described to me correctly. It is pronounced ‘Aid el Mich, which means in Arabic, “Feast of the hundred,” and a confused tradition of some feast held on the spot seems attached to it. The name contains all the

letters of the word Adullam (Hebrew, A, D, L, M), and contains none other of vital importance. The change, therefore, to a title having a distinct meaning, may be regarded as only another instance of a well-known law of identification.

If this identification, proposed by M. Ganneau, and, as shown above, so accordant with the requisites of the case, be admitted, new light will be found to have been thrown on the life of David. The whole topography assumes a consistency which traditional sites have destroyed. From Gibeah (Jeba near Mukhmás) David flies southward to Nob, thence down the great valley to Gath (Tell el Sáfiéh), from Gath he returns into the land of Judah, then bounded by the Shephalah, most of which seems to have been in the hands of the Philistines; and on the edge of the country between Achish and Saul, Philistia and Judah, he collects his band into the strongest site to be found in the neighbourhood of the rich corn lands of Judah. At the advice of the seer he retires to the hills, and if my identification of Hareth be correct it is but a march of four miles distance. Here, as at Adullam, he was also within easy reach of his family at Bethlehem. At Kharás he hears that the Philistines, whose advance he probably barred when holding Adullam, had invaded Keilah immediately beneath him, and, as in a former paper I fully explained, it is this propinquity alone which accounts for his attack upon the marauders.

*Keilah*.—In returning to camp we passed close to Keilah, having followed the brook up Wady Súr through a broad green valley of rich soil with low scrub-covered hills on the west, and a fine view of the contorted strata and deep gorges of the high watershed range on the east. I have been asked to describe this site. It is a hill with steep sides terraced and covered with corn, but quite devoid of trees. The terracing, which must have been a work of immense labour, and which, whilst strengthening the site enlarges the arable area on the hill side, is in itself a mark of the antiquity of the site; at the foot of the hill is a well called Bir el Kos (Well of the Arch), from a sort of conduit or arches leading to a cistern beside the well (as well as could be judged from the distance). Lower down the valley is another ancient well, Bir el Suweid, with stone drinking troughs as at Adullam. There are rock-cut tombs at the foot of the hill, and remains of a miserable ruined village at the top. The wady is here narrower, and the ruin hidden in its folds stands above corn-fields in a very strong situation, fully explaining how a town of importance "that hath gates and bars" (1 Sam. xxiii. 7) came to be placed here.

Lieutenant Kitchener took two very successful photographs of Adullam. In both the great Terebinth appears in the foreground. The first shows the ancient site, the Kubbet el Sheikh Mudhkúr and its ruins, the cave on the hill-top and the broad corn-fields of the valley. The second has in the foreground the remains of a small aqueduct which leads from the well and appears to have been used for irrigation. In this plot the well is shown, and the ruins to which the name 'Aid el Mich applies, as also the caves on the opposite hill.

*Libna*.—One of the great unsettled questions of the southern plains is the site of Libnah. The indications of its position are few and vague, especially so when it is remembered that out of the cities of which it was the capital, only three had been identified before the present time.

The notices of Libnah are as follows. It was taken by Joshua before Lachish and after Makkedah, and from the regularity of the order in which these sieges occur it may be considered as between the two (Josh. x. 29). In the topographical list of its district it is mentioned first, followed by Ether, Mareshah being the last name in the list (Josh. xv. 42). It was a city of the priests, and as such we should expect from the examination of other Levitical sites that it was in a pleasant situation and had natural advantages to recommend it (Josh. xxi. 13). It is principally famous as having been besieged by Sennacherib in his advance from Lachish (Umm-Lakis) on Jerusalem (2 Kings xix. 8), and it was here apparently that the destruction of the Assyrian army took place, when the "angel of the Lord went out and smote in the camp of the Assyrians an hundred and four score and five thousand."

By Josephus Libnah is mentioned Ant. ix. 5. 1, and Ant. x. 1. 4, but no light is cast on the subject of its position.

By the Onomasticon it is briefly noticed as a village of the district of Eleutheropolis.

In the absence of any more definite information we are obliged, therefore, to fall back on the general position of the district and the place of occurrence in the list of names. From its importance as a royal and Levitical city we should expect a position marked by natural advantages and remains showing the existence of a considerable site. The name signifying *white* leads us also to place it where white cliffs or soil of a light colour, such as is found remarkably in many ancient sites of the Shephalah, are to be noticed.

The only exact clue as yet given exists in the following lists of identifications in the district, of which, I believe, five are entirely new:—

1. Libnah	Beit Jibrin	C. R. C.
2. Ether	Khirbet 'Atr	C. R. C.
3. Ashan	Khirbet Hazanah	C. R. C.
4. Jiphthah		
5. Ashmah	Idhnah	C. R. C.
6. Neziḅ	Kh. Beit Nusib	Robinson.
7. Keilah	Khirbet Kila	Robinson.
8. Achziḅ	Kussah	C. R. C.
9. Mareshah	Khirbet Mer'ash	Robinson.

A few words will show the satisfactory nature of these discoveries. Khirbet 'Atr is unmistakably an old site, and the name I have carefully verified. It is about a mile north-west of Beit Jibrin, and shows the usual indications of antiquity in rock-cuttings, foundations, terraces, and ruined cisterns. The same description applies to Ashan some five miles south of Beit Jibrin. Idhnah, the same distance south-

east, is still inhabited, and from this point the names run north and west in regular succession till we arrive at Mareshah, one mile south of Beit Jibrin. The names occur, therefore, in the most direct succession going south, east, north, and returning westward. The district which is so marked is entirely in the Shephalah or low hill country south of the other Shephalah district, of which Adullam and Jarmuth were capitals.

The inference seems to me irresistible that Beit Jibrin was the capital, and that its position between Ether the second, and Mareshah the last of the names, occurring, as I have shown, in a sort of circle, entitles us to consider it as Libnah. The site, still important upon the junction of several main roads, has, as I have before noted, lost its ancient name. We cannot identify it with Gath or with Makkedah, which were much farther north, nor with any but one of the Libnah group.

Situate in a sheltered and fruitful valley amongst olive groves, and (as witnessed by the presses) once surrounded with vineyards, it might well be taken for a priestly city, for, as we have remarked, the Levites generally had a full share of the fat of the land. The great cliffs now burrowed with caves present all round it gleaming patches of white rock, and the soil of its corn-fields is also white and chalky. This peculiarity, if marked in spring, must be ten times more so in the dry summer and autumn.

Beit Jibrin is also on the direct line from Lachish to Jerusalem, that which Sennacherib would probably have followed, lying as it does in the direction of the great Roman road to Gaza from the capital. The site is also between Makkedah (if placed near Ramleh) and Lachish, though not in a direct line. The object of Joshua's campaign was evidently, however, the subjugation of the royal cities, and thus of the districts of which they were the capitals. Thus after the capture of Makkedah the next district easily approachable was that of the Libnah lowlands, the southern plain coming next in order.

The description of the tombs at Beit Jibrin leaves no doubt of the importance of the spot in Jewish times, and although the loss of the name forbids any satisfactory confirmation of the theory here put forward, the determination of the district before so doubtful seems to me sufficient evidence of the correctness of my conclusion.

The modern village of Beit Jibrin does not, however, exactly occupy the ancient site. It lies on the west slope of a low rounded mound or hill called El Mekurkush, which is covered all over its extent of ploughed land with relics of tessellated pavement, pottery, and other indications of former buildings. Numerous coins are found on this spot, of Crusading, Byzantine, Roman, and Greek periods, huge Ptolemies of copper. The *Fellahin* tradition also points to this having been the ancient site, for the name Bab el Medineh ("gate of the city") is applied to a place on the east side of the mound, where, however, nothing remains to account for the title.

Another curious name is applied to traces of former cultivation—an aqueduct with seven cisterns of good masonry (evidently for irrigation, as seen in various parts of the plain), with ruined enclosures of large stones, rock-cut wine-presses and an oil-press stone, which are to be found west of the village. This piece of ground is called *Bustan el Finsh*. If *Finsh* means, as usually interpreted, *Phœnicion*, we have here “the Phœnician garden,” but the fellahin say that El Finsh was a Christian king of Beit Jibrin, in which case the name is more likely a corruption of Aiphonse. This supposition is strengthened by the same name being applied to the Crusading tower at Keratiych which is called Kal'at el Finsh.

*Mejdel, April 2.*—Beit Jibrin has proved the most valuable camp we have yet completed; 424 names were collected, and 180 square miles surveyed. The majority of ruins are early Christian, and in the low hills they average *three ruins to every two square miles*.

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#### XXXIV.

#### ASCALON, ASHDOD.

GAZA, *April 20th, 1875.*

SINCE last report another large piece of country has been laid in on the maritime plain. The original and better plan of the campaign would have taken us south from Beit Jibrin, but as the Arabs were all quarrelling, and serious fights had just occurred, it seemed best to remain still in the fellahin country, and to enter the Arab district from Gaza when they had had time to cool down a little.

We therefore camped at Mejdel, some twenty miles west of Beit Jibrin, and thence we have visited Ascalon, Ashdod, Lachish, and Eglon, making a special survey of the first to the scale of 12 inches to the mile. We have connected Gaza with Ramleh and Tell Jezer by triangulation, and obtained some very fine lines across the country and down the sea coast. Our next two camps will give us over 1,000 square miles completed since leaving Jerusalem, and thus our work in about two and a half months will be equal to the total amount surveyed in 1874.

*Ascalon.*—The site of primary interest in this area is the great English fortress of King Richard, on the border of the sea, and we spent in all five days here surveying, exploring, and photographing. I turned special attention to the questions concerning Ascalon raised by Prof. Pusey, and I believe the correct solution to be as follows:—

In the January number of the *Quarterly Statement* for 1874 subscribers will remember a letter from Prof. Pusey, to which my attention was specially called by the Committee, in which the identity of the Ascalon of Herod and of the Crusades with the Ashkelon of Scripture is disputed. The arguments in favour of this view are both drawn from mediæval

sources, the first being the fact that in 536 A.D. a synodical letter was signed both by the Bishop of Ashkelon and by the Bishop of Maiumas Ascalon, from which it is evident that the two were distinct towns; the second passage is to be found in Benjamin of Tudela, who distinctly states that there was another Ascalon four parasangs from the sea-side town, and traditionally the more ancient, the Ascalon of his time having been built, he informs us, by Ezra. This other Ascalon was at that time (1163 A.D.) in ruins. The value of the traditional information here given is, however, very slight, as Benjamin of Tudela gives identifications of the most extraordinary character throughout his narrative. The passage is of value as corroborating the former in the statement that there were two Ascalons, but the distance cannot be relied on; for whilst the distances of places through which Rabbi Benjamin passed are generally pretty correct, those of places he did not visit are often very much in error. The distances from Ashkelon to Ashdod he makes two parasangs, which would give five miles for the parasang, and twenty miles as the distance between the two Ascalons.

It appears, then, that as far as positive evidence goes, the argument only tends to show that there were two mediæval Ascalons. Which of these was the Ashkelon of Herod or of Scripture is a separate question. The mediæval Ascalons *both exist still*, as we have been the first, I believe, to discover.

We were considerably surprised to find, when working north of Beit Jibrin, that an Ascalon (Khirbet 'Askalón) existed in the hills near Tell Za Kariyeh. At first I thought a false name had been purposely given us, but as I obtained it twice myself, and Corporal Brophy three times, from different witnesses, there is no doubt that it is a well-known site. The termination of the word differs from the name of the sea-side town, which is pronounced 'Askalán. The site shows remains of an early Christian church or convent, and a great lintel of stone, with a deeply-cut cross in the centre, resembling somewhat the Maltese Cross, lies on the ground. Such lintels are to be found in all that class of ruins which date from about the fifth to the seventh century. The distance from the shore is about twenty-three miles, which would agree with the four parasangs as deduced from the distance to Ashdod, but I am not able to find the length of the parasang given in any book we have here.

Thus we have a simple explanation of the two mediæval quotations. 'Askalón we should judge to have been an inhabited site in the sixth century, but in all probability fallen into ruins by the twelfth.

We may now turn to the question of the ancient site of Askelon. That it should be placed at the Christian ruin in the hills is of course impossible; and our information, though very slight, and restricted to one passage in the Bible, and one in Josephus, seems to me, nevertheless, to point to the Philistine Ashkelon being identical with the mediæval Ascalon. The only passage in the Bible of topographical value as concerns Ashkelon is that in Jeremiah xlvii. 7, where the

prophet speaks of "Ashkelon and the sea-coast," leading one to suppose that the mediæval Ascalon, or Maiumas Ascalon (Ascalon by the sea), is intended. In the absence of any contradictory statement it seems to me also safe to assume that the Ascalon of the later Jewish times was that beautified by Herod; and it can be proved, I think, that Herod's Ascalon was both that of the Bible and that of the Crusaders, for, in the first place, Josephus distinctly states that the Ascalon where the Jews attacked Antonius (Bk. iii. ii. 1) was "*an ancient city that is distant from Jerusalem five hundred and twenty furlongs.*" This would be about sixty-five Roman miles. The present Ascalon is only about fifty Roman miles by road from Jerusalem, so that it cannot well be taken to mean any inland town. In the second place, the Ascalon of Herod and Richard are probably the same, for we learn that "for those of Ascalon he built baths and costly fountains, as also cloisters round a court, that were admirable both for their workmanship and largeness," BJ. I. xxi. 11. In the Itinerary of Richard I. we find it mentioned that the builders erected their towers upon ancient foundations, and we find that all along its huge walls great columns of syenite, 15 to 20 feet long and 3 feet diameter, have been built into the masonry as through-bonds. Such was indeed the constant practice of the Crusaders in any place where ancient pillars were to be found, but in such sites as Athlit they do not occur; and as the syenite must have been brought by sea from Egypt, we cannot suppose the Crusaders to have first brought these pillars to Ascalon, but must regard them as the remains of Herod's cloisters utilised by those practical masons to whose indifference to archaeology we owe the loss of many an interesting monument.

The outcome of this inquiry is, therefore, that the Ashkelon of the Bible, and of Herod, and of the Crusaders, are all one town on the sea-shore, distinguished from another early Christian inland Ascalon by the title Ascalon Maiumas.

This title may, I believe, be best rendered by our English "watering-place," and like it does not apparently apply to a port or harbour only, for the fine springs north of Casarea, with remains of a temple and theatre, and of a great aqueduct to the city, still retain the name of Miamás, which is no doubt the representative of an ancient Maiumas, or *place of water*.

Ascalon not only has not, but it may be safely said never could have had a real port. A straight coast-line of cliffs, from 20 to 70 feet high, exists on its sea side, and a strong sea wall was built by the Crusaders against these. The port destroyed by Sultan Bibars must have been an artificial Crusading harbour, of which there are still remains, for a jetty of pillars placed side by side, as at Casarea, seems to have run out beneath the sea-gate on the south, a few of those nearest the shore still remaining in place. That it possessed no natural harbour in the middle ages is evident from the following passage, which I quote at length, as



clearly showing that the Maiumas Ascalon of Christian times could not have applied to any properly so called *port*.

"The city of Ascalon lies on the coast of the Grecian Sea, and if it had a good harbour, could hardly find an equal for its situation and the fertility of the adjoining country. It has, indeed, a port, but one so difficult of access, owing to the stormy weather in which the army reached it (Jan., 1192), that for eight days no vessel could enter it. . . . At last, when the weather became more favourable, some ships entered the harbour with provisions; but the storm returned and the army began again to be in want."

At the present time a small brig is lying off the coast taking in a cargo, but it is unsafe for ships to approach too near, and the wreck of one vessel lies on the sand a little north of the ruins. It is evident that the harbour cannot have been much better in Crusading times, when English sailors were unable to bring food to the starving army. It is true that the sand has covered a great deal of the ruins, but the existence of a *creek* is rendered, I think, impossible, by the unbroken line of cliff, at the foot of which low reefs run out into the sea.

Next to the question of the Maiumas comes that of the sacred lake of Dereeto, but of this we could find no traces, unless the name of the modern village north of the ruins El Júra, "the hollow,"—generally applied to an artificial reservoir or pond,—be supposed to preserve a tradition of the site. The village itself stands pretty high, but there is a low tract full of beautiful gardens between the ruins and the houses.

Ascalon is one of the most fertile spots in Palestine. The great walls, which are well described by William of Tyre as a bow with the string to the sea, enclose a space of five-eighths of a mile north and south, by three-eighths deep. The whole is filled with rich gardens, and no less than thirty-seven wells of sweet water exist within the walls, whilst on the north, as far as the village, other gardens and more wells are to be found. The whole season seemed more advanced in this sheltered nook than on the more exposed plain. Palms grow in numbers; the almond and lemon-trees, the tamarisk and prickly pear, olives and vines, with every kind of vegetable and corn, already in the ear, are flourishing throughout the extent of the gardens early in April. Only on the south the great waves of ever-encroaching sand have now surmounted the fortifications and swept over gardens once fruitful, threatening in time to make all one sandy desert, unless means can be found to arrest its progress.

The ruins of the town are now covered with some 10 feet of good soil. Marble pillars, inscriptions, and bits of architectural ornamentation, are constantly dug up, and all the good stones are carried to Jaffa or Gaza, and sold for modern buildings. Thus the Roman and Crusading ruins are at once hidden beneath, yet not protected by the soil, but disappearing piecemeal, and scattered over the country. At every well a pillar shaft is placed on its side, and worn into furrows by the ropes, whilst a capital or base is used to tie the cord to. It was on one of these that we

found the only fragment of inscription we could see anywhere, being carelessly written as follows:—

ΠΙΚΡΑ.

In the north quarter of the town, on the higher part of the cliff, stands what is traditionally known as the church. Its true bearing is 98°, and part of the apse can be just seen, but the ruin has been so defaced by the abstraction of its ashlar that it was impossible to make a plan. A few pillar bases of white marble have been excavated, and lie together within the ruins. There is a curious fact connected with them, each base has masons' marks, intended apparently to show what shaft belonged to each, but in three cases these marks were all Phœnician letters in three groups.

I do not remember ever to have seen similar marks in any building in the country.

The walls of Ascalon are almost all that now remain, and are in many places covered over with sand. They are not of very great thickness, but strong towers at intervals give flank defence throughout. In the south-west corner is a postern, and on the east the principal gate, leading sideways into the interior, through a projecting return in the wall. The stone used is the soft crumbling sandstone of the cliffs, and the masonry is very small throughout; but against these natural disadvantages the splendid workmanship of the time has triumphed, and the stones are set in a cement so hard that with thick beds and a mass of hard shells from the shore the whole forms a sort of concrete seemingly indestructible. The base of a turret, 20 feet diameter and 6 feet high, lies on the east, overturned like a gigantic cheese, and wherever huge blocks have fallen or walls breached and gutted stand up like skeletons, it is evident that the hand of man, and not the lapse of time, have ruined these magnificent piles so hastily yet so solidly constructed.

In the account of the building of Ascalon ("Itin. Ric.," Book V., chap. vi., p. 262.—*Bohn*), five towers are enumerated as having names, viz.:—1, The tower of "the Maidens;" 2, of "the Shields;" 3, the "Bloody Tower;" 4, the "Admiral's Tower;" 5, the "Bedouin's Tower." Of all these traces still remain, and it would be curious to identify them.

One curious tradition connected with Ascalon remains to be noticed. It appears, according to our guide, a very superior old sheikh, that thirty years ago the fellahín, digging outside the walls near the cemetery, which surrounds a modern wely, close to the eastern gate, found a broad slab of stone, and on raising it they discovered what seems from the description to have been an embalmed corpse, with sword by side and ring on his finger. Frightened by the glare from his eyes they reclosed the tomb, and as the violator died soon after they concluded it was a prophet, and built a rude tomb above the slab, now used as a wely, or place of prayer. We had some thought of digging up this body, probably a Crusading hero, especially as we were told at first that it was a mummy, but there seemed many objections to touching a place held sacred, and close to

modern tombs, which were sufficient to deter us if we could have discovered the true spot and had no respect to the supposed reward for so sacriligious an exploration.

*Ashdod*.—Jamnia, Gaza, and Ashdod being inland towns had each a post or small suburb on the sea-shore. That of Ashdod is not marked on the maps. Ashdod itself presents very little of interest, it is a large mud village, with numerous palms on the east and a great marsh on the west; a sand-hill shelters the village from the sea wind, and is covered with gardens fenced with cactus. On this hill, according to Dr. Porter, the temple of Dagon stood. A large khan, now in ruins, but thirty years ago still in use, lies near the village, and a very fine sarcophagus of Roman period just behind it, at the principal wely. Lieut. Kitchener took a general view from the south, but the site is not well adapted for effective views.

Leaving Ashdod itself, we struck west, over the great sandhills, which have now reached the village. Upon the sea-shore we found what is no doubt the ancient Maiumas, an extensive ruin with fragments of tessellated pavement, cisterns lined in cement, and on the north side a Crusading castle of masonry similar to the fortifications of Ascalon. It measures 180 feet N. and S., by 144 feet E. and W., and has a round tower at each corner and two flanking the central gate on the west, whilst seemingly there were two others on the east, but one has disappeared. A curious inscription was found by the non-commissioned officer on one of the stones of the foundation on the north-west, being well and sharply cut as below—possibly the crusading name of the place: ΕΔΟΜ.

It is said that there is a greater depth of water at this point between two reefs north and south of the castle than anywhere else along the coast, and boats touch here in preference to Ascalon. In fact, we found on bathing that the shore sloped more rapidly here than in other places where we have swum. It seems, therefore, natural to place the Maiumas of Ashdod here, especially as the present name of the ruin, *Minet el Kal'ah*, "Harbour of the Castle," shows that at some time or other there was a port here. This discovery completes the list of the ports along the coast of Philistia.

*Crusading sites*.—The great plain so famous for the exploits of Samson and of David in their contests with the Philistines and with the nomadic tribes became, in the twelfth century, the theatre of war between the English and Saladin, and the Crusading chronicles are full of names which represent the garbled versions of Arabic names adopted by the new conquerors of the land. Many of these it is impossible to identify from want of indications, but a few may be placed as below:—

*Furbia*.—This fortress was between Gaza and Ascalon, and was held by Richard in 1192. We cannot hesitate to identify it with the modern Herbia, on the road between these. The foundations of a Crusading castle still remain on the south side of the village.

*Gadida*.—This town or village was the scene of King Richard's contest with a furious boar, to which the Chronicles devote a whole chapter

("Itin. Ric.," v. 31, p. 280.—*Bohn*). It was visited from Ascalon, and would most probably be the present *Khirbet Jeddeiyedeh*, about three miles south of Keratíyeh, in the middle of the plain.

*Galatia*.—This was a strong fortress, afterwards destroyed by Saladin. Leaving Blanchegarde (Tell el Sáfiéh), "and advancing all night by the light of a splendid moon, they arrived at Galatia; there they rested a short time and sent to Ascalon for provisions" ("Itin. Ric.," v. 3, p. 303.—*Bohn*). The town of *Keratiya*, in which are remains of a strong Crusading fort, agrees well, as pointed out by Lieut. Kitchener, with the position required for Galatia. It is about eight miles from Tell el Sáfi, and ten from Ascalon. Corporal Armstrong subsequently found another ruin about three miles north, called *Jelediyeh*. The name is more nearly the same, but the distance from Tell el Sáfi seems rather too small.

In conclusion I may give here the identification of the castles destroyed by Saladin in 1192, those with the star being new identifications.

Galatia .. .. .	*Keratíya.
Blanchegarde .. .. .	Tell el Sáfi.
Plans .. .. .	*Kalensawieh.
Moén .. .. .	*Tantura.
St. George .. .. .	Lidd.
Ramala .. .. .	Ramleh.
Belmont .. .. .	—
Toron .. .. .	Tibnin.
Ernuald, or Arnald .. .. .	*Latrún.
Beauveoir, Belvoir .. .. .	Kaukab el Hawa.
Mirabel .. .. .	Ras el Ain.
Castle of Baths (near Ramleh and Lydda) .. .. .	—

As regards Toron and Beauveoir it is, however, possible that there may have been two of the name, and that they also stood in the maritime plain, as do the remainder.

### XXXV.

#### GAZA, GERAR, AND MAKKEDAH.

At the time of commencing this report the spring campaign of 1875 is rapidly drawing to a close. This campaign completes southern Palestine as far as Beersheba and Gaza (the boundary being the great valley running from Beersheba to the sea), with the exception of about 200 square miles north of Beersheba, in the country of the Teiaha Arabs. A very fierce contest is at present going on between this tribe and the Azazimeh, the central point of the fighting being Beersheba

As the season was getting late for staying in the plains, it seemed on the whole best to fill in the more interesting country lying south of Ramleh, and to leave this bit of desert country until the Arabs have either made peace or have been exterminated.

The total amount now surveyed is 4,430 square miles; some 1,400 only remain, as far as I can roughly calculate, to be filled in.

Since last report we have examined several sites of interest, especially Gaza, Umm Jerrár (supposed to be Gerar), El Moghar (first proposed, I believe, by Captain Warren as the site of Makkedah), Yebna (Jamnia), the valley of Elah, the valley of Sorek, and several other important places.

*Inscriptions.*—Gaza and its neighbourhood abound in Greek inscriptions; very few, however, have escaped M. Ganneau. I give four which are, I believe, new, though not of great value.

No. 1, upon a granite column, forming the east goal of the Meidán or racecourse of Abu Zeid. It stands close to the road leading south-east from El Muntár, and is just a mile, or 1,000 ba'a, from the western goal, also close to the road. These pillars, originally taken from some great building probably of Roman times, are half buried in the soil; the first two lines of an inscription were alone visible, deeply though rudely cut. They were noticed by Lieut. Kitchener and Corporal Armstrong, who excavated the remainder of the text. The racecourse is said to have been laid out by the Saracens 700 years ago; the pillar must apparently have passed through an intermediate period of existence, when it was used as a tombstone.

ΔΟΜΕΤΙΚΟΥ  
ΤΗΣ ΔΟΜΕ  
ΤΙΚΟΥ Υ  
ΙΟΥ ΑΕΘΗ  
ΚΕΝ . . . .

No. 2, a curious fragment of inscription, with contractions, evidently Christian, on a piece of marble about 18 inches long, lying beside a rude wely, or cenotaph, on a sandy top, some four miles south of Gaza. The place is called Sheikh Rashed, but the inscription is probably brought as an ornament from somewhere else. It runs as follows, being broken off on the right:—

+ HAIN

No. 3 forms the cover of a well, or *sebil*, in the courtyard of El Khudera, a small mosque in the village of Deir Belah. A round hole 10 inches diameter has been cut through the centre of the inscription, which is much worn in the upper line.

ΕΤΕ . . . . .  
ΜΑΤΡΕ·ΑΠΑΙΑΝΟ  
ΑΗΘ·ΙΝΗΚΙΟΥΑΙΘ

The stone is partly covered with mortar on the right, so that the lines may originally have extended farther.

No. 4, a slab on the floor of the same mosque, near the cenotaph of St. George. The first line is almost obliterated by the feet of visitors. It runs as below:—

ITIPΘICAPATC ... Ω  
 AMAAΠOΛΛOΔOPΩ  
 OY EK TΩN. IΔIΩNETXA

This, from the expression *ἐκ τῶν ἰδιῶν*, would also appear to be a funerary inscription.

*Deir Belah.*—This village, at which the two last inscriptions occur, lies beyond the boundary valley. I visited it in company with Mr. Pritchett, who is engaged in founding schools at Gaza, which promise to be very successful. His native catechist was the first to discover the stones, and pointed them out to us. The mosque in which they occur is a small building about 18 feet long by 12 feet wide, having three alcoves or small apses on the east side. The cenotaph of Mar Jirjis, or El Khudr, stands in it, placed north and south, contrary to ordinary Mohammedan fashion. The building itself bears 115° or 25° south of east. On the floor, besides the slab-bearing inscription No. 4, is another large slab, 6 feet long, having two crosses of the Maltese form, with Α and Ω each side of each cross. There is also another device which, as well as we could make out in the dark, was in the form of a mitre, with its pendent ribbons. From this chamber, which bears some resemblance to a small Christian chapel, an ascent of three steps leads to the outer cloister. Another fragment of inscription is built into the upper step, but the letters are very rough, and only the word *απο* could be deciphered. There are fragments of marble built into the walls of the court, two of which resemble parts of an altar. A cornice, well cut and floridly ornamented, is built-in face down, and only just visible. The traditional history of this mosque is, that it stands on the site of a large convent which had a chapel, and this accounts for the name Mar Jirjis, or El Khudr, which never occurs, as far as I can find, except on Christian sites. Mr. Pritchett informs me that, according to the people of Gaza, Deir el Belah (Convent of dates) is a modern name, arising, no doubt, from the great number of date palms surrounding the village, and more abundant here than in any place I have visited in Palestine. The old name seems to have been Deir Mar Jirius, and the Bishop of Gaza, who resides at Jerusalem, bears the additional title of Bishop of Mar Jirius to the present day. The population of the village is, however, now entirely Mohammedan, though a Greek Khuri (or Curé), and a few Greek Christians, lived here within the half-century.

Deir Belah is supposed, with reason, to be the Fortress of Darum, south of Gaza, and near the Egyptian frontier. This fortress is often mentioned in the history of King Richard's adventures in Philistia, and was rebuilt by him after having been taken. No remains of fortification

exist, nor is the site remarkably strong, but it was undoubtedly at one time in Crusading hands, and fragments of their work may be seen in scattered pillar-shafts and in the remains of the chapel. The name is apparently lost or contracted to Deir, but a curious relic of it remains, as we found, and as has been previously noted by Robinson. The southern road from Gaza passes by a spot just at the edge of the town, to which the name Bab Dárín, or *Gate of Darum*, still applies. This southern road passes near Deir Belah on the east.

*Gaza.*—The population of Gaza is said at one time to have outnumbered that of Jerusalem. There are now 18,000 inhabitants, of whom the majority are Moslems, 500 only being Greek Christians. The remains of antiquity are not of any great interest beyond the curious church, now a mosque. The principal question with regard to Gaza is the situation of the ancient town, concerning which opinions differ. I am disposed to think that it stood on the hill where the main part of the present town stands; broad mounds surround this eminence, and appear in the middle of the buildings. Judging by comparison with other sites, these probably mark the site of former fortifications. Considerable suburbs have grown up round this position on the north, south, and east. Mohammedan tradition points to a spot south of the town near the Bab el Dárín, where seven pillars have been placed as Mohammedan tombstones. This place is said once to have been within the city, some say at its centre. Others, again, say that Gaza once extended to the hill of El Muntar (the traditional hill to which Samson carried the gates, and probably the real site). It is, however, certain that the town stood on a hill in the time of Alexander, and there seems no good reason for supposing the site to be changed. It appears that a considerable town stood on the sea-shore in early times, and this, no doubt, was the *Maiumas Gaze*, which—like the *Maiumas Ascalon*—was a separate ecclesiastical see. Pillar-shafts, marble slabs, glass, and tessere, are constantly found. In the middle of the sand-hills, near the shore, is a beautiful garden of lemons, surrounded by a mound, which seems to mark the site of this second town; near it is a ruined jetty on the sea-shore, probably denoting the site of the port.

Another tradition gives great antiquity to the olives round Gaza. These magnificent groves, which form a long avenue on the north of the city, are said to have been planted by the Greeks, and it is asserted that at all events since the coming of the Saracens some 700 years back not a single new tree has been planted. It is quite possible that there is some truth in this, for many of the trees stand on huge roots, and have evidently sprung up from the remains of former trunks now rotted away. Thus, considering the immense age to which olive-trees attain, it is possible that the trees may be the natural descendants of former planted olives.

The great church is described by Robinson as older than Crusading times, and possibly dating back to the fifth century. The arches are, however, pointed, and the western door is of mediæval character and

very fine. Of this, as well as of the interior, Lieutenant Kitchener took a photograph. The church consists of four bays, having a total length of 110 feet. The nave is 22 feet wide in the clear, the north aisle 13 feet. The south wall has been pulled down by the Moslems and a second arcade added on this side, but its outer wall is not parallel with the axis of the church. A mihrab is placed at the east end of this, and is again skewed in such a manner as to point approximately to the Kibleh. A wall has been built across the east end of the nave and north aisle, probably at the place where the steps of the main apse commenced, though it is possible that the church extended one bay farther. The result of these alterations is that no one of the three apses remains.

The style of the capitals is Byzantine, and the semi-pillars of the clerestory are much heavier than in most Crusading works, but the arrangement of the windows and roof is mediæval. The piers supporting the clerestory are of a fine brownish marble, and the mouldings of the bases are very well cut. The diagonal chiselling so remarkable in one style of Crusading masonry is here very distinct and well executed. Upon the clerestory pillar nearest the east end on the north side is a curious device cut in low relief on the shaft. A squeeze was, I believe, taken by M. Ganneau, and I did not therefore give it special study. A wreath surrounding the golden candlestick and a tablet with three lines of inscription are all that can be seen from below. The Crusaders seem to have been in the habit of using this device, for a capital belonging to the Church of Gabriel at Beit Jibrin lies near the Bir el Hammam, having a representation of the golden candlestick on the boss. It is, however, curious and unusual to find a device cut on the shaft of a pillar, especially as no other in the church is so ornamented.

A small Greek church exists in the Christian quarter of the town; we visited it, but it seemed to have nothing ancient about it, and the whole structure, with the exception of two Byzantine columns which look very much out of place, is extremely rude. The Greek priest, however, informed us that it was 1,440 years old, and had been built by a Byzantine emperor. There is also said to be a register 1,000 years old in the church, and another, dating even earlier, and said to be written on canvas, is reported to be in possession of the Bishop in Jerusalem.

*Gerar.*—Perhaps the most interesting question in this part of the country is that of the site of Gerar. This ancient town, the dwelling-place of Abraham and Isaac, is indicated as being between Kadesh (on the east) and Shur (on the west). In later times we find that Asa, having defeated the Ethiopians near Mareshah (2 Chron. xiv. 13), drove them back on the road to Egypt as far as Gerar. To Eusebius Gerar was known as being twenty-five Roman miles from Eleutheropolis, or from Beit Jibrin. Doctor Robinson was here, as usual, the first to hear of the existence of the name, and Mr. Rowland, travelling from Gaza to Khalasa, came upon a broad valley called Jorf el Jerár (the banks of Gerar), which he identifies with the valley of Gerar in which Abraham



lived. To Vandeveld the ruin of Umm el Jerár was pointed out as situate near Tell el Jema, but he does not appear to have visited the spot.

Even Murray's new map is defective in this part of the country, and the run of the valleys is incorrectly shown. The great Wady Ghuzzeh runs from Beersheba to the sea some six miles south of Gaza. At about the same distance from the city, rather towards the east, on the north bank of Wady Ghuzzeh, and in the position with regard to Tell el Jema indicated by Vandeveld, we found the site of Umm Jerrár, which is thirty English miles in a straight line from Beit Jibrin. The Jorf el Jerrár must be applied to the precipitous earthy banks of this great valley, the bed of which is here about 200 yards wide. The word Jorf is applied throughout Palestine to similar mud cliffs. If we attach any value to the indications of the Onomasticon, which seem to me to be generally very correct, we cannot put Gerar farther south. The valley is wide enough to explain how the patriarch is said to pitch his camp in it, and at the time we visited the spot a large encampment of the Terabin Arabs was settled on the north bank. One great question remains, that of the wells of Abraham. We could neither find nor hear of any wells in the neighbourhood, or indeed any nearer than Beersheba. The springs, too, marked on the maps are equally fabulous. The Arabs, who are extremely numerous, supply themselves with water by digging in the bed of the valley, when they come upon it. These excavations, or small ponds, are known as *Hafíreh*. The valley has evidently been entirely formed by water-action of considerable violence, and it receives the drainage of an immense area, as its head is close to Hebron, whence it runs by Beersheba to the sea, a distance of over sixty miles. It is, indeed, the longest watercourse in Palestine. When I was last at Hebron a stream three feet deep and some ten to fifteen feet broad was rushing along its upper course. On reaching the plain the water sinks into the soil and supplies the living wells of Beersheba as well as the Arab Hafíreh lower down its course. We are accustomed to consider Abraham's wells to have been very important and durable works, partly because the stone-work of the wells at Beersheba is generally attributed to the Patriarch. The Arabic inscription which we discovered in the principal well at Beersheba shows this to be a fallacy, and I think we have evidence that Abraham's wells at Gerar were not very important works in the fact that, though made in a friendly country, they had become filled up in the time of Isaac, who was obliged to re-dig them. It would seem to me, therefore, that the Arab Hafíreh sufficiently fulfil the requirements for the site of Gerar as far as water supply is concerned.

The name as pronounced by the Arabs is Umm el Jerrar, with the *shuddeh*, or mark of the double letter, over the first *r*. This is important. *Jerar* in Arabic signifies *waterpots*, and it might be supposed that the title "Mother of pots" was given in consequence of the huge mounds of broken pottery visible on the wady bank near at hand. Jerrár,

according to the dictionary, comes from a root meaning *collection* or *drawing together* (Jarr), as in "*Ask tr jerrár*," "a numerous army." Catafago gives, however, another meaning, "*a seller of waterpots*."

The Hebrew גרר is supposed by Gesenius to mean "a residence," but Buxtorf derives it from a root having a meaning similar to that of the Arabic Jarr.

A more important objection to the identification consists in the character of the site. No ruins are visible, and the swell of ground to which the name applies is covered with a poor crop of barley or with coarse grass. There are over a dozen cisterns scattered round, being constructed of small stones laid in thick beds of cement of reddish colour mixed with pottery and sea shells. The cisterns are circular, with domes above some four or five feet diameter and six or eight feet deep. They are now used for storing corn, but from comparison with other ruins I am inclined to think they once were intended for rain-water, especially as a sort of channel in cement leads to one of them, and the remains of a trough are to be seen at another. This peculiar form of cistern is, as far as our experience goes, confined to the southern plain, and we can scarcely hesitate to ascribe it to Crusading times, partly on account of the character of the mortar and the use of sea shells peculiar to Crusading works along the coast, partly from the occurrence of such cisterns in exclusively Crusading sites. I have sought in vain for evidence of greater antiquity, and the conclusion most natural is that these cisterns represent, as in other parts of the plain, works for irrigation dating from the middle ages, and possibly the natural successors of similar works of greater antiquity.

The heaps of pottery on the north bank of the valley are very curious. They are semi-consolidated by the infiltration of mud, and some ten feet high, as seen in section on the side of the cliff. There are fragments of every size, and handles of pots were visible. The material is a red colour, differing from the modern black pottery of Gaza. Similar heaps are visible farther west at Khirbet el 'Adár, and both might be worth excavation. It is remarkable that the sand-hills from Gaza to Yebna are strewn throughout with similar red pottery.

The only other relics noticeable at Umm Jerrár are a few marble tessere (generally a sign of a church or convent), and some bits of glass.

So far, therefore, there is nothing indicative of an ancient city at Umm el Jerrár, unless it be the pottery heaps which may mark an old mound, such as exists at every town and village in Palestine where refuse is thrown out, and which at the same time forms generally a sort of boulevard or pleasure-ground, on the summit of which the elders of the place sit smoking and chatting in the cool of the day. There is, however, an ancient site of no small importance immediately south of Khirbet Umm Jerrár, which bears the name of Tell Jema. It is an enormous mound, crescent-shaped, about 100 yards on

the diameter, situate on the brink of Wady Ghuzzeh on the south side. Its steep sides are covered with broken pottery, and it appears as a very conspicuous point from the north and east. Here, if anywhere in the vicinity, the ancient Gerar would seem to have stood; nor is this a solitary instance of the name lost to its proper site still lingering in the immediate neighbourhood. The names of Adullam, and of the Altar Ed, may be cited as other instances, and there seem to me reasons for supposing that the true site of Eglon is to be sought at Tell el Hesy, immediately south of 'Ajlan, where a fine supply of water and large mounds indicate a natural site for a great city. These notes on the site of Gerar may prove of interest, but, like many others of the more ancient cities, the locality can hardly be considered capable of demonstration, and can at best be conjectured.

*Makkedah.*—One of the most important towns of a Royal Canaanite city, the site of the first great victory of Joshua's Judean campaign, has escaped more than the merest conjecture, and even Captain Warren's suggestion for its identification has not, as far as I am aware, appeared in print.

Makkedah is to be sought in the plain country of Judah, and in the neighbourhood of Beth-Dagon and Naameh, names which immediately precede it in the topographical list. It must also be in the neighbourhood of one or more caves, and should show indications of an ancient and important site.

There is another consideration which limits the position of Makkedah. Joshua, who had marched from Gilgal to Gibeon, a distance of some twenty miles, before dawn, pursued the defeated Canaanites down the valley of Ajalon to the plain, whence they fled to Azekah and Makkedah. Makkedah was taken, and the five kings hanged by sunset, and thus we cannot place it more than some eight or ten hours from Gibeon—that is, under thirty miles. It should also be on the natural route southwards from the point where the valley of Ajalon enters the plain. These considerations would lead us to place Makkedah near the north boundary of Judah, a situation also indicated by the fact that it occurs last in a list enumerating the towns in regular succession from south to north.

The site of El Moghar, a village on the north side of the valley of Sorek, fulfils in a remarkable way all these conditions, as may be briefly enumerated thus:—

1st. El Moghar is immediately south-west of Ekron, one of the cities on the north tribe-line of Judah.

2nd. It is not far east of Dejjun, the true site of Beth Dagon, as fixed by M. Ganneau. It is five miles south-west of N'aaneh, in which, I think, we can hardly fail to recognise the ancient N'aameh.

3rd. It is an undoubtedly ancient site, as evidenced by the rock-quarrying, and by the existence of tombs with the loculi running in from the sides of the chamber.

4th. As far as careful examination has allowed us to determine, it is the only site in the plain where caves occur. The houses are built over

and in front of caverns of various sizes, and small caves called Moghair-Summeil exist in the face of cliffs north of the village.

5th. It is some twenty-five miles from Gibeon in a line down the valley of Ajalon, and close to the main road north and south from Gaza to Lydda.

6th. It is not far removed from Azekah, which, as will be shown later, was some ten miles farther east.

7th. Its name signifies in Arabic *the caves*. The Syriac version of Josh. x. 10 furnishes, however, a link between the modern Arabic and the ancient Hebrew, as the word Makkedah is there rendered Mokor, which approaches the Arabic Moghr, of which the plural form is Moghâr, or more commonly Moghâir.

These various points, when taken together, seem to me to form a pretty satisfactory identification, placing Makkedah in the district in which Mr. Grove, and all the best authorities, have contended that Makkedah should be sought. Vandeveld's identification at Summeil, some twelve miles farther south, depending on the reported existence of a cave of which we could find no traces, and on the existence of ancient ruins which do not, however, date beyond the middle ages, falls to the ground, as would be naturally expected from its great distance from the site of Gibeon.

A short description of this remarkable site may be of interest. The broad valley of Sorek, the home of Dalilah and the scene of the return of the ark from Philistia, expands upon leaving the hills into a flat plain of rich corn-land bounded by the hills of Gezer on the north, and by rolling uplands separating it on the south from the next great water-course, the valley of Elah. About half-way along its course, from the hills to the sea, a sort of promontory runs out from the uncultivated downs around Ekron (now, as then, the property of nomadic tribes settled among the peasantry). The valley has, in fact, made a way here through a bar of soft sandy stone, and a corresponding promontory or tongue on the south melts away into the southern uplands. The northern is the highest, and is divided into three tops, the last of which falls abruptly and supports a large mud village clambering up the steep eastern side and crowding round the caves. Another village, and a remarkable tell or knoll immediately north of it, form the termination of the southern promontory. The first village is El Moghar, which I propose to identify with Makkedah; the second, Katrah or Gatrah, which, as I shall have occasion to explain later, seems to me the true site of Gederoth, afterwards known as Kedron.

North of El Moghar are gardens hedged with cactus extending over the whole hill-top. South of it are ancient olives, also walled with cactus, whilst east and west extend fine cornfields and broad flat expanses of brown ploughed land.

The slopes of the promontory are steep on the east, and in part precipitous. It is in this respect unique, for in no other part of the plain do the sandstone cliffs thus appear. Hence it is, I believe, the only

place where caves are to be found. One of these, now broken away in front, has, curiously enough, *five loculi* rudely scooped in its sides. It is the only cave I saw with such loculi, and an enthusiast might contend that here we have the very place of sepulture of the five kings who "were found hid in a cave at Makkedah."

The site seems well to answer the requirements of the case. Hidden from view, and perched high above the route of their pursuers, the five sheikhs would have looked down in fancied security on the host hurrying beneath on the high road to Azekah and Gath and other "fenced cities." The fact of their discovery and capture before the taking of the town would show that it is to one of the caves outside the city that they must have retired. These caves are generally very small; some are broken away in front, and others filled in; but two at least can be pointed out wherein five men might crowd, and the entrances of which could easily be blocked with the "great stones" which lie scattered near. No trees now exist near the caves, though olives and others are to be noticed south of the village; but the number of trees throughout this part of the plain is much greater than farther north, and the most enthusiastic could scarcely hope to discover those which in the time of Joshua supported the corpses of the five royal victims.

*Yebna.*—The site of our fourth Philistine camp is also a famous place, and one of those mentioned on the north tribe-line of Judah, which reached the sea at the mouth of Nahr Rûbîn, or River of Reuben—so called from the reputed tomb of Reuben on its banks. In the Book of Joshua the name is Jabneel, and later, Jabneh or Jammia.

There is nothing of great interest in the modern village, with the exception of the so-called church, a building 49 feet long, by 32 $\frac{1}{2}$  feet broad, interior measurement. The fellahin say it was originally a church, but it has neither apse nor western door, and is divided into two walks of equal width, with a kibleh niche on the south side—not, however, in the centre of the bay. The main door is on the north, and has a pointed arch. The windows are of the loop-holed form found in the white tower at Ramleh, and the whole construction, including the minaret at the north-west corner, bears a strong resemblance to the Ramleh White Mosque, which was built in A.D. 1318. A well-cut inscription stands in, evidently *in situ*, on the north wall of the minaret, as is well seen in Lieut. Kitchener's photograph. It runs as follows, being taken down by our scribe:—

"In the name of God the merciful, the pitiful. Founded this minaret the blessed, the poor, before most high God, the pious the Emir great and (lion-like) Soliman el Nasri, in the fourth month, in the year eight and thirty and seven hundred."

The minaret therefore dates at the close of the fourteenth century, subsequent to the Ramleh mosque. The remainder of the building is possibly of the same date. The mosque of Abu Harireh, on the west side of Yebna, contains two Arabic inscriptions dating earlier than the one above translated. The one contains the names of *Bibars* and of

*Khalil ibn Sawir*, Wali of Ramleh, with the date 673 A.H.; the other the name of "*Melek el Mansur Kalawan*," and the date 693 A.H.

Yebna, like Ashdod and Gaza, had its port, but of this very little remains. Riding down the course of the Nahr Rúbin by the Saint-house of Reuben, where is a courtyard cool and delicious from the shade of nine huge mulberry-trees, I found the ruins some little way south of the river mouth. Very little masonry remains, except on the south, where a square mass of retaining wall shows evidence of Crusading workmanship. This tower is known as Khirbet Dubbeh. Farther north are three ancient tombs in the face of the sandy cliff, one having eight loculi running in from its sides. These are called by the natives El-dekkakin ("the shops"), a title often given to such tombs from the fellahin fancy that the loculi, like the cupboards of a modern bazaar, were used to store the goods of the shopman who sat presumably on the sort of divan which often runs round three sides of the chamber.

The port would seem to be naturally better than any along the coast of Palestine south of Cæsarea. There are, however, dangerous reefs hidden beneath the waves, and visible from their dark colour in the beautifully transparent water. A very little trouble in clearing a passage through these would, I imagine, render the Minet Rúbin a better port than Jaffa, as the reefs are farther from the beach.

The river, even in May, was full of water for several miles above the shore, and deep pools exist throughout its course. It is fed by springs at and near the foot of the hills, and is the most formidable natural barrier between the Anjeh and Wady Ghuzzeh. It therefore forms along the latter part of its course such a natural boundary as would be required between the possessions of Judah and of Dan.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.,

*In Command Survey of Palestine.*

## THE SITE OF THE CITY OF ADULLAM.

By C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

FOUR years ago I was led to place the city of Adullam at Ayd el Mieh, a ruin situated north-east of Beit Jibrin, not far from Shuweikeh (the ancient Shocoh), on the road from Jerusalem to Beit Jibrin. I communicated this identification to several persons while it was still a conjecture, especially to Capt. Burton and Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake,\* on their journey to Jerusalem in 1871; to M. Renan, who wished to communicate it to the Academy of Inscriptions; and, later on, to Lieut.

\* "Unexplored Syria," 1872, ii. 294. "Adullam . . . site. M. Ganneau pointed out the true site farther east, at the Khirbet Adalmiyeh, pronounced by the people Ayd el Miyya, at a short distance from the well-known Bayt Nutf."

Conder,\* to whom at the same time I pointed out several other observations made during the same excursion, when I first saw Ed el Miyé; among others the tomb of the *Daughter of Noah* and El Azhek (=Azeka?) at Ellar, and the sculptured cavern and the inscriptions at Khirbet Za Kariyeh, and several names of localities marked in my route. I propose to state the considerations which decided me to adopt hypotheses in which I am the first to detect certain weak points.

## I.

The first appearance of the name of this city in the Bible is found in Genesis xxxviii., in connection with the episode of Judah and Tamar. Judah, who was with his brothers at Hebron, went *down* to Hirah the Adullamite, and married the daughter of the Canaanite Shuah.† Later on, the patriarch, accompanied by his friend Hirah,‡ goes up to Timnath to the sheep-shearing. According to Knobel, this Timnath has nothing to do with the Timnath of the tribe of Dan (=Tibneh, not far from Ain Shems), but would be the Timnah cited by the Book of Joshua (xv. 57), with Hak-kain (Cain) and Gibeah in the *mountains* of Judah.

At the time of Jerome another opinion prevailed, for the Onomasticon (s. v. Thamna) identifies this Timnah, where Judah went for his sheep-shearing, with a great town, Thamna, situated between Jerusalem and Diospolis, and belonging to the common territory of Dan and Judah. The passage is, perhaps, corrupt; at all events, considering the evident theory of the author, we ought to read Eleutheropolis (Beit Jibrin) and not Diospolis (Lydda).§

\* When I arrived at Jerusalem, at the end of 1873, MM. Conder and Drake had just visited the great cave of Umm el Tumaymiyé with Mr. Neil and Dr. Chaplin, thinking that it was the place pointed out by me as the possible Adullam. But I never visited this place. Mr. Drake rectified his error in a subsequent note.

† There is a village, Esh'û, not far from the neighbourhood of these events. The name may possibly preserve some recollection of Shuah, who would be of importance in the genealogy of Judah.

‡ The Septuagint and the Vulgate translate Ro'è, shepherd, which seems to agree with what follows.

§ Nevertheless the Onomasticon places the Timnath Serah of Joshua in the territory of Dan, which adds to our difficulties. Besides, whether the Onomasticon understands in this passage the Timnath Serah of Ephraim (which is extremely improbable) or the Timnath near Ain Shems, neither of these localities is found between Diospolis or Eleutheropolis and Jerusalem, or even on the road from one to the other. If, on the other hand, the Onomasticon has in view an unknown Timnath, that grouped in the Book of Joshua between Gibeah and Hak-kain, the neighbourhood of Gibeah would bring us to the middle

Judah, before arriving at Timnath, meets Tamar at "an open place," or a place called Enaim,\* or possibly Patah Enaim, on the road which leads to Timnath. It has been supposed that Enaim was no other than Enam, mentioned in the first group of the towns of the Shefelah (Joshua xv. 36), which would imply the identity of our Timnath with the Danite Tibneh. As we do not know from what place Judah went to Timnath, we cannot deduce from the account much light on the position of Adullam, as some writers have been disposed to admit. The city itself is not once mentioned, except as being the natal place of Hirah.

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## II.

The Book of Joshua gives more precise indications. In the list of Canaanite kings defeated by the successors of Moses (xii. 15), the king of Adullam figures between those of Libnah and Makkedah.

Farther on (xv. 36) we see that the city of Adullam belonged to the territory of the tribe of Judah; it forms, with Jarmuth, Socho, and Azeka, a group apart among the fourteen cities placed in the first line in the Shephalah.

I once proposed that the Shephalah might be considered, not as the plain, as is generally understood, but as the low country, the second slope of the great mass of hills which forms the territory of Judah and its level undulations in the plains. This idea was adopted by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake and others to whom I submitted it. I still think it is perfectly borne out by the facts. Shephalah has properly the sense of *low*, and not of *flat*: the word under this form corresponds with the Arabic *asfel*, in the feminine *soufla*. The vulgar form of *soufla*, *sifla*, is applied at the present day in a geographical sense: thus, the village *Ellâr es sifla* (the low) as opposed to *Ellâr el foka* (the high), is placed near several cities indicated as being in the Shephalah; and about a mile and a half north-east of Zanoa (Zanoah of the Shephalah) there exists a little village called Sifla or Sifala, which may possibly still mark the eastern limit of the Shephalah.

of the road from Jerusalem to Eleutheropolis, only it would be inadmissible to extend the territory of Dan so far. The passage in the Onomasticon leaves the question open whether it meant Timnath near Dan or Timnath near Gibeah.

\* The Onomasticon, apparently making itself an echo of the current Rabbinical traditions of the time, indicates Enan as a desert place near the Thamna already quoted, with a spring—whence its name—and an idol held in great veneration. St. Jerome adds that the Hebrews explain the expression by *bivium*, a word which he adopts in the Vulgate. Perhaps it is best to read "in the entrance of Enaim." Farther on, the people of the place are spoken of, so that it was inhabited. It is to be regretted that Jerome does not explain the nature of the worship paid to the "idol" in his own time. Perhaps it was one of the Canaanite deities—an Astarte, patroness of the class to which Tamar belonged.



We must not, therefore, persist in seeking Adullam in the plain, nor ought we to be astonished if we find the place as high up among the hills as Eshtaol, Zorah, or Zanoah, belonging like itself to the Shephalah.\*

### III.

In the First Book of Samuel we learn that David, pursued by the unrelenting hatred of Saul, and no longer able to rest at Gath, took refuge in the cave of Adullam. His brothers and his relations *came down* from Bethlehem and joined him there. The little group of exiles was increased by the accession of "every one who was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented," and of such materials the future king formed his first army. On one occasion, David having expressed a desire to drink "of the water of the well of Bethlehem that is at the gate," three of the bravest of the *Gibborim* successfully passed through the lines of the Philistines and brought him the water for which he longed (1 Chron. xi. 19; 2 Sam. xxiii. 13).

It is clear from the double account of this episode that there was no question of supplying a lack of water, but of satisfying a longing for home quite intelligible in an exile. I insist on this fact because some have been led to understand from this touching episode that Adullam must be near Bethlehem, which is *possible*, but not necessary.†

The narrative in both the Book of Chronicles and that of Samuel clearly implies that Adullam had a strategic importance, so that it is quite natural to find it among the cities fortified by Rehoboam (2 Chron. xi. 7) between Bethzur and Shocho.

It is mentioned in Nehemiah (xi. 30), between Jarmuth and Zanoah, as having been inhabited after the captivity by the sons of Judah. Judas Maccabeus here celebrated the Sabbath at the head of his army

\* On the other hand, many names of towns certainly situated in the plain are nowhere classed among those of the Shephalah. The existence of the cities of the Shephalah in the highlands has so much embarrassed commentators, that some of them have had to suppress the difficulty by a gratuitous invention—viz., that the word Shephalah is not Hebrew at all.

† This is the opinion of Thénius (*Die Bücher Samuel*, p. 103). The same commentator supposing that David, after placing his parents in safety in Moab, came back to the cave of Adullam, and that it is to this locality that the words of Gad apply ("Abide not in the hold; depart, and get thee into the land of Judah"), concludes that if the *city* of Adullam was in the territory of Judah, the cave was without, in that of Benjamin. But is it sure that by Eres Yehoudah the text means the territory of the tribe? Is it demonstrated that the events followed as Thénius interprets them? Are there more reasons for placing the cave of Adullam in the tribe of Benjamin than in that of Dan, for example? One thing, however, is quite clear—the cave and the city were quite close to each other; both were in the land of Judah, and both in the Shephalah.

after defeating Gorgias, who fled to Maresha, near Beit Jibrin (2 Macc. xii. 38).

Lastly, in the chapter of Micah (chap. i.) which contains a curious series of *jeux de mots* on different towns of Palestine, Adullam is associated with Maresbah in one of these alliterations, with an apparent tendency to isolate the first syllable of the word, Ad-Adullam.

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#### IV.

If we pass from the Bible to profane texts, we have to remark in Josephus the transcription of the name as Adullamè (Antiq. vi. 12, 3).

The Onomasticon gives us indications on the position assigned to it by tradition in the fourth and fifth centuries, which are extremely involved. We must try to clear them up.

“Eglon, which is also called Adullam, in the tribe of Judah, where king Debir was slain by Joshua. It is still a large town in the region of Eleutheropolis, at ten miles (Jerome says twelve miles) distance.”

The expression *προς ανατολας* may mean, according to the well-established practice of Eusebius, rather the north-east or south-east than direct east. Gezer is thus placed in an easterly direction with regard to Emmaus, *έν βορειοις*—in the north. Now I have found it at Tell el Jezer, which is north-west of Emmaus. The plural appears to mark intentionally a direction intermediate to the cardinal points.

How does this confusion between Eglon and Adullam arise? The error must be assigned to a neglect of the Hebrew text, because no Greek copyist could confuse ΕΓΛΩΝ and ΟΔΟΛΛΑΜ. In fact, the fault is due to the Septuagint, which has taken in Joshua x. 5, גִּמְלָה for דָּלְתָה, and has written *οδολλαμ* (or *οδολλα*). The *gimel* was taken for a *daleth*, the two letters in the alphabet then in use resembling each other very strongly, and the substitution of the *Mem* for the *Nun* was thus almost forced.\*

It is thus that the strange contradiction in the passage of Eusebius may have been caused. Eglon is, without doubt, Khirbet Ajlan, about twelve Roman miles almost due west of Beit Jibrin. Eusebius, harassed by his supposed obligations to the text of the Septuagint, and preoccupied by another locality east of Beit Jibrin, where he placed Adullam, applied to Eglon what he really intended for the former city. Jerome, in his turn, recognising the impossibility that two different places should be the same, and having rightly ascertained that the distance of Eglon from Eleutheropolis was twelve miles and not ten, corrects the narrative of Eusebius, but preserves the orientation applicable only to Adullam. In

\* The *Gimel* in the ancient inscriptions that I found at Jerusalem was written very much like the *Daleth*. Lower down, in Joshua xv. 39, the Septuagint gives correctly ΕΓΛΩΝ.

another passage (s. v. *χασβι*), the Onomasticon says that Chasbi (Chezib), where the wife of Judah gave birth to Shelah (which is probably the Achzib of the group in Joshua xv. 37), is shown in a desert place near Dollam, or Odollam, in the confines of Eleutheropolis. Procopius of Gaza (Commentary on Joshua)—who seems to have only reproduced a portion of the Onomasticon, with a correction of the distances—after stating that Yerimoth is at the fourteenth mile from Eleutheropolis, near Eshtaol, adds, without any indication of the connection in his own mind, the name of Adullam.\*

Lastly, the Onomasticon places Makkedah, a city celebrated for the cavern where Joshua killed the five kings, eight miles from Eleutheropolis in the east, *πρὸς ἀνατόλας*; this is within two miles the distance and the position attributed to Adullam=Eglon. We may imagine that the cave has produced a new confusion between the two cities, like that which we have pointed out above, and we may put down the measure of eight miles to the account of Adullam. It is, in fact, difficult to believe that Adullam and Makkedah, which belong to two distinct series in the lists of Joshua, were no more than two Roman miles apart.

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## V.

In working upon data so uncertain it is clearly difficult to determine the exact position of Adullam. Nevertheless, a tradition—we may boldly call it a legend—sprang up in after years, which placed the cave of Adullam at the immense grotto known as Moghuret Khureitun, not far from Bethlehem and quite close to Tekoa. The description of this cave has been given a hundred times. The legend was only concerned with the cave, and did not trouble itself to establish the proximity of a city. (See Tobler, II. 509 *et seq.*)

It has long been proved that the name of Khureitun applied to the cave, to the adjacent ruins, to a spring, and to the valley below, is nothing else than that of the ascetic Chariton, who founded in this place one of his two Lauras, called Suka, fourteen stadia from Tekoa. The origin of the word Suka has been a good deal discussed. It is from the Syriac. Tobler and Sepp explain it by the Hebrew *Succah*, a tent or house. I think that they are wrong. We should have in that case a *χ* and not a *κ* in the Greek transcription, the *κάρρα* implies a *koph* in the original, and *upsilon* an *i* rather than an *o* or an *ou*.†

Now why did tradition get hold of this cavern called *κρεμαστον* and

\* *περὶ τὴν Εσδαὼλ κώμην Ὀδολλάμ.* Perhaps the phrase may be separated by a stop before the last word.

† We have also *Σουκα*. So the Septuagint gives us *σωχω* and *σωχων* for Socho. So in the Arabic the convent Mar Saba is called Deir es Sik. In the Annals of Eutychius (II. 103, 242, 243) the convent of Chariton and that of Saba are called the old and the new Deir es Sik.

make Adullam out of it? Probably on account of its remarkable dimensions and its proximity to Bethlehem. Perhaps the name of *Suka* went for something. It is probable that this belief took its origin at the time of the Crusades; it is certainly as old as that date; and the confusion of *Suka* with *Sik* and *Secho* would have been impossible for a Semitic race, but the Crusaders would be helped in their identification by an apparent resemblance, the city of Socho being associated with Adullam in the Bible narrative. This mistake would be quite in accordance with their habits.

We cannot, as critics, accept such a fable. But we ourselves have not been more fortunate. Our own topography has proposed for Adullam in succession, Deir Dubban, Beit Alam, Beit Doula, &c.

Not one of these hypotheses answers to the conditions of the problem.

First of all, the name of Adullam must be considered separately. Whatever its etymology, it is certain that, however preserved by the Arabs, it would have undergone considerable modifications. For example, it might have been Adlûn, under which name we should at once recognise it. This name exists, but unfortunately it is attached to a place very far from the territory of Judah, on the coast of Phœnicia, between Tyre and Sidon. These caprices of Onomastic echoes are not rare in Syria.

We should expect a deviation of the final syllable into *oun*, *în*, or *an*; a disappearance of the *d* by assimilation with the double *l*; and a transformation of the *ain* into *ghain*, and perhaps into *h*.

Starting with this principle, I was struck by the resemblance of the Hebrew word Adullam with that of a ruin called Ed el Miyè\* situated on the road from Jerusalem to Beit Jibrin, not far from Shuweikch or Socho.

In 1871 I resolved to visit the place in order to verify conjectures resting upon nothing more than appearances which might be vain, and I included this place in the programme of a little excursion—the same in which I discovered Gezer. The following are some of the notes which I made on the journey:—

“Starting from Jerusalem on the 30th of January, in a pelting rain, we pass (my companion being Frère Liévin) by Bettir, Houbin, and Ella el Foka. Facing this latter place, on the other side of the valley, towards the south, exists a place called El Azhek,† whose name singularly resembles that of the city, hitherto unknown, of Azeka. It is a

\* It will be found that Lieutenant Conder spells the word Ayd el Mich.

† Azeka, we know, is a *crux interpretum*. If we fix it at Ellar, there would be among other advantages—(1) That it would remain in the group of Joshua xv. 36. (2) It would agree with the fixing of the Philistine camp (1 Sam. xvii. 1) if Vandeveldé's Danûn is Dommin. (3) It would be half-way between Jerusalem and Beit Jibrin, in accordance with the Onomasticon. Khirbet Za Kariyeh has been proposed; one might also think of Beit Iska and of Khirbet Haska.

rocky plateau, surrounded by hills of greater elevation, with no other trace of ruins than a great circle of shapeless stones called *Dar el Kibliyâ*.

“Then Khirbet Hanna, Khirbet Harik esh Shekhaleb, with the tomb of Noah’s daughter, Khirbet Jairieh, the Spring of Tamur (legend of the Deluge), Ellar es Sifla, or Bawaij (mediæval ruin). From thence we directed our course due south-east, and arrived a little before sunset at the broad valley on one of the sides of which are the ruins which I wished to see. They were called Ed el Miyè, or Id el Miyè. Like most of the ancient sites in Palestine, they have no determined character, but appear to cover a fairly large extent of ground, as well as could be made out among the late grass with which they were covered; there is also a large well, surrounded with several troughs, where they bring the cattle to drink.

“The place is absolutely uninhabited, except in the rainy season, when the shepherds take refuge there for the night. These peasants are here at present in large numbers.

“We climb the hill at the foot of which these ruins extend. Other ruins lie on the top of it, and a small monument dedicated to the Sheikh Madkur.

“The hill is perforated with natural grottoes, where the shepherds are already housed for the night. It is easy to imagine David and his companions lodged in these large caves; from them one commands the plains and valleys to a great distance round, and a *ghazzia* once effected, this natural fortress would offer a sure and commodious shelter.

“As we journey without tent, with our horses alone, and with what our *khordjes* hold, we seek a shelter in the rocks, and leave our beasts in a neighbouring cave. But the fellahin, who make no difficulty about number, protest against the profanation by our animals of a grotto sacred to Madkur.

“We install ourselves as well as we can in this rustic sanctuary, taking certain precautions, for the country is at the moment a prey to famine. We divide our provisions with the little circle of curious visitors who surround us, near a great fire lit in the *livan*. The bread is a welcome gift to these poor wretches, who have been living for weeks on leaves of *khoubbeije* (a kind of mallow). So that I get from them without any trouble valuable information on the place. Local tradition says that the city of Ed el Miyè once—but a long while ago—suffered total destruction and a general massacre. Men, women, children, nothing was spared. They massacred, among others, eighty couples of brothers, reminding one of the eighty couples of (*Gozot*) brothers, priests, spoken of in the Talmud.

“Sheikh Madkur—some call him Mankûr—was the son of the Sultan Beder. His descendants are settled at Beit Natif—they have built and keep up the wely.

“We pass the night with a little distrust of the vagabonds round us—hunger is a bad adviser. But Sheikh Madkur, or the ancient divinity

whom he represents, watches over us, and the morning arrives without accident. We set off immediately, casting one rapid glance at the hill, which is full of caves, tombs, and cisterns, and covered over with great blocks of cut stone. We have to get as quickly as possible to Beit Jibrin, for the sake of our horses, who have had nothing to eat but grass."

Since that moment the idea that I had seen the ruins and the cave of Adullam dwelt continually in my mind, without, however, becoming a serious conviction. During my last visit to Palestine I proposed, by an excursion in the region of Beit Jibrin, to make another journey to Ed el Miyè. We found the place completely deserted, the whole country being ravaged by a typhoid fever. I ascertained afresh that the plateau was covered with ruins, and had once been the site of a city. Among the tombs cut in the rock was one with a cross.\* We explored the large cavern near the wely. We were at a loss because we had nothing to give us light, when, to our surprise and joy, we discovered in the wely a packet of candles still in their blue paper cover, and deposited by some pious hand for the purpose of lighting the sanctuary. Decidedly the good genius of Sheikh Madkur visibly protected us. I made no scruple about appropriating one of these providential candles, and I substituted a small piece of money for the benefit of the pious donor whose offering I had been obliged to use. We were thus able to visit the cavern in all its extent without risk of breaking our necks, as had nearly happened to me already at Shiha.

In a halt at Ellar I picked up a new legend on Ed el Miyè which enables us to fix the orthography of the name.

The day of the great feast of Mussulmans (id) a terrible fight took place, a long time ago, between the hostile *hamoulés* who lived in the city. A hundred (miyé) of the inhabitants were slain. Since that time the place has been called the *Feast of the Hundred*.

It is curious to remark that the explanations in vogue among the rabbis of the fourth and fifth centuries on the etymology of Adullam tended also to separate it into two parts.

St. Jerome, in fact, who was the pupil of the Jewish doctors, translates in his *De Nominibus Hebraicis*, *Adullamitem* by *testificatem, sive testimonium aque*; *Adullamim*, by *congregatio eorum*; and *Odollum* by *testimonium eorum*.† He merely separates the first syllable to assimilate it to the Hebrew *ed*, witness. As to the second part, to which he once gives the name of *water*, he has in his mind the Hebrew *maim*. Some of these contradictory interpretations would be very well explained by a form analogous to the Arabic Ed el Miyè.

In spite of the striking resemblance, I have a certain scruple about connecting Ed el Miyè with Adullam. Generally the Arabic names give

\* A detail of some importance: if the place was inhabited at the Christian epoch there is a chance of its having preserved its ancient name, and one understands how a survival of the name was found by the writer of the Onomasticon.

† Cf. also on Amwas, Emmaus, *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1874, p. 163.

us contractions rather than the reverse. We should have to admit that Ed el Miyè is connected with Adullam by means of the ethnic form in the feminine *Edehny*, *Edel Miyè*.

Ed el Miyè is about eight Roman miles from Beit Jibrin, as nearly as can be fixed from existing maps, and north-east of this city. It is exactly the distance of the position assigned by the Onomasticon to Mellkedah; but we have seen that this passage had in view Adullam, placed elsewhere at ten miles.

It is certain that in placing Adullam at Ed el Miyè we not only approach the statements of the Onomasticon, but also satisfy very nearly all the conditions demanded by the texts quoted above, including the expedition of the three *Giborims* who went to fetch water from Bethlehem. The journey from Ed el Miyè to Bethlehem and back, about twelve leagues, would be nothing for the light-footed mountaineers who surrounded David. Those who consider the distance too much have only to remember that it is related as an exploit, and that the fatigue has to be added to the risk. Let us not forget, besides, that when David as a boy killed Goliath he carried provisions to his three elder brethren from Bethlehem to the camp of the Israelites—that is to say towards Sodom, in the valley of the Terebinth—nearly as far and in the same parts as Ed el Miyè.

All these coincidences, then, give a high degree of *vraisemblance* to the identification, but from that to a certainty, such as we have in Gezer, is a long step. I ought to add, in conclusion, without attaching any other importance to it, that two localities might also pretend to the honour of representing Adullam, if we confine ourselves to the phonetic point of view—Ellar, already named, and Beit Ellia, a little to the east of Ed el Miyè; but the phonetic point of view is not anything in topography, and besides, even from these considerations, Ed el Miyè has the advantage.

## ANCIENT JEWISH GRAVES.

LETTERS FROM DR. TITUS TOBLER.

The following letters from a well-known veteran in Palestine Exploration will be welcome to all who desire accurate knowledge on an important branch of Jewish archaeology. They refer to papers published in different numbers of the *Quarterly Statement* by Major Wilson, Lieut. Cender, and M. Clermont-Ganneau.

### I.

MUNICH, 24th March, 1875.

The different kinds of graves are described in the *Quarterly Statement* in such a manner as to justify me in drawing your attention to them.

I recognised four kinds of graves (*Golyatha*, 1851, p. 216, &c.),

which I closely investigated, in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem.

1. The *common* grave, sunk in the floor of the grave-chamber, which the visitor enters.
2. The *sliding* or *oven* grave, in the Talmud *Kok* (plural *Kokim*), a rectangular sloping space cut into the wall of the rock, extending six feet horizontally, sufficiently wide and high to admit of a corpse being pushed in. This is my reason for thus naming it.
3. The *shelf* or *bench* grave, a shelf or niche, six feet long, cut in the wall of the rock; and upon this the corpse was laid, even when it had first been placed in a coffin.
4. The *trough* grave. If a trough was cut in the shelf just mentioned, this made a trough grave, into which the corpse was laid. This division of mine was accepted by the German *savants*, and I have also read in a French work, "Trois ans en Judée, par Géraudy Saintine" (Paris, 1860, p. 219): L'examen . . . nous permet . . . d'établir quatre catégories des chambres funéraires; les chambres à four avec ou sans rainure dans le milieu, celles à tablettes, celles à auge, enfin celles à couche souterraine." I must make the very unwilling confession that I, who first of all and most thoroughly examined and described the ancient Jewish graves, am not altogether clear about the reports which I read upon these graves in the *Quarterly Statement*—a most valuable and indispensable publication. Captain Wilson's description of the varieties of graves, in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1869, p. 66, &c., interesting as it is, would not sufficiently clear up the matter if it were not accompanied by a sheet of diagrams; I should not have understood "deep *loculi*" and "sunk *loculi*"—at least not the first. Lieut. Conder's paper in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1873, pp. 23, 47, 141, is not clear enough. It is hardly justifiable to use the Latin word *loculus* (*locus in sepulchro*) for an ancient Jewish grave; or even, according to Drake (*Quarterly Statement*, 1873, p. 58; 1874, p. 71), to help it out with "pigeon-hole *loculus*," because the ancient Jewish grave—which, as far as I know, one might seek for in vain in the west, setting aside the modern mural construction, such as at Barcelona—is a *Kok*: I consider that this definite term should always have the preference, if my term *sliding* or *oven* grave is less suitable, which I freely admit. Therefore, if *loculi* were found in Rome, they could not be designated as *Kokim*. In the cemetery of S. Callistus, and the catacombs of S. Sebastiano, the *loculi shelf graves* were introduced like the bunks of a ship. The term "pigeon-hole *loculus*" could not be applied here either, because it is not a *columnarium*, or niche of that sort. M. Clermont-Ganneau, in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 108, expresses himself more accurately, "*loculi* in the form of ovens." If I had not written first to Jerusalem, and another time to Nazareth, I should not yet have solved the problem as to which sort of graves were meant. It is surely an obvious necessity that the varieties of graves should be accurately and similarly designated by the reporters. I avoided the subject of the rock chambers or the rock grave-structure for fear of diffuseness. The *Quarterly Statement*, from the wide survey obtained, contains much valuable information upon them.



I venture to draw your attention to something else. Starting from the point of view that it is very important if possible to obtain correct texts of the authorities, I edited the "Itinerarium Burdigalæ Hierosolymam," the "Peregrinatio S. Paulæ," the descriptions of S. Eucherius, of Theodosius (Theodorus), of Antoninus Martyr, of S. Willibaldus, of the Commemoratorium, of Bernardus Monachus, of John Wirziburgensis; not to mention Theodoricus and the "Citez de Iherusalem." See "Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ," Leipsic, 1874, p. 525. I see that the contributors and editors of the *Quarterly Statement* have taken no notice of all this. You know how much trouble Clermont-Ganneau gave himself to obtain the text of John of Würzburg (*Quarterly Statement*, 1874, pp. 156, 164). At last he got it, but not the one which I had revised, which is to be recommended in preference to the "Templum Domini" on account of some important improvements. As I considered it important to edit more correct texts, I think that it would also not be unimportant for your readers to look into them. At the same time I have the honour of sending you my treatise against Mons. de Sauley, which contains some mention of the ancient Jewish graves.

GEORGE GROVE, Esq.

TITUS TOBLER.

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## II.

MUNICH, 17th April, 1875.

I was delighted to get an answer from you, and it gives me much pleasure to continue the correspondence.

I take the liberty of drawing your attention to a few other matters. Prof. E. H. Palmer, who visited Beit Jibrin, mentions the inscriptions; but, if I am not mistaken, does not speak of the very curious rock columbaria, which, I might almost say, are exact patterns of those which one sees built (*gemauert*) in Rome and Pompeii. It would, therefore, be desirable, if the engineers reach this point, that the right "terminus" should be chosen. In my third journey (p. 131) I recognised an evident columbarium there—one can plainly see the niches for the urns.

In the *Quarterly Statement* it is supposed that there was a fortress on the Quarantana mountain. To corroborate this you will see the same thing mentioned in my edition of Theodoricus (1863, p. 72). In this author may be found mention of two other castles—Sapham, and one which is not named, and is difficult to find in the authorities (p. 98). In "The Exploration of Palestine, from its foundation to Dec., 1870," one finds (p. 15) the following: "At a point 600 feet distant from the south-western angle, the Tarik Bab es-Silsileh passes into the Haram through the Bab es-Silsileh, over *what had always been supposed to be an earthen embankment.*" I examined this cave in 1846, and described it to the Fund in my memorandum (Denkblätter, p. 41 ff.), where I positively declared (p. 141 f.) the Suk Bâb es-Sinsleh (Silsileh) to be a *bridge*. In my "Topography of Jerusalem," Bk. 1, p. 206, I further

proved that this so-called causeway (Williams) of later topographers served as a bridge (pons) at the time of the Crusades, and that a street led under it from the Stephen's Gate (now Damascus Gate) to the Tanners' Gate. This I inferred from the Citez de Iherusalem, in the incorrect text of Beugnot, as I then knew it (1853).

I am surprised that this incorrect Williams-Beugnot text should still be used in England, since as early as 1854, in the "Topography" just mentioned, in 1859 in the "Recueil des Historiens des Croisades," and in 1860 in De Vogüé's "Églises de la Terre Sainte," better and here-and-there thoroughly correct texts are to be found. A recently revised text—the first critical one—is to be found in the "Descriptiones Terræ Sanctæ" published by me.

I am not acquainted with the space to the south below the temple plateau and the mosques, between the steps under the Aksa mosque and the western wall of the Haram esh-Sherif; perhaps I overlooked it in Morison's "Recovery of Jerusalem," in "Our Work in Palestine," or in the *Quarterly Statements*; of the latter, in spite of all my efforts, I have not been able to get hold of the first number.

In "The Exploration," the map is entitled "Thirty square miles of Judæa, showing the amount of our present knowledge of the country" (1870). A few things are wanting in this map. For instance, Ain Attân, which I found at Wâdi Biâr; Ain Kasâs, near the so-called tanks of Solomon; the important ruin of the convent at Dêr es-Seiâr; the Wadi Saieh, below the Wâdi Rahîb; the Wady Tawâhûn, below the Wâdi Artâs; in fact, the Arabic names of valleys generally apply only to very short distances. Compare letterpress and map of my "Denkblättern," and of my Third Journey.

GEORGE GROVE, Esq.

TITUS TOBLER.

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## PHILISTIA.

THE following suggestions with regard to possible identifications of ancient sites, not hitherto recognised, the results of my reconnaissance of the plain of Philistia in 1867, are put forward with some diffidence.

May, 1875.

CHARLES WARREN.

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The word Shephalah\* may be found in 'Allâr es-Sifla (or 'Allâr of the low lands), in contradistinction to 'Allâr el-Fôka (the upper).

Page 162, *Quarterly*,  
P.E.F., 1871.

Abu Kabûs	..	..	..	..	Joshua xv.
Kebu	..	..	..	..	Cabbon.
Eilin	..	..	..	..	Dilean.

\* See p. 170.

Beshit .. .. .	Bozkath.
Shâmeh .. .. .	Sharaim.
Huleikât .. .. .	Gath.
Bir en Nahl .. .. .	Enan.
Hatta .. .. .	Ether.
Beit Affa .. .. .	Jephtha.
B'alim .. .. .	Dilean.
Ibneh .. .. .	Libnah.
Moghara .. .. .	Makkedah.

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### SITE OF LIBNAH.

THIS ancient city was one of the most important of those attacked and taken by Joshua, and its subsequent history leads to the surmise that it occupied a strong and commanding position; its site, however, has hitherto escaped discovery, although it is suggested as being represented by Arâk el Menshiyeh (Vandeveldt), by Tell es Safieh (Dean Stanley), and by Beit Jibrin (Lieut. Conder).

Jabneel and Jabnah are each only mentioned once in the Old Testament, and are recognised as being one and the same place. I propose to identify these names with that of Libnah, the modern equivalent being Ibna, a ruined city situated on a conspicuous hill on the sea-coast between Jaffa and Ashdod.

The Jabneel of the Old Testament is given as Lebna in the LXX., and again the Libnah of the Old Testament is in one instance given in the LXX. as Lemna.

We have Jebneel, Jabnia, Jamnia, Jafneh, Iamnia, Ibelin, Ivelyn, Libnah, Lebna, Lemna, Yebna, and Ibna as various changes upon the old words Libnah and Jabnah, the modern word Ibna representing both these early forms.

Libnah was given over to the priests, the sons of Aaron, and subsequently we find Jamnia to be the great seat of Hebrew learning, where the Sanhedrim sat.

The modern Ibna occupies a very commanding position on the great road along the coast of Palestine; it is 170 feet above the level of the sea, and has an ancient port attached, as had Gaza, Ascalon, &c. It was in the time of Josephus one of the most populous cities of Palestine. In modern days the encroaching sand has swallowed up the once fertile sea-board of Philistia. The position I thus assign to Libnah appears to agree well with the account of its attack by Joshua.

May 14, 1875.

CHARLES WARREN.

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## NOTE ON SHAARAIM.

IN Joshua xv. 33-36 there occurs the following group:—

“Eshtaol, Zoreah, Ashnah, Zanoah, En-gannim, Tappuah, Enam, Jarmuth, Adullam, Socoh, Azekah, Shaaraim, Adithaim, Gederah, and Gederothaim, fourteen cities with their villages.”

Ashnah = Asalin, quite close to Sara.

En-gannim = Um Jina.

Tappuah = Artuf.

In my paper on Adullam will be found some notes on Azeka.

As to Shaaraim, I am very nearly convinced that we find it in the ruin Sa'irè, which is not marked on any map, but is in Robinson's lists district of Arkab between Shuweikèh (Socho) and Beit Netif—*i.e.*, precisely in the region required.

C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

## AVEN HASH-SHETEYAH.

IN Joma v. 2 we read, “there was there (in the Holy of Holies) a stone from the time of the first prophets. It was called Sheteyah, and its height from the earth was three fingerbreadths.” Upon this stone the ark would appear to have been placed, and it was a notion of the rabbis that the earth was founded upon, or rather *from*, it. In the Toldoth Jesu the Aven Sheteyah is affirmed to be the stone which the patriarch Jacob anointed at Bethel. Upon it was said to be written the nomen tetragrammaton, the ineffable name of God, and lest any one should learn the letters of this name, and become possessed of the wondrous powers which that knowledge conferred, two dogs were placed near the sanctuary, which, if any one had succeeded in learning the letters of this name, barked so fiercely at him as he was passing out as to cause him immediately to forget it. It is said that Jesus having entered, learned the name, wrote it upon parchment, and placed the parchment in an incision which He made in His thigh, the skin growing over it on the name being pronounced, and having escaped the canine guardians of the place, thus became possessed of the supernatural powers which He afterwards manifested.

Rabbi Schwarz (Das Heilige Land) identifies this wonderful stone with the Sakhrab, and after remarking that it is now raised about 10 feet above the ground, adds, “so that since that time (when Joma was written) the temple hill has been lowered nearly 10 feet.”

It seems strange that this stone should have been confounded with Zoheleth, yet in the Jewish manual arb'a taanoth (tisha b'av) this identity is suggested.

J. C.

*Jerusalem.*

With reference to preceding remarks of Dr. Chaplin, I have to suggest that the "Little Sakhrak," now lying at the northern end of the Haram enclosure, may possibly be the stone which Jacob anointed at Bethel, and which is supposed to have been placed in the Sanctuary of the Temple at Jerusalem.

The Sakhrak, on which the Dome of the Rock is built, is a portion of the solid rock of Mount Moriah, only elevated about 24 feet above the general level (2,420 feet) of the Haram enclosure. It is doubtful, therefore, whether its highest peak could have been on so high a level as the floor of the Sanctuary of the Temple.

C. W.

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### NOTE ON NOB.

THERE is a certain amount of evidence as to the position of this place, which not only escaped me when first writing on the subject, but also appears to have escaped the notice of Major Wilson, whose argument in favour of another site is confined to the one requisite that Nob should be on the direct road to the capital.

Major Wilson mentions only two passages in the Bible as referring to Nob, but he has omitted the most important, Nehemiah xi. 32, where, in a systematic enumeration of towns in Benjamin, we get the names, Anathoth, Nob, Hananiah, Hazor, consecutively. This would place Nob between Anáta on the east and Beit Hanína, close to which is Khirbet Hazúr on the west.

Major Wilson says that, "of the others [towns enumerated Isaiah (x. 28—32)] nothing is known." For these towns—viz., Laish, Gallim, and Gebim—I have already proposed identifications which seem to me probable—viz., for Laish, which is evidently near Anathoth, *L'Isawiyyeh*, the next village to *Anata*; for Gallim, "the heaps," *Khirbet el Soma*, "ruin of the heap;" for Gebim, *el Jib*; and possibly we may add, for Madmenah, near Gebim, *Bír Nebála*, close to *El Jib*.

All these indications point to the correctness of the site given by Mr. Grove for Nob—viz., the village of Sh'afat, the modern name having a meaning almost the same as that of Nob. This site also fulfils the other requisites: 1. It is in full sight of Jerusalem. 2. On the direct route. 3. A conspicuous point. This last requisite is in accordance with the expression *Zophim*—i.e., the place whence the tabernacle was visible. As the second tithes were allowed to be eaten in all the *Zophim*, it is only natural to suppose a site would be chosen so that a good view of the tabernacle might be obtainable at a considerable distance.

These arguments do not in any way interfere with the identity of Mizpeh and Nebi Samwil, for which I contended in the original paper,

and I hope to show that the balance of evidence is in favour of this identification. That Nebi Samwil should be identified with some name besides that of High Place of Gibeon, Major Wilson himself allows.

“It should be remembered,” he writes, “that Nebi Samwil is one and a quarter miles from el Jib (Gibeon), a distance so great that it would lead us to expect the place to have its own distinctive name rather than one derived from Gibeon.”

C. R. C.

THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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PREFACE.

THE Survey of Western Palestine, after three years and a half of uninterrupted work, has received a temporary check by the attack on the party at Safed, on July 10th. The full particulars of this attack will be found in the report partly drawn up by Lieutenant Conder, but signed and despatched during his illness, by Lieutenant Kitchener. On the arrival of the intelligence the Foreign Office was at once communicated with, and no time was lost in sending instructions to Palestine. Our last news, dated August 25th, informs us that the trial was fixed to come on at Acre. Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener remained in the Convent of Carmel in order to give their evidence; they will stay there till the affair is settled: and the British Consul-General of Beyrout has been instructed by the Foreign Office to be represented on the occasion. No provocation of any kind has yet been discovered for the attack.

Meantime the triangulation is for the moment stopped. The Committee have been put to great additional expense, and, pending

the result of the trial—in consideration, also, of the unhealthy state of the country—the non-commissioned officers have been sent home.

It is hoped to resume the triangulation without much delay; the office work will meanwhile go on in England as well as in Palestine, and the check to the Survey will not, it is trusted, be greater than the time occupied in settling the affair. Justice must, however, be obtained before the party can again venture into the disturbed district.

Such an accident has naturally caused a considerable strain upon the finances, and our supporters are earnestly requested to remember that the expenses of the year have to be met. In April last the Committee asked for £3,500 before the end of the year. This appeal has been so far met that a fair proportion of the amount has been forwarded to the office within the six months which have elapsed since April 1st. The sum looked for up to the end of the year to meet expenses and pay off the more important liabilities is about £1,500. Subscribers are *most earnestly* asked to make their payments as early in October as possible.

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#### NOTES.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications by officers for the Fund, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.



Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year at their *earliest convenience* and without waiting for application. It is best to cross all cheques to Coutts and Co., and if so crossed they may be safely left payable to bearer.

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Dr. Chaplin writes from Jerusalem, August 13, 1875:—"The souterrain north of the platform in the Haram has recently been opened. On comparing my notes with those of Captain Warren, it appears that the chamber is in the same state as when he saw it. If the earth can be removed into the bays it will be possible to examine the two ends. As to the northern side and what is beyond it, I fear that we shall learn nothing more than we know at present. They may perhaps dig a hole in the wall and try to ascertain if there is, or has been, a chamber beyond. The present aspect of the wall does not give much hope of finding a church beyond. It is a comparatively modern wall of very rough workmanship, and I could not find any trace of pillars, or piles, or arches, such as might be supposed to separate the aisles of a church from the nave."

Further examination was stopped by command of the authorities.

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The Committee are always grateful for the return of old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

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The amount received from all sources between June 30th and September 30th was £867 1s. 6d. The balance of current accounts at the latter date was only £140 0s. 6d.

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The Committee regret to announce that Mr. St. Clair, who has lectured for the Fund for nearly six years, has resigned his appointment. Application for lectures can be addressed to the Secretary, by whom, for the present, arrangements for the season will be made.

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Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Association are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W.

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A memorial window to the late Charles F. Tyrwhitt Drake is to be put up in the chapel of Wellington College. Half of the expense will be borne by the college, half by Mr. Drake's personal friends. Any of these who would wish to join in this tribute may address the Rev. W. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, Great Gaddesden.

# THE SURVEY OF PALESTINE.

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## RETROSPECT FOR 1875.

CONVENT ON CARMEL, *12th August, 1875.*

As a detailed report is due from me, but impossible under present circumstances, I send home a few notes on our discoveries during the course of this year.

On the 28th of February we succeeded in leaving Jerusalem, and in twelve days filled in and triangulated 330 square miles of the desert west of the Dead Sea, visiting and planning Masada. We experienced at the close of this work some of the most boisterous weather we have ever withstood.

Crossing to Beit Jibrin at the edge of the Philistine plain we commenced on the 12th of March the survey of this most interesting district, and completed the whole, except a very small portion near Beersheba, by the 15th of May. Our main results were as follows:— We visited the ruin of Sheikh el Madhkúr, where we verified M. Ganneau's discovery of the existence of the name 'Aid-el-Mieh, attaching to a part of the ruins. In my report I showed the fitness of the site for identification with Adullam, as suggested by M. Ganneau, including the existence of caves still inhabited.

We were next able to throw light on the difficulty as to the existence of two Mediæval Ascalons by our discovery of a Khirbet 'Ascalún, evidently an early Christian ruin. We made a careful survey of Ascalon to a large scale, with photographs by Lieut. Kitchener.

In the neighbourhood of Gaza we discovered five new Greek inscriptions, and obtained some information as to the ancient extent and site of this city. Lieut. Kitchener was the first to photograph the interior of the cathedral of St. John Baptist, now a mosque, formerly a church, even earlier than Crusading times.

We also visited and described the ruins of Khirbet Umm el Jerar, generally supposed to be the Gerar of Abraham.

Turning north, our most interesting exploration was the village of El Moghar, suggested by Captain Warren to be the site of Makkedah. We found caves here, being the only place in the plain where such caves exist. We also discovered a site called Deir el Aashek, which I have proposed to identify with the long lost Azekah. We visited the sites of the valley of Elah and the valley of Sorek, of both of which Lieutenant Kitchener took effective photographs.

The following is a sketch of the identifications which I imagine to be new, which I would suggest for reasons afterwards to be given in full. They extend over the whole of the tribe of Judah :—

1. *'Azekah*—*Deir el 'Aashok*, from its position and the similarity of name.
2. *Shaaraim*, in the LXX. *Σεκαριμ* with *Tell Zekariyeh*, from its position.
3. *Gederah*—*Tell Jedehleh*, from position and name.
4. *Zaanana*—*Kh. Samch*, from position and name.
5. *Hadashah*—*'Abbas*, from position and name.
6. *Dilean*—*Beit Tima*. Vandevelle's identification with *Tineh*, which on some maps is confounded with *Beit Tima*, can be proved inadmissible.
7. *Mispheh*—*Khirbet el Mushheirefeh*, near Gaza. The position fits, and the name is the Arabic equivalent of the Hebrew.
8. *Cabbon*—*El Kubeibeh*, from proximity to the next.
9. *Lakmas*—*Khirbet el Lahm*, near the last.
10. *Kithlish*, may be, I suggest, *Kh. Makkus*: in the LXX. *Μααχως* takes the place of *Kithlish*.
11. *Gederoth*—*Gatrah*, from name and position.
12. *Naameh*—*Na'ani*, from name and position. This may be known to some scholars, but has not, I believe, been published as an identification.
13. *Libnah*, it is suggested in a former report, may be *Beit Jibria*.
14. *Ether*—*Khirbet 'Atr*, from name and position.
15. *Ashan*—*Kh. Hazzonah*, from name and position. The Hebrew *'Ain* becomes the Arabic *He*.
16. *Ashnah*—*Idhwa*, from name and position.
17. *Achzib*—*Kussa*; the name has the same signification; in the Hebrew "a lie," in the Arabic "a fable;" the position fits well.
18. *Dannah*—*Domch*, from position.
19. *Debir*—*El Dhoheiyeh*.
20. *Holon*—*Khirbet Kohelch*, name and position.
21. *Arab*—*Kh. el 'Arabiyyeh*, name and position.
22. *Dumah or Rumah*—*El Ramch*, from position.
23. *Eshean*—*Es-ha*, from name and position. The Arabic *He* takes the place of the Hebrew *'Ain*.
24. *Janum*—*Beit Chanun*, from position.
25. *Zanoah*—*Kh. Sinut*, in a position better fitting the lists than that of Robinson's *Zanuta*.
26. *Maarath*, *el Mogh'air*, from position and name.
27. *Galem*—*Beit Jala*, from name and position.
28. *Bezdeh*—*Deir Esceid*, from position.

About a dozen other identifications in Judah have been mentioned in former reports. I am not aware that any ordinary philological rules are infringed in these proposed identifications.

Dr. Chaplin upholds the identity of the strong village of *Soba* with *Kirjath Searim*. I have found a curious apparent confirmation of this in the possible identification of *Mount Scir* on the boundary of Judah with the present *Batn* (hill-top) *el Saghir*, just in its proper place. Dr. Chaplin has also shown me very strong arguments for the identification of Ebenezer, Shen, and Mispheh.

Whilst resting in Jerusalem we examined the *Asneric*, a Crusading inn for pilgrims, which has been excavated by Herr Schick, and shows long rows of mangers. It is close to the Grotto of Jeremiah.

Passing up the country we made several notes of interest. We found that a *Khirbet Lozeh* or *Kh. Wad Lozeh*, not yet placed on the map, really exists near Bethel. At Nablus we found that nearly the whole of the floor and foundations of the early church built over Jacob's well exists, hidden by modern vaults. We also discovered that the name *Khirbet Lureh*, about which there has been much argument, applies to some ruins on the south side of Gerizim.

Arriving in the north, we commenced the ordinary survey in conjunction with the running a line of levels across from the Mediterranean to the Sea of Galilee. Before the outrage at Safed, on 10th July, we completed 180 square miles, and twenty out of thirty miles of levelling. Some 1,200 square miles, or six months' work, now remain to be done.

Our discoveries in the north promised to be of great interest: many identifications want only confirmation to be proposed, such as *Beth-Dagon*, *Shihor-Libnath*, *Zebulon*, *Neah*, &c.

At Shefa 'Amr we found a magnificent sepulchre with inscription and elaborate ornamental work, which Lieut. Kitchener photographed. We found the present church to be built on the remains of one seemingly previous to Crusading times. We also fixed the date and authorship of the fortifications.

We next found in *Khirbet Rumeih* a site of no small mediæval interest. According to an early Jewish traveller there was in the very neighbourhood of this ruin a place called *Ruma*, where was the sepulchre of Benjamin, and a cave called *Caisran*, whence the Messiah was expected to appear. At *Kh. Rumeih*, which eighty years ago was a village, I found a rude Jewish tomb much ruined, and a cave of some size beyond it, also remains possibly of a synagogue.

We visited the rival sites of Cana of Galilee at *Khirbet Kaná*; I discovered traces of antiquity and a grotto, apparently that said to be used as a church in the middle ages. We also ascertained the existence of an ancient site called *Khirbet Kenna*, west of and near to Kefr Kenna.

We photographed and planned the fine church of St. Anne in Seffurich, and found the date of the castle.

We are able to identify the *Mount Asamon* of Josephus with *Ras el Hazzeih* north of the Buttauf plain.

I have found the date and builder of several of the synagogues discovered by Major Wilson, and I hope to obtain evidence from them as to the length of the cubit.

The total amount surveyed in 1875 has been 1,200 square miles.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

## DAVID AND GOLIATH.

Ver. 1-3: "Now the Philistines gathered together their armies to battle, and were gathered together at Shochoh, which belongeth to Judah, and pitched between Shochoh and Azekah, in Ephes-dammim. And Saul and the men of Israel were gathered together, and pitched by the valley of Elah . . . and the Philistines stood on a mountain on the one side, and Israel stood on a mountain on the other side: and there was a valley between them." Ver. 52: "And the wounded of the Philistines fell down by the way to Shaaraim, even unto Gath, and unto Ekron" (1 Sam. xvii.)

Few events in Scripture have the site more definitely indicated. The valley of Elah has long been known, but the interesting attempt to fix the very spot where David slew Goliath has been rendered difficult by the fact that Shochoh alone of all the sites enumerated (not including Ekron) has been definitely identified.

I propose to consider each of these sites in turn, with the indications known as to their position, and to put forward new identifications for Azekah, Ephes-dammim, and Shaaraim; these will, I think, very clearly indicate the position of the two armies, and the meaning of certain details in the description not hitherto illustrated.

*Shochoh.*—There were two places of the name, one in the Debir district, far away from the scenes of combat with the Philistines, the other in the district of the Shephelah, or low hill country on the south side of Wady Sunt, as identified by Robinson with the modern Shuweikeh, a position fully in accord with its mention in the topographical lists as between Adullam ('Aid el Mieh) and other northern towns of the district.

*Azekah.*—This town occurs in the same list with Shochoh (Josh. xv. 35), as in the Shephelah. The only other indication of its position is to be found in the account of the flight of the defeated Canaanites from Ajalon to Makkedah and Azekah (Josh. x. 10). In the topographical list Azekah stands between Shochoh and Shaaraim. It must therefore be sought in the Shephelah, but the same reasons which induce us to place Makkedah at El Moghar—namely, the distance from Gibeon, and the relative position with the mouth of the valley of Ajalon—would point to Azekah being near the north boundary of Judah, and close to the plain. Azekah has been placed by some writers at Tell Zekaria, but to this there is the objection of an important difference in name. Vandeveldt speaks of a place called Ahbek, near Beit Nettif, as being both Aphek and Azekah. In the same neighbourhood M. Ganneau tells me he heard the name El Azek. Vandeveldt's Ahbek is applied to a prominent peak, but on his map the name is written Akbeh. The true name as collected by us is El Salah. Akbeh is no doubt merely '*Akabeh*, "the ascent," a title generally applied to such hills. As to El Azek, we have been unable to obtain the name, although a special expedition was made, and the camp fixed for two days close to the site. The Sheikh of Beit 'Atab,

one of the best guides we have ever had, and well acquainted with this part of the country, denied that such a name existed, but gave me the name which I afterwards have verified and consider to represent the true site.

There is a great objection to placing Azekah so far east in the hills, which is that it supposes the defeated Canaanites to have fled across some thirty miles of the most difficult hill country, intersected by three or four impassable valleys. A position near the plain is the only one natural to the interpretation of the flight from Ajalon.

The site which I should propose for Azekah bears the name of Deir el 'Aashek ("the monastery of the lover"), a somewhat extraordinary title, according to its significance in modern Arabic. The change of the name to one having a similar sound but a distinct meaning in Arabic, is only another case of the well-known law of which Tibnah (strawy) for Timnah, El Semak (the fish) for Sycaminum, Aid el Mieh (feast of the hundred) for Adullam, Er Rameh (the reservoir) for Ramah (the hill, in Hebrew), and many others, are instances. It is situated on the south side of the valley of Sorek, eight miles north of Shochoh. A main road leads to it from the valley of Elah. It may be thought that the distance from Shuweikeh is too great, but it must be remembered that *no known ancient site* exists between the two. The position agrees perfectly with the other indication, as it would immediately confront the Canaanites flying southward from the valley of Ajalon. The distance from El Moghar is rather greater than that from Shochoh.

The site itself has undoubtedly been at one time crowned by a convent. A very large square reservoir of rubble masonry, resembling that at Tell Jezer, supplied the inhabitants. The remains of a chapel, an apse fifteen feet diameter, exists north of this birket, and the northern wall, twenty-six feet from the north side of the apse, shows that the building was of some size. At present all is overgrown with weeds and tall thistles, so that the time is unfavourable for exploration. Cisterns and caves, however, occur, and the site is considerably larger than would be required for a religious edifice only. Another very large ruined site, Khirbet Ferred, exists just south of Deir el Aashek. A main road from T. Zakeria to Tell Jezer leads close by the site which looks northward to the broad plain of the Valley of Sorek, and this is a natural line of flight for the Canaanites, who we read "entered into fenced cities," such as Makkedah, Azekah, Gath, Shaaraim, and, no doubt, Gezer also. The existence of the convent shows the origin of the term Deir, but there is nothing against the antiquity of the site in the fact of its subsequent occupation by Christians.

*Ephes-dammim.*—What and where Ephes-dammim may be is a difficult question. The translation offered for the word in the Bible Dictionary is "boundary of blood," in which case it may be taken to apply to some great natural boundary, the scene of frequent fights between the Jews and the Philistines. In another account, apparently of this same battle, the word is shortened to Pas-dammim (1 Chron. xi. 13).

In Josephus it is given as Arasam (Ant. vii. 12, § 4). Vandevelde speaks of a ruin called Dámún on the north side of Wady Sumt east of the Roman road to Beit Nettif, but for this ruin we have obtained a different name, nor have we as yet been able to ascertain for certain whether the name Dámún really exists, though, according to some of the peasantry, it applies to a site nearer the high hills. The memory of ancient engagements in the Shephelah may reasonably be thought traceable in such titles as "springs of the warrior," "well of the hero's mother," unusual names applying to natural features, and therefore undeniably ancient. The only traces of the title, "boundary of blood," which we have met, may perhaps be found in the name Beit Fased applied to a ruin close to Shuweikeh; both in sound and meaning this approaches Pas-dammim, for the S in Hebrew being a *Samech* is represented by the Arabic 'Saf, whilst the meaning, "house of bleeding," is cognate to the Hebrew "boundary of blood." It was, no doubt, the great valley itself separating the possessions of the Philistine from the country belonging to Judah which was the real boundary of blood, and as the expression "in Ephes-dammim" might be supposed to indicate, the title is that of a district of country rather than of a single site.

*Valley of Elah.*—The valley itself is well known to be the great valley rising near Hebron, and running northwards by Keilah, Nezib, and Adullam to Shochoh, and thence westwards to the sea by Gath and Ashdod. The Hebrew "Valley of Terebinths" receives the name of Wady Súr in the upper part of its course, and Wady Sumt (the acacia) in the lower, becoming finally a deep gully under the name of Nahr Sukereir. Nevertheless the cause of its original title is still traceable in the number of huge terebinths which occur along its course. That at Adullam I have had occasion already to notice; one almost equal to it exists south; near Tell Zekaria is another of great antiquity, which we have photographed. On the sides of the tell just mentioned are others, and small terebinths exist on the low hills bounding the valley. This great natural division of the Shephelah is still the highway from Hebron to the plain, and seems in all the early periods of Jewish history to have been the scene of constant fighting. Holding Gath and Shaaraim the Philistines held the key to the plains, and a strong outpost for attack upon the Shephelah.

There is a point with regard to the valley which has always been considered to require investigation on the spot. Saul camped in the Emek, "broad or deep valley," whilst between him and the Philistines was the Gái, generally translated *ravine*. The valley is, however, of uniform breadth, nor does a gorge of any kind exist in its lower course, as the usual interpretation supposes; the derivation of the latter word is, however, according to Dean Stanley, from *Gil*, "to break out, used of water bursting forth." It may be very well applied, therefore, I should suggest, to the trench or *ghor* dug out by the winter torrent. This bed, some ten to twenty feet wide, with banks over ten feet high, would form a natural barrier between the hosts, and a formidable obstacle to the

flight of the defeated. It was in this that David found the five smooth stones of the brook which, according to tradition, cried out, "By us thou shalt defeat the giant." The gleaming torrent bed, and the steep water-worn banks, consist of pebbles of every size worn smooth by the great winter brook which has brought them from the hills.

*Shaaraim*.—No identification has ever been proposed, I believe, for this town. Like Shochoh, it belonged to Judah, and was evidently east of Gath. In the topographical list it occurs next after Azekah. The Septuagint version of our text renders it by its meaning "the two gates," as if referring to the gates of Gath. The Targum of Jonathan ben Uzziel on the Hagiographa, however, carefully preserves the word Shaaraim, though in expression "gates of Ekron" in the same verse it replaces the Shaari of the Hebrew by an Aramaic equivalent meaning gates. In the topographical notice (Josh. xv. 36) the two principal LXX. versions give *Σακαρίμ* and *Σαργαρεμ*, which naturally suggests to one who attaches importance to these variations the identity with Tell Zekaria. Such a position for Shaaraim would be in exact accordance with the site proposed for the combat, for Tell Zekaria is close above the south bank of the valley, and must be passed in escaping to Gath. It is a huge hill, with steep terraced sides and caves; on the south is a sort of citadel or raised terrace, and beneath, in the valley, is a fine ancient well. The old sites in this part of the country bear a wonderful resemblance to one another. Keilah, Adullam, Shaaraim, and even Gath and Gezer, might be described in almost the same words. Positions naturally of immense strength, they show in their terraces, caves, and crumbling mounds the traces of their ancient importance, and a good water-supply exists in each case near these cities. Shaaraim, if in the hands of Judah, would have formed an important outpost against Gath; but though, unlike the latter, it occurs in the lists of Joshua, it had probably fallen into the hands of the Philistines, who, in the time of Saul, seem to have reached the plenitude of their power.

*Gath*.—As regards Gath, it is only necessary to say that the requirements of the narrative seem fully met by the Tell el Sâfi site advocated by Dr. Porter, and which alone fits with the description of the Onomasticon. Gath so placed guards the entrance of the valley of Elah into the plain, and is about six miles from the scene of the conflict.

The sites thus proposed serve considerably to elucidate the account of the battle. Saul, coming down from the hills by the ancient road from Jerusalem to Gaza, which passes near Shochoh, must have encountered the Philistines very near the great bend in the valley. Thus the two forces divided by the torrent bed are placed in a natural relative position: Saul on the *east*, coming from the east; the Philistines on the *west*, coming *from* the west, having Shochoh south of them and Shaaraim behind them. The position usually assigned north and south has no such strategical significance as the one thus advocated.

The photographs of Lieut. Kitchener, showing on the one hand the sweep of the valley, its broad extent of cornfields, flanked with low hills



of rock and brushwood, and on the other the great hill of Shaaraim and the olives and terebinths at its feet, will give a far better idea of the scene than any I can convey in words; but to one standing on the spot and looking across to the high and broken line of the hills of Judah, and at the broad vale in which a great host might easily have encamped, there will appear to be a perfect fitness in the site to the famous events occurring in it.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.,  
*In Command Survey of Palestine.*

## THE SAFED ATTACK.

MOUNT CARMEL, 15th July, 1875.

BEING placed in command of the expedition, owing to the temporary illness of Lieutenant Conder, I write by his wish to inform the Committee that the survey is at present entirely suspended in consequence of two causes—the first being a murderous and unprovoked attack on the party by Moslem inhabitants of Safed (particulars enclosed); the second the gradual spread of cholera over the north of Palestine. Lieutenant Conder and myself consider, under these circumstances, that we cannot take the responsibility of conducting the party again into the field till a very severe punishment has been awarded to the inhabitants of Safed, and until the steady advance of the cholera is checked. I feel certain that neither of these obstacles will be removed under two or three months.

Dr. Varton, who is at present in attendance on Lieutenant Conder, with Dr. Chaplin, and other medical men, predict an unusually unhealthy autumn, which will be followed by the two or three months of winter, during which work is impossible.

The non-commissioned officers, though ready to go through any amount of work or danger, are much discouraged at the prospect of an indefinite delay without employment, which, in my opinion, is more trying in this climate than work. The south country is also closed, as the Arabs have refused to lay down their arms, and are, I believe, still engaged with the Government.

Under these circumstances, Lieutenant Conder and myself both consider it our duty to recommend the Committee to break up the expedition for a time, and recall the non-commissioned officers, empowering Lieutenant Conder and myself to remain as long as the legal proceedings require our presence. In case of any delay or difficulty in obtaining justice, we feel we have a right to expect that the Committee will give us their strongest support. Lieutenant Conder has considered it his duty to report the facts of the case to the Deputy Adjutant-General, Royal Engineers. He has telegraphed to Constantinople, and placed himself in communication with the Consul-General at Beyrout.

Lieutenant Conder is at present in bed, recovering from an attack of fever, brought on by the severe nature of the wounds on the head he received in the fight at Safed. Five of our servants are ill in their beds, besides one in hospital at Safed, and I myself am still suffering from the bruises I received during the engagement. The non-commissioned officers were only slightly bruised.

H. H. KITCHENER, Lieut. R.E.

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Copy of Letter to the Consul-General of Beyrout.

HAIFA, 14th July, 1875.

SIR,—I have to request your interference in an exceedingly serious case of murderous and unjustified assault on my party by the Moslem inhabitants of Safed, who, at the time at which I write, are still unpunished.

On Saturday, the 10th July, we arrived about 4 p.m. at Safed, from "Ei Ba'inch," and erected our tents on a piece of uncultivated ground under olives near 'Ain el Beida, north of the Moslem quarter. A number of Moslems became spectators of our proceedings. A small English tent was being erected when many of these persons, including one well dressed in a turban and white abba, came down to it and began in a very insolent manner to examine it, laying their fingers on everything and behaving with marked want of courtesy and respect. I am informed that they said they had seen "many dogs like us before."

A ten-chambered revolver, hanging on a tree by the tent, was missed at this moment, and its owner, one of my servants, began to inquire whether any one had seen it. I am informed that the leader of the Moslems cursed him in reply. At this moment I came out of my tent, where I was resting, and heard my head servant address this man with civility, using the expression *hadrabuk*, and telling him to go away, as it was not his business. I heard the sheikh reply violently with imprecations, and saw him fling two or perhaps three very large stones at my head servant. The latter did not reply by violence, but took the bystanders to witness that an unprovoked assault had been made upon him. I advanced as quickly as I could without arms, and with nothing in my hands. Before I spoke a single word the sheikh seized me violently by the throat. In defence I struck him in the face with my fist, and knocked him down. He got up and again assaulted me, when I struck him right and left, and cut open his lip. When on the ground he drew a knife, which measures half a foot length of blade. My head servant fortunately saw him just before he stabbed me, and two of my people took it away from him, and seized him, intending to retain him until the arrival of government officials. They also bound him, but not by my order.

The sheikh called out many times, "Where are my young men?" (*shebab*), and some of those who were with him ran to the houses.

A crowd collected in an astonishingly short time, and in a few minutes it must have numbered two hundred or more men.

I ordered the sheikh to be immediately released, but he refused at first to leave the camp, though he subsequently retired for arms. Meanwhile he encouraged his people to kill all the Christians.

They began by a shower of enormous stones upon our party, which only numbered fifteen persons, of whom two were ill at the time.

Lieutenant Kitchener and myself, supported by our three non-commissioned officers, none having any firearms or other offensive weapon in our hands or about our persons, endeavoured to calm the disturbance, and to separate the crowd from our servants, who, infuriated at the treatment I had received, were anxious, in spite of their small numbers, to attack the Moslems. The five Europeans were in imminent danger of their lives from the falling stones. Whilst thus engaged, Lieutenant Kitchener was seriously injured on the thigh with a huge stone. Corporal Armstrong and Corporal Brophy less severely on the feet. We restrained both parties, and entirely prevented our servants from using any offensive weapon, though many of them were struck on the head and body with stones. As soon as a separation had been made, I ordered all my party into the tents, to prevent aggravation of the infuriated mob, who were heaping every species of blasphemous epithet on our religion and on the Saviour. The natives of my party were too excited to obey my order. I went out in front and threatened the mob with heavy future punishment, daring them to stone me, but they had lost their senses too much to be intimidated.

At this moment there arrived a number of armed men, apparently the sheikhs of the quarter, who encouraged the crowd. Of these, one man had a large scimitar and a carbine, another a battle-axe; two had large clubs (*dabbās*), and another a long gun. To these weapons I can swear and believe there were many more.

Lieutenant Kitchener and I were immediately surrounded. Three came to me and asked with curses what I was doing. An old man thrust his battle-axe violently into my side, but I did not like to strike him, though I had now a hunting crop in my hand. I told them they were mad, and would be severely punished if they struck an Englishman. About this time other members of the party saw a gun levelled at me five yards off, but fortunately the man's hand was caught before he fired. A man now came into the crowd which surrounded me, and dealt me a blow on the head with a large club with great violence, causing two wounds on the side of my head, covering my face with blood. A second blow, directed with full force at the top of my head, must inevitably have brained me had I not put my head down to his chest. My servants gave me up for dead. The blow fell on my neck, which ever since has been so stiff and swollen that it is impossible to turn it round. The rest of the party saw me fall. As soon as I got up I dealt this man a blow in the face with the handle of my whip which staggered him, but my whip flew out of my hand and left me entirely unarmed. I must inevitably have been

murdered but for the cool and prompt assistance of Lieutenant Kitchener, who managed to get to me and engaged one of the club men, covering my retreat.

A blow descending on the top of his head he parried with a cane, which was broken by the force of the blow. A second wounded his arm. His escape is unaccountable. Having retired a few paces from the thick of the fray, I saw that the Moslems were gradually surrounding us, stealing behind trees and through vineyards, and I well understood that in such a case, unless the soldiers arrived at once, we must all die. Many of the servants had indeed already given up hope, though no one fled. I gave the order to leave the tents and fly round the hill.

Lieutenant Kitchener was the last to obey this order, being engaged in front. He retreated to his tent, and whilst running he was fired at, and heard the bullet whistle by his head. He was also followed for some short distance by a man with a huge scimitar, who subsequently wounded with it more than one of our people.

Gaining the cover of some trees, we stopped on a bare hill-side to consult, and ventured back to the brow to reconnoitre. At this moment the soldiers arrived with an officer, and the English Consular-Agent, Herr Marcus Cigal. I am informed that all the offensive weapons were immediately concealed, the stoning and blasphemous language ceased at once, and not an individual of the crowd remained.

I confine this report to the actual experience of myself and Lieutenant Kitchener. The evidence of the rest of the party was taken by Herr Marcus. The more serious injuries may be briefly summed up as follows:—

1. Lieutenant Conder: Two raw wounds on the head, and violent swelling from a blow on the neck.
2. Lieutenant Kitchener: Bruise covering all his left thigh, and another on his arm. Both still very painful.
- 3 and 4. Corporals Armstrong and Brophy: Bruised with stones.
5. Daud (groom): A large raw wound on the side of the head, requiring to be sewn up. He remains very ill with wounds and fever in the Jewish Hospital, *Safed*, and when I last saw him was in a precarious condition.
6. Yakúb (cook): Severely beaten, and hit in the side and on back with large stones. Appeared to be dying.
7. Habib (dragoman): Was fired at, was severely hit in the wind with a stone, and lay on the tent floor incapable of defending himself. He received many other blows.
8. Hassen (muleteer): Received two wounds on his head and neck with clubs and stones, and was shot at.
9. Hassan Abeideh (muleteer): Struck with sticks and stones. A violent blow with the scimitar levelled at him cut the tent ropes in two.

The rest of the fifteen were all more or less injured with clubs, stones, and a few with sword cuts. The only wonder is that more

injury was not done, but this is perhaps due to the conspicuous dress of the Europeans, especially Lieutenant Kitchener and myself, who wore white jackets, and stood in front of the party.

This report was left unfinished by Lieutenant Conder when he was taken ill. It will, I think, inform the Committee of all the necessary particulars of the conflict. We retired next day to Mejdal Karun, and on Monday arrived here.

H. H. KITCHENER, Lieut. R.E.

## THE ARABS IN PALESTINE.

(*Read at the Royal Institution and reprinted from "Macmillan's Magazine."*)

THE labours of numerous explorers, and especially of the Palestine Exploration Fund, have thrown much light on Biblical archæology and topography, and many memorials and souvenirs have been found which help to make us in some degree familiar with the old world of Bible times; but of the country and its inhabitants, as they are at present, it is not too much to say, that but very little is known, especially as regards the light that may be thrown by them upon the past. It is to this modern Palestine—the Palestine of the Arab, as it may be called—that the following observations refer, and they have been made in the hope of showing how the attentive study of it may serve to light up and explain many a dim and misty page in the history of the Palestine of old.

The Biblical texts have been worked at by successive generations of commentators, until all that could be got from them has been extracted, and the periodical return of certain exegetical combinations shows that the series is complete, and the question, so far as they are concerned, exhausted. Next to the important facts which may result from future excavations, there are, in my opinion, two things required to lift Biblical archæology out of the vicious circle in which it has a tendency to turn, and to give it new life—viz., a thorough investigation of the writings of the various Mohammedan authors in the original Arabic text, and an exhaustive study of the manners, customs, and traditions of the sedentary fellaheen of Judæa. For both, a knowledge not only of literary Arabic, but also of the vulgar tongue, is absolutely necessary.

Up to the present time very little information as regards Palestine has been derived from Arabic historians and geographers; with the exception of four or five, and those not the most useful for our purpose, they have been almost entirely neglected. This is a mistake, for they contain a whole mine of valuable indications which may put us on the path of great discoveries, especially of the topographical kind, by adding to the chain of traditions the link, so difficult to seize, which connects the actual

names with the latest evidence of the authors of antiquity. An example taken from my own experience illustrates this, and affords a striking confirmation of one of my recent discoveries of this nature.

Biblical students have long been familiar with the name of Gezer, the city whose Canaanite king Hiram was defeated by Joshua, and which became the western limit of the territory of Ephraim. Assigned with its suburbs to the Levites of the family of Kohath, it had the rank of a priestly city, and its primitive inhabitants, through spread by the Israelites, were massacred by one of the Pharaohs, who took the place and gave it in dowry to his daughter, King Solomon's queen. The Hebrew monarch reconstructed Gezer, which was certainly a place of great strategic importance, as is shown by the considerable part it played during the struggles of the Maccabees.

Much information as to the position of the city exists. We learn from many sources—the Hebrew books, the Apocrypha, Josephus, Eusebius, Jerome—that it was situated not far from Beth-horon, in the region of Jabneh and Jaffa, on the confines of the territory of Azotus, about four Roman miles from Emmaus, the site of which has been satisfactorily fixed at the modern Amwas. It is rare to find such precise indications of the position of any Palestine city, and yet the identification of Gezer remained up to 1870 one of the stumbling-blocks of commentators, and one of the *lacune* of Biblical topography, the more to be deplored, since in addition to the interest of the place itself, the discovery of its site would give the key to the junction of the territories of Dan, Judah, and Ephraim. Many conjectures have been hazarded. Most commentators, in despair, and supported by a superficial resemblance of names—a *mirage* which too often deceives explorers not familiar with Semitic tongues—placed Gezer at the village of Yazoor, west of Jaffa, and quite close to it: and though both philology and history were agreed that this identification could not be sustained, it was virtually accepted, no examination of the country producing any better solution of the problem. It was my privilege, however, to succeed where others had failed, and that too without ever having seen the place.

As an astronomer finds in space the position of an unseen planet, I marked on the map the exact spot where Gezer would be found, and a subsequent visit only confirmed the previous conclusion. Nor was this result due to exceptional penetration or sudden inspiration. It occurred in the most natural way in the world; and was an application of the method just indicated.

In reading the Arab chronicles, Mejr ed Deen, a writer known chiefly through certain very incorrect extracts given by M. du Hammer Purgstall, I lighted on an incident which took place in Palestine in the year 900 of the Hegira. The chronicle is speaking of a skirmish between a party of Bedaween brigands and a governor of Jerusalem named Jan Boolât, in the district of Ramleh; and in the course of the narrative he says—and this was the point that arrested my attention—that the cries of the combatants reached as far as the village of Khulda (now well known),

and were distinctly heard at another village called Tell el Jezer—the Hill or Mount of Jezer. Now the word Jezer corresponds exactly with the Hebrew Gezer, especially if the initial letter is pronounced soft as in Egypt; and the tract of country was just the one in which to look for the lost site. But unfortunately, all the maps that I consulted were silent on the place, whose existence was nevertheless thus positively asserted, and corroborated by an Arab geographer of the thirteenth century of our era, Yakut, who speaks of Tell el Jezer as a strong place in the district of Falestin—*i.e.*, Ramleh. On consideration, it was clear that Tell el Jezer, being within hearing of Khulda, could not be very far from that place; even allowing the Bedaween a more than ordinary power of lungs. I therefore set to work within a limited radius, and after some search discovered my Gezer at less than three miles from Khulda, close to a village figuring in the map as Aboo Shusheh. Here I found the site of a large town presenting all the characters of a stronghold, and answering to every one of the required conditions. But it was not without trouble that the accuracy of my calculations was thoroughly established; for the name of Tell el Jezer, though familiar to the inhabitants of Aboo Shusheh, of which village the *tell* forms a part, was quite unknown to the people of Khulda, their neighbours, to whom I at first addressed myself. But just as I began to despair of success, an old peasant woman told me that it was at Aboo Shusheh that I must look for Tell el Jezer.

This, as I may almost call it, accidental discovery, which I announced at the time to the *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, and which was received with some incredulity, met with the most unexpected confirmation four years afterwards—*viz.*, in 1874, when, on revisiting the spot in the service of the Palestine Exploration Fund, I discovered at Aboo Shusheh, in the exact locality I had fixed upon as the site of Gezer, bilingual inscriptions in Greek and Hebrew deeply carved upon the rock, *with the Biblical name of Gezer written in full, and repeated twice*, and marking without doubt the priestly limit, or Sabbatical zone, which surrounded the place.

It is needless to insist upon the inappreciable value of these inscriptions, the correct reading of which is now agreed on by the leading savants both of England and France, and which constitute undoubtedly one of the principal monuments of Jewish history. It will be sufficient to mention the principal gains they furnish to Biblical knowledge. They enable us, first, to know exactly what was the Sabbath-day's journey of the New Testament; secondly, to establish in a decisive manner the position of the city which was the dowry of Pharaoh's daughter; and thirdly, to fix the boundaries of Dan, Ephraim, and Judah. And, more than this, they justify in a most unexpected manner the use of the inductive method hitherto pursued in Biblical topography, and supply a written authoritative testimony which may serve to throw great light on other identifications obtained by the same method.

This one example is enough to show how far a single line of a third-rate Arabic writer may lead us.

But it is not Arabic texts only that must be consulted in order to advance the study of the Bible, it is even more important to examine the traditions preserved by the resident fellahen. I do not mean by this a few questions put to stupid and suspicious peasants as to the name of village, ruin, or valley, but close, minute, methodical observations of the manners, customs, legends, and superstitions of these peasants. Interrogation is in Palestine the worst of all possible means for getting at the truth. The art of questioning Arabs consists in knowing when to shut your mouth and keep your eyes and ears open—listening so as to draw them on to tell stories, and thus gradually extracting information, while carefully abstaining from asking questions calculated to suggest ideas to minds so credulous and so easily influenced.

The illustrious Robinson and his successors often made the happiest use of oral traditions for topographical purposes. We must, however, bear in mind that this fount of information, abundant as it is, if drawn upon daily will in time diminish; and, what is more serious, that its purity is often troubled by the suggestions of imprudent travellers, which a newcomer, inexperienced in the character of the natives, is liable to consider as so many spontaneous recollections and genuine traditions. If to this source of error, which reminds one of Antony's mystification by Cleopatra when he caught a salt-water fish in the fresh waters of the Nile, we add the want of philological knowledge in the questioner, of which many a pleasant instance might be cited, it is easy to understand that unlimited and exclusive credit must not be accorded to information acquired by a method which needs peculiarly delicate handling. There is something else to be got out of the fellahen besides a mere list of names; and it is to this point that I would invite the attention of travellers.

Few countries are more travelled in than Palestine; and in few are the manners and customs of the people less known. We may truly say that the population of Oceania, of the extreme East, of Central Asia, of India, of Egypt, and even of the Bedaween tribes beyond the Jordan, are now more familiar to us than that of this little corner of the earth, so often trodden by European travellers. Tourists, pilgrims, and savants pour into the country, but all, nearly without exception, for different reasons neglect to notice, and to render any account of, the only thing which is entirely fresh and untouched—the natives of the place. The reason of this may chiefly be found in the mode of travelling to which the European is condemned in Palestine. Nearly invariably he has to hand himself over to the mercy of the inevitable dragoman, an obstructive animal, peculiar to the social fauna of the Levant, and combining the functions of interpreter, *maitre d'hôtel*, guide, and courier, whose acquaintance he has probably already made in Egypt. There, however, it mattered little, for not even a dragoman can spoil the effect produced by the splendour and magnificence of the temples and tombs of the Pharaohs. But while on the banks of the Nile he is kept in his place as



a servant, in Syria he becomes a master and a despot. An amusing picture might be drawn of the misfortunes of those who have become the prey of these gentry, but I will merely mention the great drawback to their presence—viz., that it hinders all direct contact with the peasants, and has the effect of a scarecrow on the suspicious people whose confidence is of supreme value to the investigator.

The Frank traveller passes through Palestine, along the beaten track, with an indifferent glance at the characteristic mien of the men, and a more approving one at the dignified bearing of the women as they walk light and erect beneath their heavy loads. He notices, too, perhaps, the picturesqueness of the costumes; and, when he has learnt from his dragoman that these are fellaheen Arabs, he is charmingly satisfied with the completeness of his information. Little does he suspect that he is in daily companionship with a race which, rude and rough as it is, affords the historian a study of the very highest interest.

The peasants of Judæa are commonly said to be Arabs; and I am willing to admit that they are so in the sense that they speak Arabic. But we must understand what is meant by this vague and deceptive term which is applied to so many distinct races and the heterogeneous remains of so many peoples. Since the predominance of Islam, the whole system of Semitic nationalities has followed the irresistible tendency to unity resulting from the pressure of linguistic conformity and political necessity; and all its numerous divisions, small and great, have poured their waters into this Arab lake, and have converted it into an ocean, in which every confluent loses its name. Looking at this immense Arab sheet, which extends beyond our sight over Asia and Africa, we may well say, "It is a sea." But it is the duty of science to inquire into the origin of this collective reservoir; and to track to its source, if need be along its dry bed, each one of its tributary streams.

The race which occupies Judæa, especially its mountainous part, a sedentary and not a nomadic one, with customs of its own, and a language full of peculiarities, is not, as I have before had occasion to state, that of the nomad hordes who came from Arabia with the Caliph Omar, and who are for the most part settled in the towns. The odd popular prejudice which obstinately believes that the Mussulman Arabs, who became masters of Syria after the defeat of the Greek troops, took altogether the place of the original inhabitants of the country, and are, in fact, the people whom we find there now, cannot be too strongly combated. No such change resulted from the Mussulman conquest; and it is important to insist on this point because it throws a remarkable light, at an interval of more than 2,000 years, on the conquest of Canaan by the *Beni Israel*, or "Children of Israel," as they are called in Deuteronomy.

The Mussulman Arabs, who founded their empire on the ruins of the Byzantine and Persian kingdoms, intentionally left untouched the civilisation which they found already installed and in use. They only added one thing—a dogma—or, to use a less positive term, a religious.

enthusiasm: and while strong enough to take everything, were at the same time wise enough to destroy nothing. Conquest was to them a means of gaining easily at the point of the sword the power of sharing in the enjoyment of wealth and prosperity which if left to themselves they could have made no use of. They carefully abstained from meddling with the complex institutions of the Lower Empire. Masters of the marvellous, and to them incomprehensible, mechanism whose fascinations had excited their envy, these historically recent races and their successors declined to touch a spring which they were incapable of regulating, and thus the great pendulum set in motion by the impulses of Rome and Byzantium peacefully continued its oscillations under the Caliphate, and still continues them, marking with gradually diminishing force the already numbered hours of the Empire of the East.

Arab civilisation is a mere deception—it no more exists than the horrors of Arab conquest. It is but the last gleam of Greek and Roman civilisation gradually dying out in the powerless but respectful hands of Islam. A civilisation, be it remembered, cannot be produced spontaneously, or improvised, any more than can a patrimony; it is the hereditary accumulation of living forces—a treasure formed by the hoarding of ages, which a robber may take in a moment and dissipate in a day, but which his whole life would be insufficient to create. But the Arab conquerors, *parvenus* though they were, without a history and without a past, respected everything—administration, science, and arts—only turning everything to their own profit. They even went so far as occasionally to grant the privileged holders of this intellectual monopoly a concession, which, to the army, enlightened only by the flame of fanaticism, must have cost much—viz., a truly admirable religious liberty.

The basis of all finance being the revenue of the soil, it is the first business of a conqueror to reassure the vanquished by allowing those who have always cultivated the ground to continue doing so. And this the Mussulman conquerors, who, as regards agriculture, knew no soil but the sand of the desert, and no tools but the point of the lance, with rare good sense did. They retained in Syria the cultivators of the land in the same way that they retained the cultivators of arts and of knowledge. This arrangement was acquiesced in more readily by the peasantry than by the townspeople, though the latter made but a faint show of resistance. In fact, the whole population accepted by a large majority, not only the language of their conquerors, which was somewhat akin to their own Semitic dialect, but also their religion, in which they saw a slight but attractive resemblance to their own vague Christianity.

Of this phenomenon, however, a still earlier example may be cited in the history of Palestine. For who were the peasants whom the Mussulmans found on their entrance into Judæa, and who have become the fellahen of our days? Were they Jews? The wars of extermination waged by Vespasian, Titus, Trajan, and Hadrian, and the persecutions of the Christian emperors, left not one stone upon another of either political or

ethnic Judaism; they made it a *tabula rasa*, and cast the *d'bris* to the four winds of heaven. Jewish tradition, properly so called, is for ever lost in Palestine; and all the Jews now found there have, without exception, come to the country at a comparatively recent date. Were they Greeks? We know for certain that, during the period that elapsed between the dispersion of the Jews and the appearance of the Arabs, the villages of Judæa were occupied by a population speaking a Semitic dialect. If, then, these peasants were neither Jews nor Greeks, what were they? I answer that their origin may be traced to a far earlier period, and that if we examine into the question, we shall find very strong proof that the Mohammedan conquest was almost the literal repetition of the more ancient invasion of Joshua. The analogy between the two events is very striking; in both we have a people conquered and enslaved by masses pouring in from nearly the same regions, and impelled by the same necessities.

Nomads like the first Mussulmans, and imbued like them with the irresistible force of religious conviction, the Israelites burst over the Promised Land, attracted by its natural wealth and by a civilisation, the existence of which may be inferred from the Biblical writings. In some parts of the country they speedily obtained a footing, though in others they encountered a more obstinate resistance than the Mussulmans did, the federative system of the Canaanites lending itself better to a prolongation of the strife, and the political conditions being different.

The problem of the permanent occupation of the country received the same solution as in the later invasion; the chief thing in both cases being to secure the proper cultivation of the ground. This fact has led to the remark, in itself a just one, that the Mosaic legislation was founded on agriculture. But shepherds could not have transformed themselves in a single day into agriculturists; they must at first have made those who understood it produce for them the fruits of the land which they had divided into tribe territories and family fiefs. It is true that they expelled from the country certain turbulent clans who, notwithstanding their forced submission, for a long time exercised on the intruders a pressure not unsalutary; and who finally, with characteristic elasticity, came back after the disappearance of the Jews to the places whence they had been driven. But the new occupants were obliged, whether they wished it or not, to allow the bulk of the primitive inhabitants to remain in the country; and the precautions of all sorts taken by the Jewish lawgiver to prevent the vanquished and the conquerors from mixing, lest the religious belief of the Jew should suffer by the contact, is itself a proof that they lived together side by side. That the aborigines, after troubling the religion of Israel a long time by their pagan superstitions, should end by adopting it, and by being mingled though not confounded with their conquerors, was natural enough; and opinions are still divided as to which of these two races, allied in speech, abandoned its own dialect and adopted that of the other.

The union was, nevertheless, not so complete as to prevent the

Assyrians from easily picking out for deportation the families of pure Israelite race; and thus depriving the country of its foreign aristocracy, while they left on the soil the serfs by whose labour it could be made to render tribute. For great empires did not carry on war for the barren pleasure of destruction (a pleasure insufficient even for barbarians), but to augment their wealth; and it is evident that such partial colonisation as that of Samaria would have been insufficient to repeople Palestine.

The unstable amalgam of races which, on the return from exile, endeavoured to reconstitute itself into a nation and even acquired some cohesion under the energetic rule of the Hasmoneans, could not escape falling to pieces when brought into contact with Greek influences. The Hellenizing spirit against which those who were Jews by descent and conviction had to contend, and which found partisans even among them, marks the commencement of this dissociation. It made continual progress under the Herods, and was completed when the very name of Jew was struck out of the book of nations by the hand of Rome. Græco-Roman paganism had only to show itself in Syria to be accepted and loved. Endowed with a plastic tolerance which embraced with astonishing ease the religious forms of other nations, sometimes pouring itself into their moulds, sometimes melting down their monstrous idols and remaking them after its own images, this paganism—this extra-biblical monotheism of antiquity—brought with it, to those who welcomed it with rapturous submission, but one reforming element, that of æsthetics; it exacted but one sacrifice, that of ugliness; imposed but one discipline, that of pleasure, and one dogma, that of taste; and introduced but one revelation, that of the beautiful. Full of consideration for the religions which accepted its seductions, it exercised no violence except upon those which resisted them. The ancient Syrophœnician divinities, to adopt the term used in the Gospels, willingly consented to inhabit temples of exquisite architecture, where the only conditions of entrance were a Greek costume, and the assumption of one of the many names and attributes in the rich pantheon. Then it was that, under the stimulating action of the breeze from Greece and Italy, the dried-up *flora* of Semitic mythology burst into a thousand new perfumes and colours. Palestine had a large share in this reawakening, and from Dan to Beersheba regenerated polytheism soon obscured the very recollection of the austere law of Jehovah.

The political triumph of Christianity crushed this growth. The land where the seed of the Crucified Sower had so marvellously fructified; where grew the first ear of that corn which was to be multiplied infinitely, and to furnish the religious needs of the world for centuries with the bread of the Spirit; the nursery of a creed whose cradle was a tomb, and whose flag a gibbet—this little land became the object of a special adoration, a kind of topolatry, when the Church mounted with Constantine the throne of the Cæsars, and assumed the imperial diadem, after having worn so long the martyr's crown.

So great was this love of holy places, and so passionate the desire to expiate the cruel mysteries of which they had been the theatre, that during the whole Byzantine period Judæa was overrun by monks, and transformed into one vast convent. Everywhere local paganism had to give way to Christ returning as a master to the land of His birth; but, as a final protest against the persecution to which they submitted, the pagans, driven out from their temples, now transformed into churches, took refuge in the schisms and heresies of which Syria was always the grand manufacturer.

At this troubled period, while the country was agitated by the conflict between the new propaganda and the old beliefs, a new element appeared on the scene. Islam is in fact a form of Christianity, most schismatic, most heretical if you will, but still Christianity, for many a sect of so-called Christians differs more than Mohammedanism does from certain established axioms of Christianity. The new dogma, Christian in doctrine, Jewish in ritual, made up of laws and regulations suited to the wants of wandering Arab tribes, owed its escape from the ignominious extinction which befell similar sectarian creeds, to certain political causes. The secret of its wonderful success was that it placed itself in opposition to Byzantium, and became the heart and soul of the struggle against official Christianity. This it was that gave it strength and life, and enabled it to rally to its side those populations who had only renounced paganism and accepted Christianity under compulsion, and who welcomed the Mussulman conquest, and the supremacy of the faith of Islam, as a means of protesting against the politico-religious tyranny from which they had suffered.

These *Koofjars*—an appellation derived from their living in *Kefrs*, the Arabic for villages, just as the similar term *pagani* is derived from the Latin *pagi*—would have returned to their old heathen creeds when once withdrawn from the Christian yoke; but on this point the Mussulmans were inflexible; they tolerated the Christians and the Jews as being their own spiritual forefathers, but they had inherited against the pagans the implacable hatred which animated Christianity, and which utter extermination could alone satisfy.

Resigned Mussulmans under the Mussulman rule, bad Christians under the Christian rule, after having been fervent pagans and mediocre Jews, the land-tilling mountaineers of Judæa, sons of the soil and the rock, are ready to become afresh whatever their masters of to-morrow may demand, if only they are allowed to remain on the land. It is this extraordinary attachment to the soil which has made and still makes them willing to endure everything rather than leave it.

If this race has thus been able to resist, or rather to survive conquest; if this stratum of humanity has been unchanged by the other strata which have been laid upon it, *a fortiori* has it been little effected by the many ephemeral invasions, the human deluges, which have overrun Palestine from time to time. The wave swept away everything that tried to stop it, but could make no impression on this impermeable stratum

over which it ran foaming, and which emerged intact as soon as it had passed. The invasion which most resembled a conquest, and at one moment threatened to reverse the destinies of Palestine, was the occupation of the Crusaders; but it was too shortlived to have any effect on the Arab ways of thought and feeling already impressed upon the people. It merely left here and there what may be called an anthropological trace of its passage; and the yellow hair and blue eyes which sometimes even at the present day the astonished traveller may see beneath a Bedaween kefeeyeh or a fellah turban, are the sole legacy of the Crusader to the people of Syria.

I have, therefore, arrived at the conclusion that the fellaheen of Palestine, taken as a whole, are the modern representatives of those old tribes which the Israelites found settled in the country, such as the Canaanites, Hittites, Jebusites, Amorites, Philistines, Edomites, &c. In what proportion these various tribes are now represented, and whether they were preceded by a still older autochthonous population—Ankim, Horites, &c., are questions which, in the existing state of science, it would be useless to enter into. But though this race, or rather conglomeration of races, which may be designated, for want of a better, by the vague title of pre-Israelite, still survives beneath its Mohammedan exterior, it has not remained uninfluenced during the lapse of centuries by the many events and circumstances that have happened in Palestine. Each successive change in the social and political condition of the country has more or less affected it in various ways; and we must not be surprised, when studying the fellaheen, at finding Jewish, Hellenic, Rabbinic, Christian, and Mussulman reminiscences mingled pell-mell and in the quaintest combinations, with traits which bring us back to the most remote and obscure periods of pre-Israelite existence.

It is very difficult to sift this farrago, and determine to what epoch each part belongs; the more so because chronology, the perspective of history, is as entirely ignored and even hated by the popular mind, as was ordinary perspective by the primitive artists, and the difficulty is increased by the fact that the same tradition has often—like those re-stamped coins which are at once the joy and the despair of numismatists—received impress after impress from the successive coiners who have left their effigies on Palestine.

Although criticism is at present unable thoroughly to analyse these complex products, we must not cease collecting them, remembering that all the changes in a tradition are in themselves the surest proof of its antiquity and of its spontaneous development. It may be that in ascertaining the difference between the written story and the legend we may be able some day to calculate, by a sort of ideal triangulation, how far they are both from the truth. Meanwhile science is fortunate in having ascertained the fact that there still exists in Palestine, not only some remains of the old Semitic polytheism—as I urged six years ago in the *Revue de l'Instruction Publique*, and which no one will deny now—but also that there are relics, still to be recognised, of Biblical tradition, just as in our fairy tales are found fragments of the Aryan mythology.

The astonishing way in which the peasants have preserved the names of places is a good instance of this, and is also a proof in favour of the argument that they themselves are unchanged. It is worthy of remark in passing that the *ethnic* name—that is, the name by which the *inhabitants* are known, and which is derived from the locality—is very often more archaic in form than the name of the *place* itself. There are many examples of this interesting fact which may prove very useful in testing the accuracy of proposed identifications.

The tenacity with which old religious customs have been kept up is another remarkable circumstance. Not only have the fellahen, as Robinson conjectured, preserved by the erection of their Mussulman *kubbehs*, and their fetishism for certain large isolated trees, the site and the souvenir of the hill sanctuaries and shady groves, which were marked out for the execration of the Israelites on their entry into the Promised Land; but they pay them almost the same veneration as did the Canaanite *kooffars*, whose descendants they are. These *makoms*, as Deuteronomy calls them, which Manasseh rebuilt, and against which the prophets in vain exhausted their invectives, are word for word, thing for thing, the Arabic *makams*, whose little white-topped cupolas are dotted so picturesquely over the mountain horizon of central Judæa.

In order to conceal their suspicious origin, these fellah sanctuaries have been placed under the protection of the purest Mohammedan orthodoxy, by becoming the tombs or shrines of *sheykhs*, *welys*, and *nebys*—elders, saints, or prophets—deceased in the odour of sanctity. But there are numerous indications of their true origin beneath this simple disguise. For instance, the name given to them is often the same as that of the locality, and is not merely a simple name, but a personification, or deification, if I may say so, of *the place itself*; for many legends show that, in the eyes of the peasants, the *neby* or *prophet* has given his own name to the place.

This close connection of names and places is found in the Phœnician and Canaanite mythology, which is remarkable for the number of its local divinities, and it helps to explain why Moses, not content with ordering the destruction of the pagan sanctuaries, insisted upon the *abolition of the names*. A methodical search for these *makams* is, therefore, of the greatest importance, because their names will enable us to fix the site of cities of which not only the ruins, but the very remembrance has disappeared.

Another point of religious resemblance is the worship of female divinities which we know was common among the Canaanites, and is still practised, many modern *kubbehs* being consecrated to women. In certain cases there is duality: the *wely*, or the *neby*, being venerated in conjunction with a woman, who passes generally for his sister or his daughter. This relationship, originally conjugal, which has been changed by the Mussulmans into one of consanguinity, offers an equivalent of the sexual symmetry of those Phœnician couples so clearly brought to light by M. de Vogüé.

Many of these sacred places are open to the sky, and nearly surrounded by a wall of stone—a veritable *haram*. Others are in natural or artificial caverns. One evening, for instance, I was most positively refused permission to stable my horse in a grotto consecrated to Sheykh Madkur, because the wely would infallibly have shown his displeasure by killing the beast. The Aboo N'sair venerate, not far from Mar Saba, a great stone—Hajar ed Dawäere—which they say was once metamorphosed into a camel in order to carry across the desert the father of their race. This practice of worshipping an animated stone—the *betyle*—is confirmed by certain modern practices analogous to those formerly in use—*e.g.*, the liturgic unction which is still performed with henna over the porch of a *kubbeh*, the fellaheen touching the lintel respectfully, and asking the wely for *destoor*—*i.e.*, permission to enter. Some even avoid profaning the threshold by stepping over instead of on it, like the worshippers of Dagon when entering his temple.

These rustic sanctuaries are crowded with rude *ex-voto* offerings; and the sacred trees, loaded with rags tied to their branches by pious hands, are familiar to every traveller in Palestine. In the *kubbehs* are placed lighted lamps, a practice alluded to in the sixth chapter of the Book of Baruch: while the various points on the surrounding hills whence the *makan* is visible are marked by *meshâhids*, small pyramids of stone which are the *mergamas* (acervi Mercurii) of Proverbs.

The fellaheen attribute to these local divinities a supernatural power of working miracles altogether contrary to the principles of Islam. Not only do they adore but they dread these holy personages, and have for them that *horror sacer* which is the mark of true religious adoration. A *makan* is a place of inviolable sanctity. No one would dare to touch a thing or person on its sacred soil. An infidel may sleep there in perfect safety, provided he does not break through any of the required religious observances. I have often, when travelling, for the sake of economy, without tent or baggage, taken advantage of this prerogative, and experienced, after a long and fatiguing day, the delicious sensation—from an archæologist's point of view—of passing the night on the bare but holy floor of one of these Arab sanctuaries, haunted and guarded by the shades of the Canaanite Baals and Ashtoreths.

But the best proof of the religious character of this feeling, and of the deep hold it has upon the fellaheen, is to be found in the oaths most commonly used by them. The word *Allah* (God) is for ever on their lips, and the formula "*wa hæät Allah*," based upon the Hebrew *hæi Elohim*, is used to attest truth or falsehood without the slightest hesitation. They swear fluently, and perjure themselves without scruple, by the light, by the life of their souls, by their heads, by the heads of their companions, by the Temple of Jerusalem (*Haram esh Shercef*), by the *Sakhra*, or sacred rock on which stood the altar, &c.; oaths which were lavished with equal prodigality by the Jews, and bitterly censured by our Lord. But, and this is the remarkable point, if we wish to bind them by a serious oath, it is sufficient to make them take it on their local sanctuary, and then it is extremely rare to find them faithless or bearing false witness.



Many other significant facts might be brought forward; such as the propitiatory sacrifices made by the fellaheen, the ceremonies attending which seem borrowed from the Phœnician ritual; their superstitions about the moon; the amulets, magical hands, the eyes of Osiris in Hebron enamel, made after the method of the Phœnician glass-workers; their fêtes, their parables, their tales, their old songs in strange Arabic, the peculiarities of their dialect, in which the vocalisation strangely resembles the Masoretic punctuation of Hebrew, &c. But I will pass on, without dwelling upon these, to one or two examples of what may be called veritable echoes of the Bible.

Here is the history of Samson as it is told to-day at Sar'a, Ain Shemés, and Artoof, that is to say, on the very scene of the exploits of that hero:—Aboo Meizar, called by some Abool Azem, but known to all under the name Shamshoun el Jebbar, originally of Sar'a, and brother of a certain Neby Samet, whose monument is shown in those parts, was purblind. In the Rumeyleh, the old name of a part of the city of Ain Shemés, stood a church. Aboo Meizar said to his compatriots, "What will you give me if I destroy the church and kill the Christians?" "The quarter of the revenue of the country," they replied. Upon this Aboo Meizar went down to the Rumeyleh, entered the church where the Christians were assembled at prayer, and crying, "Ya Rabb!" (O Lord!) gave a great kick to the column which supported the edifice. Down it fell, burying beneath its ruins Aboo Meizar and the Christians. The inhabitants of Sar'a came to look for his body, and easily recognised it because, as he had told them would be the case, he was stretched on his back, while all the Christians lay face downwards. His *makam* stands on the very spot at Sara where they buried him; and the Sheykh attached to its service, who resides at Beit Atab, still receives a quarter of all the olives grown between Deir Eban and Ain Shemés—indeed a fellah who once refused to pay these additional dues is reported to have pressed blood instead of oil from his olives:—while it is even now a common saying among the old people of the village that "between Sar'a and Bayt el Jemal was killed Shamshoun el Jebbar." It may be remarked, in passing, that this saying, if compared with the verse in the book of Judges which places the tomb of Samson between Zorah and Eshtaol, would tend to fix the site of the latter city, hitherto undiscovered, at Bayt el Jemal. Another fragment of this same legend has lighted on the head of a certain Neby Hoshia, venerated at Eshou not far from Sar'a. This neby, born at Bayt Nabala, being one day pursued by a troop of his foes the Kooffars, took refuge at Eshou, and crying, "It is here that I am doomed to die," sat down, threw his *ihram* over his shoulder, and expired. A wooden sabre, with which he is said to have slain his enemies, is still shown at the *makam* at Eshou. This story may be compared with an incident in the travels of a Jewish pilgrim of the middle ages, Isaac Chelo, who saw at Sar'a the tomb of Samson, where they still preserved the ass's jawbone with which he killed the Philistines.

Turn next to the modern legend in which are embodied confused but

undoubted traces of the taking of Jericho by Joshua, and the standing still of the sun. It varies in many curious ways from the Bible-story; but the following is the pith of it as told to me in the plain of Jericho:—Not far from the site of the City of Palms are the ruins of the *City of Brass*, so called because it was once surrounded by seven walls of brass; and a little farther off is the *makam* of the Imam Ali, son of Abou Taleb, a sanctuary open to the sky, and the object of extraordinary veneration, in the surrounding country. This city, then belonging to the Kooffars, was besieged by the Imam Abou Taleb. Mounted on his horse Meimoon, he made the round of the city and overthrew the seven walls of brass one after another by blowing upon them. Then began a terrific combat, and as the day was drawing to a close, and the infidels were about to profit by the darkness in order to escape, the Imam Ali cried out to the sun, “Return upon thy steps, O thou blessed one!” Immediately, with the permission of the Most High, the sun, which was about to set behind the mountain, came back to the east; whereupon the Imam Ali ordered his servant Eblal, who at that moment was on the opposite mountain, at the foot of which is now situated the *makam*, to sound the call for the morning prayer, and proceeded to complete the rout of the pagans with great carnage, and to utterly destroy their city; those who escaped the slaughter being annihilated by wasps. Since that time the two mountains which figure in the story bear respectively the names of the Mountain of the Return, and the Mountain of Eblal the Muezzin.

Lastly, listen to the tragic history of the Levite of Ephraim and his wife at Gibeah. This is how it was told me by an old fellah on the very place itself, which is still called Jabá:—A Christian of Bethlehem was on his way with his wife or his daughter to Tayyibeh, and stopped, as night was beginning to fall, to sleep at Jabá. While they slept certain men of the town came to the house and violated the woman, who was found dead in the morning. The Christian cut the corpse into two pieces, and sent one to Tayyibeh, and the other to Mukhmas, to the people of his own religion. These rose immediately. One band came from the east, the other from the west. The first, pretending to fly, drew the people of Jabá out of their town; and thus caught between the two hosts, they were all slaughtered. The massacre took place in the plain called El Merj fil Moonká, between Jabá and the commencement of the Wady Bab esh Shab. To this day the wheat grows to a great height on this accursed spot, but produces no grain.

These examples of what may be called phantoms of the past are enough to show how much the peasant of Palestine, in preserving his own identity, has done for the past history of his race and nation. But living side by side with this obstinately conservative peasant, there is, paradoxical as it may appear, a class yet more conservative who defend even more vigilantly, and guard with greater attachment the ancient forms and beliefs—I mean the women. This curious circumstance has often been remarked in other countries, but nowhere is it more strongly

marked than in Palestine. There the women have continued to be the depositaries of old memories which you would vainly seek for among the men. They are indeed behind their husbands by several centuries: and the disdain with which a fellah, if you speak to him of certain curious customs among the women, replies, with a shrug of his shoulders, "*Shoughl nisou'in!*" (women's affairs), is itself enough to show how true this is.

It would be extremely interesting to examine closely these daughters of Canaan, to study their special customs, their funeral dances, their marriage and mourning songs, their prejudices, their peculiar legends, their habitual forms of expression, and a variety of other matters, down to the details of their toilet, which Isaiah denounces as the arsenal of idolatry. Besides, it is among the women—in the often charming patterns with which they tattoo themselves; in the simple paintings with which their pious hands love to decorate the walls of the sacred monuments; in the marvellous embroidery of their veils and robes; in their elegant, shield-shaped dishes, made of coloured and twisted straw; in the forms of the vessels for water and grain, the fabrication of which has retained their monopoly; in the patterns of their jewels and their painted boxes, which they have perpetuated religiously in the bazaars by refusing to buy any other kind—that we shall find what artistic traces yet remain of a people who never really possessed any art but of the most rudimentary kind.

Ample indeed is the harvest which one might hope to reap upon this feminine soil. But unfortunately the explorer has to encounter the almost insurmountable obstacle of sex. Nothing is more difficult for a European than to associate in the slightest degree with the fellah woman, although they do not, like the women of the towns, cover their faces with a veil, but merely draw their long blue sleeve over the mouth. It is no question of modesty or morality; these are sentiments which have always been, and are still, but little known in the East. It is rather an instinctive feeling of mistrust towards a stranger, than any shyness of him as a man. And yet they do not seem to avoid him designedly; they will often readily render him small services, and address him as "my brother," and will willingly enter into conversation in certain cases; but let him make the slightest attempt to put any question, or betray ever so discreet an inclination to get behind the scenes, they take fright at once at a curiosity which they do not understand, and their confidence, gained for a moment, takes wing like a frightened bird. It requires a woman to approach this wild flock; and a European woman prepared to penetrate, without the aid of an interpreter, into the—what shall I say?—the harem of their ideas and their traditions, would carry off a load of scientific plunder far more precious than anything to be found in the uninteresting seraglios of Constantinople and Cairo.

There are in certain corners of the globe races which have had the unenviable privilege of undergoing no change, not even for the better.

These the historian would like to preserve for his own purposes, in their archaic integrity, as fields of study, if not of experiment, and as a kind of laboratory in which he could observe at leisure the phenomena of human evolution. But, unfortunately, or perhaps fortunately, such day-dreams are always destined to be upset by the progress of civilisation, which everywhere, sooner or later, sweeps away the ruins of the past to make room for the future. Palestine, so long spared, is already undergoing the common lot. A strong current of immigration from central Europe has for some time set in upon it, and a few years will do what centuries have not been able to effect.

There is no time to be lost. Already the first note of menace has been sounded, and a projected railway from Jaffa to Jerusalem, warns us to make haste and accomplish the laborious task of exploration, and perfect a complete inventory of the historic and scientific treasures of this unique country, before it has been deprived of every relic and memorial of the past. It will be too late when, on the spot where the cry of Rachel mourning for her children still lingers, we hear in mocking echo the shrill scream of the railway whistle, and the loud shout of "*Bethléhem ! Dix minutes d'arrêt ! Les voyageurs pour la Mer Morte changent de voiture !*"

## THE SITE OF HIPPOS.

BY C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

(From the *Revue Archéologique*.)

I HAVE, on several occasions, insisted on the importance of reading Arabic literature in the interests of Biblical topography. I have been enabled to prove the utility of this study by discoveries of importance,\* and to show that it not only offers a method of control, but also, in certain cases, a *point de départ* for real discoveries.

I have now to offer a new fact establishing the importance of the geographical information furnished by oriental texts. It concerns a place outside the limited area of my own researches—another reason for advancing it, because it will be easy for the first traveller who explores the shores of the Sea of Galilee to verify my suggestion on the spot.

The Decapolis, connected with the gospel narrative by three passages only (Matt. iv. 25; Mark v. 20, and vii. 31) is the least-known part of Palestine. We are neither agreed upon the general limits of this district, frequently mentioned by profane authors, nor on the very names of the ten cities which composed it—"in quo non eadem omnes observant," as Pliny says.

There are, however, some as to which there is no doubt at all. Among these is Hippos. Hippos, according to Eusebius and Jerome, formed, with Pella and Gadara, the centre of this privileged confederation,

\* By this means, for instance, I found the royal Canaanite city of Gezer.

which appears to have been a special kind of network matter extending over distinct provinces, rather than a province by itself. “*Αυτη ἔστιν ἡ ἐπὶ τῇ Περαίᾳ κειμένη ἀμφὶ τὴν Ἰππον καὶ Πέλλαν καὶ Γαδάραν*” (Onomasticon).

Pliny, in his enumeration of the cities of the Decapolis, names Hippos between Gadara on the one hand, and Dion and Pella on the other, placing it with Julias on the east of the Sea of Galilee. Ptolemy mentions it between Capitolias and Abila. Josephus says that Hippos was thirty stadia from Tiberias, and the Onomasticon places it beside a fortress called Apheka.

It would be useless to recall the very brief history of this city, to which numismatists attribute those imperial Greek coins bearing the singular designation of *ΑΝΤΙΩΧΕΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΙΠΠΩΝ*. M. de Sauley supposes that this legend belongs to a Mount Hippos, placed by Ptolemy in company with another Mount Asalamos, Alsalamos, or Asalmanos, near the Desert of Arabia, and that a city of the same name was built upon the slope of the mountain.\*

Perhaps this singularity may be indirectly explained by the passage of Stephen of Byzantium relating to Gadara—“a city of Cœle Syria which is also called Antioch and Seleucia.” We should be tempted to apply these words in part to Hippos, especially when we remember that the destinies of the two neighbouring cities seem to have been closely allied, and that Josephus qualifies them as *Greek cities*, taken from the rule of Herod Archelaus, and annexed to Syria after receiving their freedom from Pompey, and being temporarily handed over to Herod the Great. Anyhow it is certain that Hippos was of sufficient importance to give its name to a district, *Hippene*, which bordered on Galilee.

A long time ago attention was called to the connection between Hippos and Haifa, the town of Carmel. Lightfoot was the first to find Hippos in the Souseditha of the Talmud. The principal Talmudic passages, collected by Neubauer, show us Souseditha inhabited by pagans, and often mentioned with Tiberias; the two cities opposite to each other and separated by the lake, were enemies. A rabbi identifies the Tob of the Bible (Judges xi. 3), and consequently the Tobion of Maccabees (1 Macc. v. 13), with the environs of Souseditha.

Not only do remarkable topographic coincidences connect Hippos with Souseditha, but there is also a striking etymological affinity. Souseditha is naturally derived from *sous*, a horse: so that the Semitic name has the same signification as the Greek. This signification seems to have been long known, for the ruins of Hippos represent a horse, winged or not.

Opinions as to the site of Hippos are divided. Some place it at Kalât el Hosn near Feik or Fik, on the eastern bank of the Lake of Tiberias, and identify the same Fik with the Apheka of the Onomasticon; others incline to Khirbet es Samra, a little more to the south, and nearer the

\* “*Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*,” pp. 344, 345. In reality Mount Hippos is placed by Ptolemy *near Judæa*, that is, far away from Mount Alsalamos; its position, 68° 10' 32", is nearly that attributed to Hippos, the city of Cœle Syria or the Decapolis, 68° 32' 36".

Jordan. A third opinion, represented by Riess, considers Sousitha and Hippos as two different cities, and identifies the first with the similarly named ruins of El Shushch or Abu Shushch, to the north-west of the Lake of Tiberias.

The question is complicated: here is a fact which will help us to simplify it.

It is furnished by a certain Ibn Khordad Beh, Director of the Posts of the Khalifat in the fourth century of the Hegira, who left behind him an interesting *tableau* of the provinces submitted to his administration, under the title of "Book of Roads and Provinces." This valuable text, much ill-treated by copyists, was edited with rare ability by M. Barbier de Meynard.

After describing a route which, starting from Damascus, connects Keswé, Jasem, Fik, and Tiberias, the chief place of the Jordan, distant respectively twelve, twenty-four, twenty-four, and six miles, the author enumerates in this part of the empire, thirteen districts, the Jordan, Tiberias, Samaria, Beisan, Fahl (Pella), Hawim, Nablús, Jadar, Abel, Sousya, Akka, Kedesh, and Sûr (Tyre).

Sousya is the literal equivalent of the Talmudic Sousitha; the slight difference in the termination is insignificant; it may even be purely graphic and consist in a single displacement of diacritic points, which every student in Arabic will understand. Nevertheless Yakût, in his great geographical dictionary, citing this city as belonging to the district of Jordan, gives this orthography, which is besides perfectly acceptable and confirmed by the Kamûs.

The context sufficiently proves that we are in the same region with Sousitha, and the topographic agreement is as satisfactory as the phonetic resemblance.

The certain existence of this Arabic form, Sousya, permits us at once to put aside the proposed connection of Sousitha with Abu Shushch (the man with the tuft), a vulgar name which might, as it did at Gezer, mask some important locality, and lead to the solution of the still unsettled question of Capernaum.

But there is more: not only the Sousya of Ibn Khordad Beh corresponds with Sousitha, but it is presented under conditions which assimilate it entirely with Hippos, and it supplies the gap which separated the Syro-Greek from the Talmudic city.

We have seen, in fact, that ancient documents frequently associate Hippos with Gadara and Abila. Well, the Arabic text groups together Sousya, Jadar, and Abel. On the other hand, Hippos was the centre of a district mentioned by Hippene, which is the district (Kouúra) of Sousya d'Ibn Khordad Beh.

The same passage shows, besides, that in the fourth century of the Hegira, Gadara, which now, according to travellers, bears the name of Umm Keis, still preserved its original name, and it is probable that a careful search on the spot would establish that although fallen into disuse, it has not ceased to exist.

The same accident must have happened to Sousya-Hippos. The true name, without being forgotten, may be hidden by another vulgar appellation; and, for my own part, I believe that a conscientious investigation will enable us to find a Khirbet Sousya, whether at Es Samra, or at Kalât el Hosn, or at some other place. When we find it, we shall be able to place there the enigmatic Hippos.

Besides, the Hebrew word *sous* (horse), which gave birth to Sousitha-Hippos, is not so strange to Arabic as might be supposed. There is the well-known term, *sais* (groom), the origin of which is clear. Then, I have found in the environs of Lydda, an Arabic locution still employed in the technical language of certain old camel drivers, to signify a track, in distinction to a metalled road, a way practicable only to camels. One is *tarîk er-r'sîf*, the other *tarîk es seisanè*. The word *seisanè*, which you will find in no lexicon, is the plural of a disused singular, evidently coming from the root *sous*. It is to be noted, in passing, that the appellation, *tarîk er-r'sîf*, indicates in general the existence of a Roman road.

I cannot terminate this note without touching upon a delicate point introduced into the question by Reland. This scholar, *ἀγροπος* of Hippos, and in the hope of getting some etymological light to bear upon the problem, quotes a curious passage of Pliny, speaking of a certain family of *crustaceæ*. He says: "In Phœnicæ *ἰππεῖς* vocantur, tantæ velocitatis ut consequi non sit." "In Phœnicia there are certain crabs, called horsemen, so rapid that they cannot be caught." Reland had under his eyes another reading *hippoe*, which he regarded as a translation of ἵπποι, to judge by the connection which he endeavours to make with our word Hippos.

I do not know which is the true reading: in any case, it seems to me that Pliny has only translated a passage of Aristotle, in which the same word occurs: "Περὶ δὲ τὴν Φοινίκην γίνονται ἐν τῷ ἀγριαλῷ οὗς καλοῦσιν ἰππεῖς διὰ τὸ οὕτως ταχέως θεῖν, ὥστε μὴ ῥάδιον εἶναι (ταχέως) καταλαθεῖν."

However that may be, it would appear that in Phœnicia the crabs were called *horsemen*, or *horses*, by reason of their extraordinary rapidity. The last simile would be the more logical. Thus a group of *crustaceæ* is mentioned by Pliny under the name of *lions*.

But why does not Pliny use the Latin *equites*, instead of the Greek equivalent? Was ἵπποι or ἰππεῖς a local idiom of Greek used on the Phœnician shore; or does it conceal a phonetic transcription of a Phœnician word? If so, although this is not likely, the city of Haifa, the Hepha of the Talmud, presents itself to the mind with this strange coincidence, probably fictitious, that Gaba of Carmel, identified by some with Heipha, is called by Josephus the "city of horsemen," πόλις ἰππεῶν. But I have already shown that Haifa has nothing to do with Hippos. If we admit that the crabs bore a Phœnician name signifying *horse*, what could that word be?

The Semitic vocabulary offers us an embarrassing choice. The Hebrew *sous* occurs in the name of a Simeonite city, *Hasar Sousu* (Joshua xv. 51), or, in the plural, *Hasar Sousim* (1 Chron. iv. 31).

Here is a precedent, particularly if, as Fürst thinks, following a similar train of derivation, it has already furnished the meaning of *swallow* in Isaiah xxxviii. 14, transferring this idea of rapidity from running to flying. The word is, besides, considered Phœnician. It is found in the name, Abad-Sousim, and perhaps in that of Cabarsus (= K'phar Sous?).

If the word *sous* had the treble sense of *horse*, *swallow*, and *crab*, to which of the three does Sousitha belong? The Greek translators and the numismatic symbols show that at a certain epoch the most general interpretation, that of *horse*, was the only one received. But this explanation, certainly the most natural, need not be taken for the earliest and truest. We may hesitate in presence of the passage in Pliny: They still bring to the market of Jerusalem fresh-water or land-crabs which abound in certain points of the Jordan basin. Must we admit, if we adopt Roland's view, which certainly seems forced, that Hippos, situated not far from the river and on the borders of the Lake of Tiberias, owed its name to the presence of these crabs?

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## NOTES ON RUAD (ARADUS) AND ADJACENT PLACES IN NORTHERN SYRIA.

By GREVILLE J. CHESTER, B.A., Member of the Royal  
Archæological Institute.

FEW, if any, places on that lonely coast of Syria, which once "echoed with the world's debate," excite the imagination and the curiosity of the passing voyager more powerfully than the small island of Ruad, the Arvad of the Book of Genesis, the Aradus of the Greek period, and one of the most ancient historic sites in the world.

The whole coast of Syria is remarkably free from islets, and those which exist are mere uninhabited skerries, but Ruad is not only an island but a city; and such it seems it ever has been ever since its foundation by Arvad, the son of Canaan. Other and more important Syrian cities have risen and have fallen again, and of some scarce even a trace remains; but this island-city of the sea occupies the same space it occupied of old; and its present inhabitants, a fine and courteous race, are what they were in the time of the prophet Ezekiel, viz., bold and skilful mariners, worthy successors of those who aided in navigating the ships of King Hiram. Their profession is still that of the sea, and they are counted able seamen, fishermen, and divers after the sponge, which forms their only article of commerce.

Arvad or Aradus was, and Ruad still is in appearance, very much what Tyre was before Alexander the Great joined it to the mainland by his long artificial causeway—a city, *i.e.*, of limited extent, but occupying the entire surface of a small, flat island of solid rock, rising but



slightly above the waves. But in point of beauty of situation the less celebrated Arvad far surpasses the world-famed city of Tyre. The view thence is every way striking.

In front, Arvad looks out on the sea, whose deep blue waters wash its very walls, and stretch out from thence to Chittim and the Isles of Greece. Behind it looks on Tartûs, or Antaradus, the Tortosa of the middle ages, with its massive castle and magnificent church; and behind Tartûs on a cultivated plain, stretching upwards to quiet hills of graceful outline. To the left, across a noble bay, Arvad turns towards Lebanon, with its vine-clad terraces, its stupendous precipices, its deep, torrent-cut gorges, its vast fields of glistening snow. To the right it looks on the solitary grandeur of Jebel Okra, the seldom-visited and little-known Mount Casius of the ancients.

Ruad lies at a distance of less than two miles from the mainland, and is not opposite to but considerably to the south of the present Tartûs. The cemetery of Antaradus, however, at all events during the Greek period, extended southwards along the coast, and a lonely Tel close to the sea still farther to the south, may mark the end of the precincts of the ancient city in that direction, and is nearly opposite to Aradus.

The island is a low rocky platform, and it possesses a small double harbour, defended by rocks and ancient moles upon them, to the north-east, on the side, *i.e.*, towards Tartûs. The anchorage here, and in the channel outside, under the protection of the island, is pretty good, and safer than most upon that open and dangerous coast.

Modern Ruad occupies almost entirely its ancient site. Along the edge of the harbour, both on land and in the water, are strewn about great numbers of columns of grey granite, turned black by age, and which, I conjecture, in ancient times, formed colonnades and open markets during that later period when *Aradus*, as distinguished from *Arvad*, was an independent state. Similar colonnades seem to have existed at Tripoli, Byblus, and Tyre. Far the most interesting remains, however, at Ruad, are those of the sea walls, which belong apparently to a far earlier epoch—to that, *viz.*, of the *substructions* of the temples of Baalbec, and to the megalithic remains of Amrit. The immense stones of which these walls are built seem to have been hewn out of the rock on the spot, and enormous mechanical power and great skill must have been employed to get them out of their original bed and into their present position. Some of the stones are ten to twelve feet long, by seven and eight high. It is worthy of particular remark that these great stones are *not bevelled*. Four only have deep grooves cut into their upper surface on the side next the land; of these grooves three are semicircular and one square. It is hard to conjecture the purpose of these indentations, but they may possibly have been intended as holdfasts for the cables of ships. In one or two places are vestiges of rude steps, leading upwards to the top of the walls. The two largest fragments of the existing walls are on the western side, *i.e.*, towards

the open sea. They are set on a platform of solid rock, cut even for their reception, and are of four or five courses inside, but of more towards the sea. The total height is probably between thirty and forty feet. In places the interstices are filled up with one or two layers of small hewn stones of coeval antiquity, but in no case has mortar been anywhere used. In one place a great oblong ring has been left projecting seawards from the face of a stone, for the purpose, doubtless, of securing the cable of a ship.

Immediately under these magnificent fragments of ancient masonry is a narrow terrace of levelled rock, washed by the waves and overgrown with seaweed, and this again descends precipitously into the deep sea. Between the two largest remaining fragments of wall, at the distance of only a few yards from the main island, but divided from it by a deep channel, is a small rocky islet, with an artificially levelled surface, designed apparently for the site of a temple; and, in fact, a local tradition relates that one actually existed on the spot.

The walls of Aradus have been spoken of as "double," but I could discover no certain evidence of the fact. They seem originally to have been of great breadth, and the circumstance of the central and less durable portions having been washed away by the action of the waves, has apparently given rise to the statement. No inscriptions whatever exist on these ancient walls; one stone, however, is pierced with two deep circular holes. Upon a rock on the south-western side is indented the representation of an object resembling a gigantic pastoral staff. The local tradition is that it represents and commemorates a huge serpent which once infested the island. It is interesting in this connection to remember that some of the Phœnician coins of Aradus bear impressed upon them the figure of a human-headed serpent, which seems to have been one of the forms of the god *Hadad*.

On the south side of Ruad are the remains of several houses with chambers cut in the solid rock and left isolated, and in some of them are a few shallow niches which may have served to hold lamps or the figures of household divinities. Some of these rock-hewn dwellings are still lined with plaster. There are, likewise, several remains of baths, both public and private, and one of these is lined with plaster, into which have been let bits of red pottery. Within the walls there seem to have been open spaces between them and the main town. Here the rocks were smoothed down when required, and the fissures were filled in with water-worn gravel, pottery, bits of marble and rubbish, which, by the infiltration of water charged with lime, has been converted into a mass of more or less solid breccia. As in some places the foundations of ancient houses exist on the top of this mass, it is evident that this is no accretion of modern times. The flat surface, however, acquired by the means just described seems generally to have been kept open for locomotion or traffic; no unimportant point in a space so limited as that of Aradus. There seems to have been no spring of fresh water in Arvad, nor is any known at present. The whole water-

supply is drawn from ancient cisterns with conical roofs, executed in the solid rock, and of these there are said to be no less than four hundred. Dr. Porter, following some earlier writer, speaks of several Greek inscriptions beginning, "The Senate and the People of Aradus." These no longer exist *in situ*. I was assured they were only *four* in number, and that they had been carried off to France. I noticed, however, two uninscribed altars, one of black granite near the harbour, and the other of white limestone, on the verge of the burying-ground. An interesting discovery has recently been made of very minute silver Phœnician coins. These are of several types, of which the one most easily deciphered has, obv. a male head, and rev. a (sea?) tortoise. M. Peretie, the eminent numismatist of Beyrout, to whom some of these minute pieces had been brought, believing that they were found in the harbour, conjectured that they were intended to be thrown into the water by departing mariners as a propitiatory offering to the deity of the sea. I was assured, however, on the spot that they were never found *in*, but only on the brink of the harbour, and a place was pointed out on the edge of the cemetery, on the opposite side of the island, where several had recently been discovered. M. Peretie's conjecture may, perhaps, therefore need correction. I saw similar minute Phœnician coins which have recently been found near the Mina of Tripoli at a point where the sea has encroached upon the land. It may suffice here to remind the reader of the equally small copper coins of the lower empire known to collectors as "*Minima*," which are supposed by some to have been used to throw among the populace on occasions of popular rejoicing. Altogether the ancient coins of Aradus form an interesting series. Besides coins of Alexander the Great, of Persian Satraps, of Egyptian Ptolemies,\* and of several Roman emperors, there are several types of Aradian money in silver and copper which pertain to the place as an independent city. Of these the most important are the large bilingual silver coins, of which a considerable number has recently been found near Jebeil. They bear obv. the veiled and turreted head of a woman, impersonating the city of Aradus; rev. a victory within a crown of leaves with the legend ΑΡΑΔΙΩΝ and a date in Greek, and in addition one or more Phœnician characters. Another type in silver, also inscribed ΑΡΑΔΙΩΝ, with obv. a bee, and rev. a deer in front of a palm-tree, seems to be copied from that of well-known coins of Ephesus. Many other coins in silver and copper have Phœnician inscriptions only, and most of them bear on the rev. the prow of a ship—a type appropriate enough for the coins of an island city. One has on the obv. Dagon, the fish-god, and another, already alluded to, a serpent or serpentine fish with a human head.

Having approached Ruad from Beyrout and Tripoli by sea, I prepared to return by land, and accordingly crossed over to Antaradus,

\* Some of the Ptolemaic coins inscribed A P may perhaps belong to Arsinoë, or Crocodilopolis, the present Medinet Habou, the capital of the Fyoum.

Tortosa, or Tartùs, a place still containing many remains of interest, although, perhaps, none of very remote antiquity.

The chief building here is the castle—an immense structure of massive drafted masonry, with an outer wall and square flanking towers beyond, descending into a wide artificial ditch cut in the rock outside, except on the side next the sea, where the main castle walls abut upon the beach. Although portions of the wall may belong to an earlier period, I much doubt whether the structure generally dates back to a time anterior of the Crusades. At all events, it is a grand mistake to conclude that a building is of “Phœnician” work simply because its stones are bevelled. The undoubtedly ancient walls of Arvad and the monuments of Amrit, as has already been remarked, are *not* drafted, and the same observation holds good of the vast substruction and the celebrated *Trilithon* at Baalbec. It is true that the guide-books tell us that King Solomon bevelled, but it admits of the gravest doubt whether any of the drafted stones in the walls of the Haram area at Jerusalem belong to any period earlier than that of Herod. That the Romans drafted is true, witness part of the *Porta Maggiore* at Rome and other buildings there and in Syria, but then no less certainly the Arabs drafted, and the Crusaders drafted. So also did the builders of the late mediæval walls of Nuremberg, so did the Medicean Italians, so also at the present day do the Christian Maronites of Batrùn. Drafting, therefore, or bevelling, upon which some lay so much stress, is, as the test of the date of a building, a very insecure guide. Bearing this caution in mind, I should, on the whole, imagine that the castle of Tartùs is in the main a building of Crusading times, incorporating in some places, and built on the lines of walls of earlier construction, many of whose stones have been used, and their drafting in other cases imitated for the sake of uniformity. The castle in form approaches a square, and is of vast extent, enclosing within its walls a large village with an open *place* in the centre. The principal gateway, which was anciently approached by a bridge over the ditch, which at this point assumes the appearance of a ravine, is on the north-east side, and close to the sea. Within this gate-tower in the outer wall is a lofty Gothic hall, with a groined roof of stone. Another vaulted hall, within the main castle, is of still larger dimensions, and has the vaulting of the roof springing from elegant Corinthianising capitals or corbels, and in one instance from the head of a crowned king. One of the most curious features about the castle of Tartùs is the extraordinary number of masons’ marks which exist upon the stones which compose the walls, and of which similar specimens are found upon the castle of Jebel. These marks appear to be of two kinds, those, viz., which are formed by a blunt instrument being punched into the stone, and those which are incised by some sharp tool. Of these, the former appear to me to be far the more ancient. It is highly desirable that copies should be made of similar marks upon other ruins in Syria, in order that, by comparison, a correct opinion may be formed concerning them. Mean-

while the fact that some of them *resemble* Phœnician letters, and that others *resemble* Greek monograms, on coins of Philip, Alexander the Great, Alexander Ægus and the Ptolemies, should by no means be taken as conclusive that they belong to so early a period. At the same time, it is proper to remember that undoubted Phœnician characters exist on the lower part of the magnificent walls of Tarragona. In the case of Tartûs, as also of Jebel, some of the marks are plainly Arab and others of Christian origin.

The cathedral which stands outside the walls of Tartûs to the south-east of the town is a very noble building, and in a most extraordinarily perfect state of preservation. Its plan displays a lofty nave and aisles, separated by tall but massive piers, with columns with Corinthianising capitals. The west front has a pointed doorway, with a large threefold window above it, of which the third light is above and between the other two. Seen from within, nothing can be more perfect than the proportions of this noble triplet. On either side, at the west end of each wing or aisle, is an elegant lancet window, with a small square window above, the southernmost lancet having its moulding on the left side ending in a sculptured lion. Over the great western entrance is a large slab of red granite. The church consists of four bays besides the sacrarium, each of which is separated externally by a massive square buttress. The east end, which ends inside in three majestic apses, has each apse square outside, those to the north and south, together with two vaulted sacristies, being, as it were, enclosed in two square towers, which do not rise higher than the roof. The roof itself, which Dr. Porter, who does not seem to have visited the place, most strangely describes as "*entirely gone*," is, on the contrary, intact. It is of vaulted stone, and into the lower part of its curve small square-headed windows have been cut—a very unusual feature. In each bay of the side aisles is one, and in some instances two, lancet windows. The south door is ornamented with a rich moulding. The characteristic of this noble church, whose dimensions are said to be 130 feet long by 93 wide,\* is simple grandeur, and its condition is such that it might at any moment be used for Christian worship. The Muslims have recently run up a wretched little minaret over the north aisle, and have placed a paltry pulpit of wood opposite the remains of that of stone which once adorned the nave, but with these insignificant exceptions all is as it was. It is matter for regret that with such noble models for imitation as are presented by this and some other mediæval ecclesiastical buildings in Syria, such a mean and abortive structure should have been put up as the Anglican church at Jerusalem.

To the north of Tartûs, at a distance of about a quarter of a mile from the walls, is a small *mina*, or harbour, with a few ancient stones lying about on the low rocks, which scarcely serve to shelter it from the open sea. On an isolated rock is a vaulted building, apparently a

\* See Murray's "Guide to Syria."

store-house of Crusading times. In this neighbourhood are several tombs hewn in the rock which probably belonged to the early Phœnician inhabitants, but the cemetery of Greek and Roman times was on the sandy ground south of the town, and this still yields many interesting objects of antiquity. Several fragments of sculpture were offered to me for sale. One of these was a draped torso of good style, and I was sorry to be obliged to leave behind a head carved in limestone with a decidedly Egyptian cast of countenance, and with the usual Egyptian head-dress.\*

At the distance of about an hour and a half south of Tartûs are the ruins of Amrit, formerly Marathus, the remains of which are of extreme importance, and ought to be carefully explored, planned, and photographed. Unluckily my visit had been preceded by heavy rains, which had so flooded the neighbourhood as to prevent a close approach to two of the existing monuments. The first object of interest was an artificially scarped rock to the left of the track. This rock presents a principal face with two projecting wings. In the front are three round-headed entrances to tombs, the entrance to a tomb on either side being square. About a mile farther to the south is a curious excavated enclosure, cut in the solid rock to the depth of about ten feet, but sloping down from the south northwards, the north side of the court, if such it may be termed, being altogether open. In the midst of this excavated area a platform has been left of natural rock, upon which is erected a shrine of four great stones, of which the uppermost is of larger size and ornamented with a rude overhanging cornice. Within is a stone bench or seat, apparently for the ancient divinity of the place, like those in many Egyptian grottoes, as, for instance, at Gebel Silsileh, but I could not get exactly in front, as the enclosure was full of water, and my horse got engulfed in a bog in my endeavours to reach it.

Half a mile farther south, on the left of the track, are a series of monuments, which, in point of interest and curiosity, vie with the most celebrated structures in Syria. These are four tombs, or rather four sepulchral monuments, which stand near the edge of a ridge of grey rocks running parallel with the sea, and not, as Dr. Porter asserts, "in the desolate plain." The first of these monuments consists of a pedestal formed of a single vast stone, upon which are placed two others which taper upwards, the upper one having a conical top. The whole structure forms a kind of rude obelisk between thirty and forty feet high. Close by stands a second monument of similar but somewhat lower dimensions. Upon a huge pedestal stands another stone, which, at somewhat more than half its height, decreases in size, and then again decreases until it ends in a rounded top. Just below the apex and again below the shoulder there is a battlemented moulding, and the four

\* Just outside the North Gate are the remains of some ancient baths close to the sea.

corners of the pedestal below are sculptured to represent the fore parts of as many lions. These curious and weatherbeaten sculptures belong, doubtless, to a very remote period, and may be regarded with great probability as the most ancient in Syria. Still farther to the north are two more monuments. One of these resembles in its form the second already described, but it is considerably smaller. The other is a structure in the form of a sarcophagus, but covering, not the tomb itself, but the entrance to a tomb, which is approached by a square aperture hewn in the rock beneath its southern extremity. On the sides of the ridge upon which these remarkable monuments stand, the rocks are scarped and quarried in every direction, and in one place I perceived the indications of an ancient road cut in the rock.

Still farther south, to the right of the path, is another interesting building, which at the time of my visit could not be entered, as it stood in a pond of deep water. It is a kind of square tower, built of vast unbevelled stones, and surmounted by a bold cornice. In the midst of the eastern side is a square aperture or door. Hard by was another and somewhat similar structure standing on higher ground, but now a heap of ruins. On a hill considerably to the right I observed another large square structure of stone, which, however, in very stormy weather, and with a march of eleven hours before me, I was unable to visit. Not a human habitation now exists amidst these relics of the past nor around the once populous precincts of Ain el Haiyeh. Yet the lower ground is ploughed in places by the Bedouins, who dot the neighbouring plain with their black tents, and on the rocks are fed numerous flocks of sheep and goats. The almost crimson colour of the soil, especially where turned up by the numerous moles, contrasted beautifully with the green springing corn, and the grassy places were literally bejewelled with innumerable wild flowers. The country around is studded with an immense number of Tels, which would doubtless repay a visit as marking the sites of ancient and long-forgotten towns.

On my way back to Beyrout, between Tripoli and Batrûn, I passed some ancient remains which may deserve mention, as I can find no notice of them elsewhere. These remains consist of the ruins of what was apparently a small temple, situated on lofty ground, commanding a fine view of the sea and of the Ras of Enfeh far below. Two niches in the outer wall are of curious construction. Upon a basement are placed two upright stones, which are flat within, but externally are cut out so as to form recesses or niches, the two upright stones being in both cases surmounted by a single large one. In the fields hard by lie many sculptured stones, a rude piece of a frieze, and a huge circular stone with a shallow basin cut in its upper surface, and designed apparently for an altar. In the road is a cistern hewn in the rock. The place is named Ard Zacroon. On a still higher point, a little to the south, are some other vestiges of ancient buildings.

The town of Jebeil, formerly Gebal and afterwards Byblus, offers many objects of antiquarian interest. A good deal of drafted masonry

exists about the harbour, where also the immense number of prostrate granite columns, which lie about in all directions, testify to the splendour of the colonnades which once adorned the spot. The picturesque castle, still partly occupied by the Turkish garrison, is built throughout of bevelled stones, some of which are incised with masons' marks like those at Tartûs. Its plan exhibits a lofty central keep, surrounded by a massive wall with square towers at each angle, of which one is plainly of later work than the rest. That the whole is a reconstruction is evident from the fact that columns and portions of carved friezes of earlier buildings are worked into the basement of the walls. The building may probably be ascribed to the Crusaders. The keep is entered by a square-headed doorway of drafted masonry (which indeed is employed throughout), and above it is the segment of an arch composed of three stones. The material employed is partly yellow limestone and partly conglomerate or pudding-stone. In an outbuilding a Greek inscription has been built into the wall, and close by a staircase leads down into a passage which is said to end only at the sea. In the garden of a cottage south-east of the town several remains of Roman time have recently been brought to light. Among them I noticed four altars, one in perfect preservation and with its four "horns" complete, a votive niche with its figure wanting, but bearing an *eye* sculptured in relief in the pediment, and two mutilated inscriptions, one in memory of a Roman soldier and the other dedicated to a certain Fortunatus. The principal Maronite Church of Jebeil is a large and handsome Gothic structure. It has three apses with a round-arched window in each. In the front is a pretty rose window. Over the north door is a *Cufic* inscription, and outside it a beautiful Baptistery, of which one side leans upon the church. It exhibits a dome supported by four pillars, and the lofty pointed arches above are enriched with exquisitely varied chevron mouldings. In the yard outside, covering tombs, are two beautifully carved fragments of Greek sculpture in white marble. At the distance of about an hour and a half from Jebeil, and about half an hour from the Nahr Ibrahim, I made a somewhat interesting discovery. This was a cave to the left of the road, within which rude benches have been cut in the rock. I found here great quantities of hard breccia like that discovered by Dr. Tristram near the Nahr el Kelb, and composed of an immense quantity of flint flakes worked by hand, bones and teeth of animals, and sea shells, the occupants of which had, without doubt, been used as food by the primitive inhabitants of the cave. The teeth were, I believe, those of the ox. I was informed that the place is named *Asforeyeh*. In this connection it will be proper to mention a discovery recently made at Beyrût. While waiting for the steamer at Jaffa I purchased of a young American of the United States a beautifully worked lance-head of flint which he had picked up on the Ras. On arriving at Beyrout I took advantage of the late extraordinary heavy rains to visit the spot, which is situated in the midst of the accumulation of blown sand which occupies the highest portion of the Ras. No time could have been more propitious for the purpose, as the



rains had in many places washed the sand entirely away and exposed the hard, dark-red marl beneath, and such an opportunity may not occur again for years. I found that this marl was in places strewn with flakes of flint, amongst which I discovered a beautiful leaf-shaped lance and two saws, shaped out of yellowish flint. Half a mile to the south-east of this spot I came on another place of the same kind, where, if possible, the flint-flakes were even more numerous than in the first. In subsequent visits I picked up two carefully worked lance-heads, some more saws, and two larger implements. That these flint implements were made on the spot is plainly evident, for I discovered at least eight little mounds where the flint-worker had sat chipping at his manufacture. These spots abounded with large flints, as well as in flakes and more perfect specimens. It is to be feared that these interesting mounds will be speedily reburied in sand. Besides the relics of the prehistoric period, this site abounds in [remains of later epochs and people. Great quantities of fragments of broken glass of various colours are strewn about in all directions, and belong, apparently, both to Græco-Phœnician and Roman times. To the latter, also, may be referred the numerous tesserae and pieces of green Egyptian porphyry, verde antico, and other precious and now extinct marbles, which are always signs of occupation by wealthy people. I found also a small Phœnician and a small Roman coin in copper. M. Peretie, I understand, has obtained numerous coins from the same place.

NOTE.—Since writing the above I have seen the Rev. Henry Maundrell's "Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem," 1697; Second Edition, 1707. He gives an interesting account of his visit to Amrit (he did not cross over to Ruad), tolerably correct engravings of the two principal towers, and a plan of the sepulchral chambers, now closed up, which he found underneath them.

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## ARABIC AND HEBREW.

I WOULD call attention to the manner in which many modern Arabic words may differ from the Hebrew or Aramaic, just as do modern Spanish words from the Latin. Thus we have in Latin and Spanish respectively:—Porcus, puérco; Bono, buéno; Bos, Buéy; Capillulus, Cabelluélo; Cornu, cuérno; Tempus, tiémpo. And we have in Hebrew and Arabic:—Socho, Shuweikch; Saphir, Sawafû, &c. Following on this track we obtain from Lûweireh, Loreh; Dâwaiméh, Dumeh; Sûweimeh, Sumeh; Kawassimeh, Kassimeh; Hawara, Hara, &c. No doubt there are many known differences in European languages which may be found to apply also to Hebrew and Arabic. I have to suggest that a few simple rules on this subject might be arrived at which would aid the explorer in rapidly making a tentative examina-

tion of any Arabic word in order to test its likeness to the Hebrew or Canaanitish.

CHARLES WARREN.

18th June, 1875.

### NICHES FOR SKULLS.

*2nd August, 1875.*

IN reference to Lieutenant Conder's opinion that the pigeon-hole niches at Masada were for skulls, I may mention a recent example which I saw in the island of Samos. A small Greek church, built about twenty years ago, had on each of the two bay sides six such niches. Each contained a skull and crossbones—an extraordinary sight. These, I was told, were in honour of the founders of the church. The other bones, as is common among the Asiatic Greeks in burial, had been destroyed by quicklime. Whether this is in any degree a vestige of cremation may be worth investigation. While a Turkish village is surrounded by numerous tombs, giving rise to the vulgar error of the decay [of the population, a Greek village of the same or larger size will not show any beyond the very small graveyard.

HYDE CLARKE.

PALESTINE  
EXPLORATION FUND.

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Patron—THE QUEEN.

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The subdivision of expenditure is as follows:—

Exploration ... ..	70·15 per cent.
Printing and Lithography ... ..	9·8 ,,
Advertising ... ..	1·375 ,,
Office, including Rent, Salaries, and Sundries ... ..	15·55 ,,
Postage ... ..	3·125 ,,

The office expenses are raised above those of last year by an increase of salaries necessarily incurred by the increased office-work. The payment of all officers employed by the Committee monthly instead of quarterly made also a slight difference for the year. In the Notes will be found a statement of the actual current expenses.

(Signed)            W. MORRISON.  
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*Cr.*

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Dec. 31.		Jan. 1.		Unpaid Accounts			
To Subscriptions and Donations	£ 3971	9	9	£1440	19	8	
Publications	128	17	9	Balance	378	8	
Lecture Account	136	14	3				
Photographs	36	10	0				
Balance of unpaid Accounts	1081	14	11				
				By Exploration	2773	14	9
				Printing and Lithographing	392	19	11
				Advertising	55	4	6
				Rent, Salaries, Stationery, and Office	622	1	5
				Sundries	126	17	7
				Postage and Parcels	5033	9	9
				Balance	321	16	11
					£5355	6	8

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aLord C. A. Hervey	1	1	0	aD Murray, Esq.	1	1	0
				aRev. Vernon Musgrave	1	0	0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
aJ. H. Neilson, Esq.	1	1	0	aRev. W. Vincent	1	1	0
aBishop of Nelson	1	1	0	Henry Wagner, Esq.	10	0	0
aJ. R. Norton, Esq.	1	1	0	Miss Wakeham (a£5 5s.)	110	5	0
aGen. F. J. Nuthall	1	0	0	aJ. E. Wakefield	1	1	0
aM. A. Obert, Esq.	0	10	0	aRobert Walters, Esq.	2	0	0
aRev. G. D. W. Ommanney	1	0	0	aCapt. W. Ward, R.A.	1	1	0
G. C. Orral, Esq.	2	0	0	Capt. Warren, R.E. (proceeds			
aRev. J. N. Palmer	1	1	0	of Lecture)	5	5	0
Miss Peache	100	0	0	aWilson Waterfall, Esq.	1	1	0
aD. M. Peebles, Esq.	1	0	0	aJ. H. Watson, Esq.	1	1	0
E. Pewtress, Esq.	1	1	0	aG. F. Watts, Esq.	1	1	0
aAlex. Peckover, Esq., per	2	0	0	aA. B. Webber, Esq.	1	1	0
aJ. H. Plowes, Esq.	1	1	0	aRev. J. C. Wharton	0	10	6
aRev. C. Potchett	1	1	0	aJ. J. Wheeler, Esq.	1	1	0
aRev. R. L. Pratt	1	1	0	aRev. J. O. Whitehouse	1	1	0
Rev. Canon Prescott	2	2	0	aJ. R. Wigham, Esq.	1	1	0
aRev. R. W. Pritchard	0	10	6	aRev. F. E. Wigram	5	5	0
aRev. F. D. Pritt	1	1	0	aSir R. Wilbraham	1	1	0
aRev. E. S. Prout	0	10	6	aCaptain Williams, R.E.	1	1	0
aRev. W. H. B. Proby	1	1	0	aRev. W. W. Willson	0	10	6
aRev. J. J. Purcell	0	10	0	aRev. E. Wilson	0	10	6
aW. H. Rawson, Esq.	1	1	0	aW. A. Wood, Esq.	1	1	0
aMrs. W. H. Rawson	1	1	0	aMiss Woodward	0	10	0
aLady Katherine Raymond	1	1	0	aT. Woodruff, Esq.	2	2	0
aW. R. Reeves, Esq.	0	10	0	aMrs. Baring Young	1	1	0
aRev. A. M. Rendell	1	1	0	aYorkshire Prov. Grand Lodge,			
aRev. T. Rigaud	0	10	0	N. and E. Ridings	1	1	0
aRev. Philpin de Rivière	0	10	0	aN. and E. Ridings Prov. Grand			
aMiss M. Roberts	1	1	0	Chapter	1	1	0
aRev. D. D. Robertson	1	1	0	Per Rev. A. F. Forbes:—			
aJ. N. Robertson, Esq.	1	1	0	Rev. G. Whitmore	3	0	0
aDixon Robinson, Esq.	1	1	0	G. Howard McLean, Esq.	1	1	0
aGeorge Robinson, Esq.	0	10	6	Mrs. Griffiths	0	10	0
aDr. Rogers	1	0	0	Rev. F. Corbet	1	0	0
aMrs. Rouse	0	5	0	Lord Wrottesley	1	1	0
aC. J. A. Rumbold, Esq.	0	10	6	Rev. A. T. Pellham	0	10	
aW. Sandy, Esq.	1	1	0	Earl of Dartmouth	2	0	0
aT. Scarborough, Esq.	1	0	0	Edward Cheney, Esq.	2	0	0
aMiss Emily Secretan	0	10	6	Rev. R. H. More	1	1	0
aMiss Shennan (collected)	0	13	6	Rev. F. Hotham	1	0	0
aRobert L. Smith, Esq.	1	0	0	Mrs. Brasier	1	1	0
aLady Smith	2	0	0	Earl of Bradford	1	1	0
aCol. E. Smyth	1	1	0	Rev. H. T. O'Rorke	0	10	6
aR. J. Snape, Esq.	1	1	0	W. Layton Lowndes	1	0	0
aT. Sopwith, Esq.	1	1	0	R. H. Boycott	1	1	0
N. M. S.	0	12	0	Charles Cooper, Esq.	1	0	0
aRev. G. Studdert	1	0	0	J. N. Miller, Esq.	1	1	0
aDr. Taylor	0	10	6	aMiss Vickers	1	1	0
aMiss Taylor	0	10	6	aMiss Wasey	1	0	0
J. D. Thomas, Esq.	0	15	0	Per Rev. T. C. Henley:—			
aRev. Archer Thompson	1	1	0	Rev. F. W. Pierson	1	1	0
aMrs. Wyndham Tufnell	1	0	0	Mrs. Finn, on account:—			
aRev. W. Twiss Turner	2	2	0	Jan. 19	40	0	0
aRev. S. S. Unwin	1	1	0	March 25	110	0	0
aDr. J. Vaughan	1	1	0	Per Messrs. Williams and Deacon,			
aW. S. W. Vaux, Esq.	1	1	0	per Rev. J. W. Carr	1	1	0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

LOCAL SOCIETIES.

ABERDEEN.

March 24.—By cheque ..... £16 3 0

With the following list:—

Misses Gow, London .....	£1 1 0	J. Chalmers, Esq.....	£0 10 0
Do., per Mr. Singer .....	1 1 0	J. Aiken, Esq.....	0 10 6
Mrs. Maclure.....	0 10 6	J. A. Murray, Esq.....	0 5 0
John Smith, Esq.....	1 0 0	Andr. Murray, Esq.....	0 10 6
John Morrison, Esq.....	0 10 0	W. Smart, Esq.....	0 10 6
Mrs. Macpherson .....	0 10 6	C. Chalmers .....	0 10 0
Do. (second sub.) .....	0 6 0	J. Marr, Esq.....	1 1 0
Rev. H. Cowan .....	0 10 6	Professor Ogston .....	1 1 0
Geo. Thompson, Esq.....	0 10 6	Mrs. John Crombie .....	0 10 6
W. Henderson, Esq.....	0 10 6	Alex. F. Moir, Esq.....	0 10 0
Alex. Nicol, Esq.....	0 10 6	G. F. Duthie, Esq.....	0 5 0
John F. White, Esq.....	0 10 0		
Alex. Simpson, Esq.....	0 5 0		
W. Yeals, Esq.....	1 0 0	Collector's commission 16s. 6d.	
P. Eplennont, Esq.....	0 10 6	Postages draft, &c. ... 2s. 6d.	
Geo. Jamieson, Esq.....	0 10 6		0 19 0
A. Stronach, Esq.....	0 10 6		
W. Hunter, Esq.....	0 10 6		£16 3 0

ARBROATH.

Feb. 17.—By cash..... £10 16 3

Alexander Gordon.....	£1 1 0	Rev. F. Mudie .....	£0 5 0
David Corsar .....	1 1 0	George Yule .....	0 5 0
William Salmond and Sons.....	1 1 0	W. Briggs .....	0 5 0
Andrew Lowson.....	1 1 0	Rev. J. Chalmers .....	0 5 0
James Shanks .....	0 10 6	George Lyon .....	0 5 0
D. Fraser and Sons .....	0 10 6	Alex. Ferguson .....	0 5 0
Balfour and Cumming .....	0 10 0	G. W. Laird .....	0 5 0
A. Nicol and Co. ....	0 10 0	R. W. Phillip.....	0 2 6
Fras. Webster .....	0 10 0	A. Petrie, sen. ....	0 2 6
James Muir.....	0 10 0	Geo. Sturrock.....	0 2 6
W. K. Macdonald .....	0 10 0	H. Paterson .....	0 2 6
William Rollo .....	0 10 0	D. Leslie .....	0 2 6
J. M. McBain .....	0 5 6	J. Lumgair .....	0 2 6
W. Salmond .....	0 5 0	W. J. Anderson.....	0 2 6

AYR.

Jan. 3.—By cash .....

£5 8 0

Subscriptions to Palestine Exploration Fund, 1875:—

Miss Aytoun .....	£0 10 0	John Murdoch .....	£0 10 6
D. Currie .....	0 5 0	R. D. Murdoch .....	1 1 0
Campbell Douglas .....	0 10 6	James McMurtrie .....	0 5 0
Rev. Dr. Dykes.....	0 10 0	Mrs. Macneille .....	0 5 0
John Flint .....	0 10 6	Miss McTaggart.....	0 10 0
General Lennox .....	0 10 6		

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

BELFAST.

March 18.—By cash ..... £6 3 0

Wm. Ewart, Esq. ....	£1 0 0	Mrs. Montgomery .....	£0 10 6
Wm. Q. Ewart, Esq. ....	1 0 0	Charles Druitt .....	0 10 6
L. M. Ewart, Esq. ....	1 0 0	Miss Druitt.....	0 10 6
Charles Thompson, Esq. ....	0 10 6	Mrs. Warnock .....	0 10 6
W. E. Crothers, Esq. ....	0 10 6		

BIRKENHEAD.

March 27.—By cheque ..... £20 0 0

With the following list:—

Jan. 19.—Col. V. King .....	£1 0 0	Feb. 28.—B. Darbyshire, Esq....	£1 1 0
Feb. 15.—Rev. C. I. Stephen...	0 5 0	Mar. 3.—P. A. Williams, Esq.	0 5 0
„ „ Rev. Canon Feilden .....	0 10 6	„ 11.—The Misses Harrison	1 0 0
„ „ Rev. P. R. Robin .....	2 2 0	„ „ H. Bell, Esq., jun....	1 1 0
„ 24.—Miss Thompson .....	0 5 0	„ „ H. Scott, Esq.....	0 10 6
„ „ W. Williamson, Esq. ....	0 10 0	„ 16.—E. Perrin, Esq. ....	1 1 0
„ 28.—S. Stitt, Esq. ....	1 1 0	„ 18.—Rev. M. Fearnley ...	0 10 0
„ „ James Irvine, Esq. ....	1 1 0		

BISHOP'S WALTHAM.

Feb. 18.—By cash ..... £2 12 6

BRIGHTON.

Jan. 3.—Miss Gainsford ..... £1 1 0

BROADSTAIRS.

Jan. 15.—By cash ..... £0 17 6

Miss Brown .....	£0 10 0
Rev. J. H. Carr.....	0 5 0
Mrs. Howard.....	0 2 6

BURNLEY.

March 15.—By cash..... £2 7 0

Rev. C. L. Reynolds .....	£1 1 0
Mr. F. J. Grant .....	0 10 6
L. W. Reynolds, Esq. ....	0 10 6
Mr. Strange .....	0 5 0

CANADA : TORONTO.

Jan. 24.—By cash ..... £51 11 3

	1874.	1875.
	Dols.	Dols.
Chief Justice Draper.....	5	5
C. S. Gzursbi, Esq. ....	5	5
T. S. Steyner, Esq. ....	5	5

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	1874. Dols.	1875. Dols.
Lieut.-Col. Moffatt .....	5	5
D. H. Adams .....	3	3
Rev. R. V. Clementi .....	5	5
Hon. A. Vidal .....	5	5
Rev. E. Rogerson .....	5	5
Chief Justice Hagarty .....	5	5
Hon. W. McMaster .....	5	5
Rev. Provost Whitaker.....	5	5
Professor Wilson .....	5	5
C. Robinson, Esq. ....	5	5
A. McL. Howard, Esq. ....	5	5
Rev. J. Broughall .....	5	5
Rev. L. Taylor .....	3	3
Hon. J. Ferrier .....	5	5
R. H. Dobell, Esq. ....	5	5
Hon. B. Flint .....	5	5
Hon. A. Morris .....	5	5
Hon. J. Aikins .....	5	5
Hon. J. S. Geddes.....	5	5
J. Edwards.....	...	3
J. Beard .....	...	3
J. Reynolds, Esq. ....	5	5
Rev. J. Hebden.....	...	3
Hon. D. L. Macpherson .....	5	5
Hon. Geo. Allan .....	5	5

CORK.

Jan. 5.—T. Duncombe, Esq. .... £9 2 6

DARLINGTON.

Jan. 1.—By cash..... £37 4 0

Rev. T. E. Hodgson, 1874 and 1875, at 10s. 6d. ....	£1 1 0	Mr. Deighton, 1875 ... ..	£0 2 0
Mr. T. L. Pratt, 1875 .....	1 1 0	Mr. Arthur Pease, 1875 .....	10 0 0
Mr. Whitfield, 1874 .....	0 10 6	Mr. C. R. Fry, 1875 .....	1 1 0
Mr. Goddard, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877, 1878, at 10s. 6d.....	2 12 6	Mr. J. W. Pease, M.P., 1875 ...	5 0 0
Mr. Grievson, 1875 .....	0 10 6	Mr. E. Baekhouse, M.P., 1875 ..	5 0 0
		Mrs. G. Pease, 1875 .....	10 0 0
		Mr. S. Elton, 1875 .....	0 5 0

DUNFERMLINE.

March 22.—by cheque .....

With the following list :—

Thomas Alexander, Esq.....	£1 0 0	Messrs. W. and J. Maclaren ...	£0 10 6
George Birrell, Esq. ....	0 10 6	Rev. Alex. Mitchell.....	0 2 6
Rev. James Brown .....	0 10 6	Rev. Daniel Maclenn .....	0 10 6
Robert Donald, Esq. ....	1 0 0	David Russell, Esq. ....	1 0 0
John Duncanson, Esq. ....	0 10 6	Henry Reid, Esq. ....	1 0 0
Rev. Andrew Graham .....	0 10 6	John Ross, Esq. ....	0 10 6
John Landale, Esq. ....	1 0 0	William Reid, jun., Esq.....	0 5 0
Daniel Lamond, Esq. ....	0 10 6	Patrick F. Soutar, Esq. (1875-6)	2 2 6
Jane Macfarlane, Esq. ....	0 10 6	Andrew Wallace Esq. ....	2 0 0
William Matthewson, Esq.....	1 0 0		



LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

EASTBOURNE.

Dec. 31.—By cash .....	£5 5 0
Very Rev. H. R. Alder .....	£1 1 0
F. C. S. Roper, 1874 and 1875...	2 2 0
Rev. H. R. Whelpton.....	1 1 0
Dr. Bransby Roberts ....	0 10 6
W. Routledge, Esq. ....	0 10 6

FARNHAM.

Jan. 24—By cash .....	£6 4 0
Feb. 5.—Rev. G. E. Fox.....	0 10 6

Mrs. Knight .....	£1 1 0	Mr. G. Curling .....	£1 1 0
Mr. K. Bacon .....	1 1 0	Mrs. A. Steven .....	0 10 6
Mr. G. Sloman .....	0 10 6	J. H. Knight .....	1 1 0
Rev. F. E. Utterton .....	0 10 6	Rev. C. Hankey (don.).....	0 10 6

FAVERSHAM.

March 2.—By cash .....	£5 1 6
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Mr. J. A. Anderson, jun. ....	£0 5 0	Mr. W. E. Rigden.....	£0 5 0
Mr. H. Anderson .....	0 2 6	Mr. R. Watson Smith .....	1 1 0
Mr. B. Adkins .....	0 2 6	Mr. L. Shrubsole .....	0 2 6
Mr. C. Bryant .....	0 2 6	Mr. C. Smith .....	0 10 6
Mr. H. E. Coulter.....	0 5 0	Mr. J. Tassell .....	0 5 0
Rev. C. E. Donne.....	0 5 0	Mr. J. Warren .....	0 2 6
Mr. F. F. Giraud .....	0 2 6	Mr. R. Wyles.....	0 5 0
Mr. S. Higham .....	0 5 0		
Miss Jones .....	0 5 0		
Mr. R. J. Hilton ..	0 5 0	Paid for advertising .....	0 5 0
Mr. P. Neame .....	0 5 0		
Mrs. Rigden .....	0 10 0		
			£5 6 6
			0 5 0
			£5 1 6

GREENOCK.

March 3.—By cash .....	£39 0 0
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List of subscribers for year ending 31st December, 1875, per Donald MacDonald,  
Hon. Local Treasurer:—

James Morton, Esq. ....	£3 3 0	Edward Blackmore, Esq.....	£1 1 0
Alexander Currie, Esq.....	2 2 0	John R. Allison, Esq. ....	1 1 0
Duncan Shaw, Esq. ....	2 0 0	Donald MacDonald, Esq. ....	1 1 0
Archibald Adam, Esq.....	1 1 0	Mrs. Andrew Carmichael.....	1 1 0
John Erskine, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Robert Binnie, Esq. ....	1 0 0
James Stewart, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Samuel F. Nicol, Esq. ....	1 0 0
John Macgregor, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Matthew Hill, Esq. ....	1 0 0
John C. Hunter, Esq. ....	1 1 0	J. H. Carmichael, Esq. ....	0 10 0
Colin S. Caird, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Thomas Carmichael, Esq. ....	0 10 0
Wm. McClure, Esq. ....	1 1 0	G. R. McDougall, Esq. ....	0 10 0
Alexander Ferguson, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Wm. Letham, Esq. ....	0 10 0
T. O. Hunter, Esq. ....	1 1 0	D. D. Adamson, Esq. ....	0 10 0
Thomas Prentice, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Rev. Alex. Walker, Millport,	
John M. Hutcheson, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Cumbræ .....	1 1 0
Graham Brymner, Esq. ....	1 1 0	John B. Crawhall, Esq., London	1 1 0
Robert Little, Esq. ....	1 1 0	John Marquis, Esq., Liverpool	1 1 0
Alexander Scott, jun., Esq. ....	1 1 0	George Elder, Esq., Knock	
W. B. Paul, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Castle, Wemyss Bay.....	1 0 0
John Paul, Esq.....	1 1 0	James Miller, Esq., Rothesay ...	1 0 0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

HULL.

Feb. 21.—By cash .....		£26 10 0		
J. P. Bell, M.D. ....	£1 1 0	Rev. Dr. Mackay .....	£0 10 6	
T. Carrick .....	1 1 0	G. Myers .....	0 10 6	
Colonel Francis .....	1 1 0	W. Parker .....	0 10 6	
Rev. E. Jackson .....	1 1 0	H. Soulsby .....	0 10 6	
Rev. Canon Musgrave .....	1 1 0	Mrs. Stamp .....	0 10 6	
J. Pyburn, M.D. ....	1 1 0	Rev. W. T. Vernon .....	0 10 6	
William Sissons .....	1 1 0	Mr. Wake .....	0 10 6	
J. E. Wade .....	1 1 0	Samuel Watson .....	0 10 6	
Mrs. Wilson .....	1 1 0	Rev. G. Wilkinson .....	0 10 6	
R. G. Smith .....	1 1 0	T. Bach .....	0 10 6	
Rev. J. Deck .....	1 1 0	J. S. Elsworth .....	0 10 6	
Rev. J. E. Clapham .....	1 1 0	M. W. Clarke .....	0 10 6	
J. M. Hamilton .....	1 1 0	A. Pickering .....	0 10 6	
Rev. J. Byron, M.A. ....	0 10 6	Mr. Middlemiss .....	0 10 6	
Miss E. Bromby .....	0 10 6	Miss Radford .....	0 10 6	
E. J. Cook .....	0 10 6	J. S. Cooper .....	0 5 0	
C. Copland .....	0 10 6	J. F. Holden .....	0 5 0	
Rev. J. Ellam .....	0 10 6			
G. Hardy .....	0 10 6			26 15 0
J. H. Hill .....	0 10 6	Less postage, &c. ....		0 5 0
T. Holden .....	0 10 6			
W. J. Lunn .....	0 10 6			26 10 0

Wm. Sissons, Treasurer.

IPSWICH.

Jan. 19.—By cash .....		£9 17 0		
Archdeacon of Suffolk .....	£1 1 0	Mr. R. Miller .....	£1 0 0	
G. C. E. Baur, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Rev. W. Potter .....	1 1 0	
B. Binyon, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Rev. C. A. Raymond .....	0 10 0	
W. Brown, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Rev. J. R. Turnock .....	0 10 6	
J. C. Cobbold, Esq. ....	1 0 0	S. Westhorp, Esq. ....	0 10 6	
Rev. S. Garratt .....	1 1 0			

LANCASTER.

Feb. 29.—By cash .....		£6 11 6		
T. Storey, Esq. ....		£5 0 0		
Rev. W. E. Pryke, Royal Grammar School		1 1 0		
J. Daniel, Moore, M.D. ....		0 10 6		

LEAMINGTON.

Jan. 29.—Miss Dall .....		£0 10 6		
March 6.—By cash .....		6 19 6		
Rev. C. Carus-Wilson .....	£1 1 0	Miss Blackburne .....	£1 0 0	
J. Fenn Clark, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Mrs. Marshall .....	0 10 6	
E. Burr, Esq. ....	1 0 0	Miss Collins (Warwick) .....	0 5 0	
Miss Wight .....	2 2 0			

## LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

## LEEDS.

March 29.—By cheque ..... £54 4 0

## LISKEARD.

Rev. J. O. West (2 years) ..... £2 2 0  
W. J. Corin..... 0 10 0

## MALVERN.

March 4.—Rev. R. F. S. Perfect ..... £1 1 0

## MANCHESTER.

March 21.—By cheque ..... £12 4 1

1875.—Already forwarded ... £440 0 6

Jan. 11.—By cheque .. ..... 42 16 0

„ 24.—Ditto ..... 17 4 0

Total for 1875... £500 0 0

With the list:—

W. Cunliffe Brooks, Esq., M.P.	£10 10 0	aRev. W. F. Birch (1876) .....	£1 1 0
H. H. Howorth, Esq. ....	2 2 0	aW. Woodward, Esq. ....	1 1 0
Herbert Philips, Esq. ....	10 0 0	Friend .....	10 2 0
Neville Clegg, Esq. ....	1 1 0	aMrs. Cruso .....	1 1 0
C. L. Clare, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Miss Ffarington .....	1 1 0
Joseph Lee, Esq. ....	1 1 0	aRev. C. F. Buckley ..	1 1 0
aRev. T. A. Stowell .....	0 10 6	S. J. Shaw, Esq. ....	1 0 0
Samuel Cottam, Esq. ....	2 2 0	aF. W. Grafton, Esq. ....	2 2 0
Henry Taylor .....	0 10 6	aH. M. Lawrence, Esq. ....	1 1 0
aJohn Lowe, Esq. ....	1 1 0	aH. Marsh, Esq. ....	1 1 0
J. Armitage, Esq. ....	0 10 0	Lecture at Urmston .....	0 8 6
J. Galloway Meller, Esq. ....	1 1 0	aW. Openshaw, Esq. ....	1 1 0
W. Gray, Esq. ....	1 1 0	aW. Birkenhead, Esq. ....	0 10 6
aRev. H. A. Crosbie .....	1 1 0	aJ. Jackson, Esq. ....	0 10 6
Charles J. Heywood, Esq. ....	5 0 0	Lecture by H. Birch, Esq., at St. Matthew's School, Ard- wick .....	1 0 0
aH. B. Jackson, Esq. (1875-6)	2 2 0	aG. Robinson, Esq. ....	1 1 0
aDavies Colley, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Interest.....	0 6 7
S. Burridge .....	1 1 0		
John Robinson .....	5 0 0		

## NEWCASTLE-ON-TYNE.

T. Hodgkin, Esq., B.A. .... £2 2 0

R. G. Hoare, Esq. .... 1 1 0

## NEWARK.

March 9.—By cash, per Mrs. Tallents ..... £26 6 0

Subscriptions collected by Mrs. Tallents:—

Mrs. Kendall.....	£1 1 0	Mrs. H. Beanston.....	£0 10 0
T. S. Godfrey, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Mrs. Bakewell ..	0 10 0
Mrs. George Gilstrap .....	1 1 0	Mrs. Wilson .....	0 10 0
Mr. and Mrs. Tallents.....	2 2 0	Mrs. Deeping .....	0 10 0
Mr. John Thorpe .....	1 1 0	Miss Lawtons .....	0 5 0
Mrs. Gilstrap .....	1 0 0	Miss Fillingham .....	0 5 0
Mr. Lammin .....	1 1 0	Mr. J. Ridge.....	0 5 0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Subscriptions collected by Miss Readhouse :—

Viscountess Ossington.....	£1 1 0	Mrs. Dring .....	£0 10 0
R. Middleton, Esq. ....	2 2 0	Miss Creasey.....	0 5 0
Mr. J. Bilson.....	1 0 0	Rev. H. A. Martin .....	1 1 0
Mr. E. Bousfield .....	0 12 0	C. Readhouse .....	0 10 6
Mr. Henry Walton .....	0 12 0	Rev. J. Miller .....	0 5 0
R. Warwick, Esq. ....	0 10 6	Captain Sinclair .....	0 5 0
Miss Good .....	0 6 0	Mrs. Taylor .....	0 10 0
R. King, Esq. ....	0 10 6		

By Mrs. Prince :—

Mrs. Hall .....	£1 1 0	Mrs. Howitt .....	£0 5 0
Mrs. Beanston .....	1 1 0	Mr. March.....	0 5 0

By Mrs. Falkner :—

P. R. Falkner, Esq. ....	£1 1 0	Mrs. Hutchinson .....	£0 5 0
Evelyn Falkner, Esq. ....	1 1 0	A Friend .....	0 2 0
Mr. John Harvey.....	0 2 6		

NORWICH.

Feb. 8.—G. Clark, Esq.....£0 10 6

NORTHAMPTON.

Mar. 9.—By cash .....

The Mayor (Jos. Gurney, Esq.)	£1 1 0	T. Wetherell, Esq. ....	£0 10 6
Sir Henry Dryden, Bart. ....	2 0 0	Rev. J. T. Brown.....	0 10 0
Rev. E. T. Prust .....	3 3 0	Mr. W. Marshall.....	0 10 0
T. Scriven, Esq. ....	1 1 0	Rev. M. Barton .....	0 10 0
T. Osborn, Esq. ....	1 0 0	H. Mobbs, Esq. ....	0 10 0
Henry Marshall .....	1 1 0	Rev. S. Gedge .....	0 5 0
P. P. Perry, Esq.....	0 10 6	E. Law, jun .....	0 5 0
E. F. Law, Esq. ....	0 10 6	Mr. J. Smith.....	0 5 0
W. T. Law, Esq. ....	0 10 6	Mr. E. Evans .....	0 5 0
J. Williams, Esq. ....	0 10 6	Mr. Covington .....	0 5 0
J. Williams, jun.....	0 10 6	Rev. N. T. Hughes .....	0 5 0
Rev. H. S. Gedge.....	0 10 6	W. Gray, Esq. ....	0 5 0
Rev. T. Arnold.....	0 10 6	Rev. Geo. Bass.....	0 5 0
Rev. S. J. W. Sanders.....	0 10 6	Rev. E. N. Tom .....	0 5 0
W. Jones, Esq. ....	0 10 6	Right Rev. Dr. Amerst .....	0 5 0
W. Adkins, Esq. ....	0 10 6	P. Gray, Esq. ....	0 5 0
J. Robinson, Esq. ....	0 10 6	Rev. Canon Robson.....	0 5 0
M. P. Manfield, Esq. ....	0 10 6		

PLYMOUTH.

Mar. 15.—By cash .....

John Bayley, Esq. ....	£10 0 0
Rev. W. Sykes .....	1 1 0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

PRESTON.

Jan. 28.—By cash ..... £1 11

T. Lancaster, Esq. .... £1 1 0  
 Rev. R. Bricket ..... 0 10 6

READING.

Jan. 29.—By cash ..... £17 3 0

<i>a</i> Rev. F. E. Williams .....	£1 0 0	<i>a</i> —Allaway, Esq. ....	0 10 6
<i>a</i> Rev. G. G. Smyth .....	0 5 0	—Wellsted, Esq. ....	0 10 6
<i>a</i> Theodore White, Esq. ....	0 10 6	<i>a</i> J. B. Monck, Esq. ....	£1 1 0
<i>a</i> R. Worsley, Esq. ....	0 10 6	<i>a</i> R. Bracher, Esq. ....	0 5 0
Geo. Palmer, Esq. ....	1 0 0	<i>a</i> T. T. Taylor, Esq. ....	1 1 0
W. J. Palmer, Esq. ....	1 0 0	<i>a</i> J. H. Hounslow, Esq. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> H. B. Blandy, Esq. ....	0 10 6	<i>a</i> Rev. W. Payne .....	0 10 6
<i>a</i> Mrs. H. B. Blandy .....	0 10 6	<i>a</i> Messrs. C. and G. Philbrick...	0 10 6
<i>a</i> T. E. Hawkins, Esq. ....	0 10 6	<i>a</i> S. Derham, Esq. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> C. J. Andrews, Esq. ....	0 10 6	<i>a</i> G. Carley, Esq. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Jas. Boorne, Esq. ....	1 1 0	<i>a</i> G. Leyburn Carley, Esq. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> —Long, Esq. ....	1 1 0		

REIGATE.

Jan. 18.—Rev. H. Brass ..... £2 2 0

SCARBOROUGH.

Mar. 2.—By cash ..... £11 0 6

Mr. Travis.....	£0 10 6	Mr. Phillips .....	£0 10 6
Archdeacon Blunt .....	0 10 6	Mr. Thackuray... ..	0 10 6
Mr. Spurr .....	0 10 6	Miss Stephen .....	0 10 6
Mr. Smyth.....	0 10 6	Colonel Kendall .....	0 10 6
Mr. H. Turnbull .....	0 10 6	Miss Stephen .....	1 1 0
Ditto 1874.....	0 10 6	Miss Spence .....	2 2 0
Mr. Graham .....	0 10 6	Mr. C. Peacock.....	1 1 0
Rev. R. H. Parr .....	0 10 6	Rev. J. I. Bedford .....	0 10 6

ST. GERMANS.

Feb. 29.—By cash..... £3 3 0

Rev. Alan Furneaux ..... £1 1 0  
 Henry Pole, Esq. .... 1 1 0  
 R. Kerswill, Esq. .... 1 1 0

## LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

## SEVENOAKS.

March 6. — By cash ..... £5 18 9

1876.		1876.	
Lieut.-Col. Northey.....	£1 0 0	Hire of Assembly Room on	
Edward Webb, Esq. ....	0 10 6	Feb. 25 .....	£2 2 0
Hugh Jackson, Esq.....	0 10 6	Printing and postage of notices	
W. J. Thompson, Esq. ....	1 1 0	of lecture on Feb. 25 .....	1 4 9
Rev. G. B. Lewis.....	0 10 6	Balance .....	5 18 9
Rev. H. M. Gunn .....	0 10 0		
C. A. W. Rycroft, Esq. ....	1 1 0		
Mr. G. W. Harrison.....	0 10 6		
T. G. Jackson, Esq. ....	0 10 6		
Taken at the doors at the			
lecture on Feb. 25, by the			
Rev. R. J. Griffiths .....	3 1 0		
	<hr/>		
	£9 5 6		£9 5 6

## SOUTHEND.

March 6.—By cash ..... £5 7 0

Miss E. A. Heygate.....	£0 10 6	Miss Beard.....	£0 10 0
Mrs. E. A. Heygate.....	0 10 6	Mrs. Haultain .....	0 5 0
Rev. W. E. Heygate .....	0 10 0	Mrs. Moorhouse .....	0 10 0
Mrs. Thos. Heygate.....	0 10 6	Mrs. Whittington .....	0 10 0
Mrs. Burleigh .....	0 10 0	Mrs. Barker (Ireland) .....	0 10 6
J. Page, Esq.....	0 10 6		

## TIVERTON.

Feb. 4.—By cash ..... £5 0 0

March 7.—Ditto ..... 2 9 6

Rev. P. C. Rossiter ..	£0 10 6	Rev. R. Duckworth.....	£0 10 6
Rev. J. Dickinson .....	0 10 0	H. Stokes, Esq. ....	0 10 0
Rev. G. Hadow.....	0 10 0	Rev. E. T. Gregory ..	0 10 0
Rev. E. Highton .....	0 5 0	Mrs. Row .....	1 1 0
Miss Graham.....	1 0 0	Rev. H. A. Jukes.....	0 5 0
Rev. W. Knight .....	0 10 6	Collection (less expenses) after	
H. S. Gill, Esq. ....	0 10 6	lecture by Rev. F. Bellamy...	0 18 6

## TORQUAY.

Feb. 17.—By cash..... £2 11 6

March 23.—Rev. J. H. Howard .....
 4 4 0 |

C. Eyre Parker, Esq. ....	£1 0 0
Miss Gamble.....	1 1 0
Miss Lanfear.....	0 10 6

## TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

On Tuesday afternoon, March 21st, there was a very large gathering at the Great Hall, on the occasion of a lecture in aid of the Palestine Exploration Fund, given by the Rev. R.

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

J. Griffiths, B.A., on the subject of "Our Work in Palestine." The Rev. Canon Hoare presided, with whom on the platform were the Rev. J. Cobb, G. Bartram, Esq. (hon. sec.), and W. F. Browell, Esq.

The CHAIRMAN briefly opened the proceedings, remarking that he looked back with very great interest to the lecture given a year ago, and he hoped the one about to be given would prove as instructive. He spoke of the interest all must feel in Palestine—that land given to Abraham's seed, which belonged to them now, and which every year assumed a deeper interest as the time approached when once more the chosen people would be in possession.

The Rev. R. J. GRIFFITHS commenced by referring to the changes likely to take place, from the present aspect presented by the nations in Europe, affecting the Holy Land, remarking that whatever effect the present movements in the East may have upon the nations, there must be some change in the Government of Palestine, and, perhaps, they may find the long lost tribes are long returning to their inheritance. Reverting then to the subject of his lecture, he said Tunbridge Wells had done much in the past in behalf of the Palestine Exploration Fund, and if they only read the reports, and looked back to the time when the Society was started in doubt and weakness ten years ago, he thought they might congratulate themselves upon having assisted in doing something towards this great work. He then proposed to glance at some of the most important discoveries made, and to explain some striking topographical subjects which had done so much to illustrate Scripture, and lastly, to touch upon the character and nature of a few of the relics which he had brought with him. He made an earnest appeal to them for assistance in the present year, stating their intention to complete the Map of Palestine, for which 1,200 square miles had to be gone over, about six months' work, and adding that it was impossible to tell what political events would be at work even in a week, and what they might be able to accomplish with regard to ancient Jerusalem. Never in the history of the Society had they stood on the threshold of such discoveries as now. He also commended the work to them as a cause not only worthy their active sympathy and support, but also their prayers. It was a work for all time, and which would enable them to read God's Word with a new blaze of light, new force, and new beauty, and he asked them, therefore, not to rest satisfied with what had been done, but to support heartily the future work, believing as he did that the report of the Society in the future would eclipse all that had been dreamt of by their most sanguine friends.

The Rev. J. COBB, who had taken the chair, Canon Hoare being compelled to leave to fulfil another engagement, then addressed a few words to the meeting.

The meeting then closed with the Doxology and Benediction. The collection amounted to £17 9s. 2d.

WARE.

Jan. 13.—By cash, per T. Fowell Buxton, Esq....	£18	8	6
„ 21.—Per Rev. J. Neil .....	1	19	6

WHITBY.

Feb. 15.—By cash .....	£3	5	0
Mrs. Cholmley .....	£1	0	0
E. W. Chapman .....	1	0	0
Mrs. Wells.....	0	10	0
Mrs. J. Brewster .....	0	10	0
Mrs. C. Richardson .....	0	5	0

## LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

## WINCHESTER.

Jan. 26.—By cash.....	£2	12	6
Mrs. Walsh.....	£1	1	0
Miss Forster .....	0	10	6
Miss Zornlin .....	1	1	0

## WOLVERHAMPTON.

March 13.—C. Wheeler, Esq. . . . .	£0	10	6
Mr. W. Sweetman.....	0	10	6

## WORCESTER.

Per Rev. Melsup Hill :—			
Miss M. A. Corrie ( <i>at</i> £1 1s.) .....	£6	6	6
<i>at</i> Miss G. Corrie .....	1	1	0

## ERRATUM.

In last *Quarterly Statement*, for Rev. R. O. Bromfield, 10s. 6d., read £1 1s.



## LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

In the last published list under the head of Chichester, Mrs. Durnford's name was printed Farnford.

Meeting at Mrs. de Bergue's, 17, Kensington Palace Gardens, W.,  
January 6, 1876. Receipts..... £10 5 0

<i>a</i> Mrs. E. Petavel, 84, Avenue Road, N.W.	£0 10 6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Thwaites (care of Mrs. de Bergue) ...	1 0 0
Miss Scott, Ravenscourt.....	0 15 0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Capel Berger, Zion House, Lower Clapton .....	1 1 0
Miss Sladen, Phillimore Lodge, Kensing- ton, W. ....	1 0 0
Mrs. T. Layton, 2s., Miss C. Gallini, 5s. ....	0 7 0
John Noble, Esq., Park House.....	5 0 0
<i>a</i> The Countess of Castle Stuart, Broom Hill, Honiton, S. Devon.....	0 19 6

Meeting at Rev. T. Cornthwaite's, Walthamstow, January 11, 1876 ... 8 2 6

<i>a</i> Mrs. Johnston, Woodford Green .....	£0 10 6
<i>a</i> Mrs. MacInnes, West Heath, Hampstead ..	0 10 0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Rouquette, Walthamstow.. ..	0 10 0
<i>a</i> Miss Rouquette do. ....	1 1 0
Mrs. Stanton (care of Rev. T. Cornthwaite)	5 0 0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Walker, Elm Hall, Wanstead, E. ...	0 10 6

Edinburgh Ladies' Association (secretary Mrs. Main), by Miss L.  
Stevenson ..... 7 2 6

Mrs. Keith Johnstone, 13, Magdala Crescent	£1 1 0
Mrs. Bruce, 18, Athole Crescent.....	2 0 0
<i>a</i> R. S. Wyld, Esq., 19, Inverleith Row .....	1 1 0
Miss Wyld, Lennox Street .....	1 0 0
Miss J. Wyld, London .....	0 10 0
<i>a</i> Mrs. J. Anderson, Dalhousie Change.....	0 10 6
Do. do. ....	0 10 0
Mrs. Robson Scott, 27, Abercrombie Place	0 10 0

From Mrs. Main, balance of subscriptions—

<i>a</i> Miss Boyd .....	0 10 6
Mrs. Miller.....	0 0 6

0 11 0

Ladies' Association, Sydenham. Secretary, Mrs. Standing, South-  
hill, Crystal Palace Park..... 5 6 0

January 17.

Rev. — Franklyn .....	£1 0 0
Miss Messiter.....	0 2 6
Mrs. Jas. Duff Hewitt .....	0 10 6
Mr. H. A. Palmer.....	2 2 0
Rev. J. M. Clark, St. Stephen's Parsonage, S. Dulwich.....	1 1 0
Rev. Jordan Palmer .....	0 10 0

LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

Various sums—

January 19.

Miss Ramsden (collected by), 2, Coates Crescent, Edinburgh .....	£0	17	0
Miss J. Houldsworth, 9, Claremont Terrace, Glasgow ...	1	0	0
αMrs. Marion Pocock, Glenridge, Virginia Water, Staines	0	10	6

Meeting at Lady Smith and Col. Pinney's, Somerton Erleigh, Somersetshire, January 21, 1876..... 10 19 0

Lady Smith and various donations .....	£10	8	6
αEdward Welsh, Sunnyside, Somerton .....	0	10	6

Meeting at J. H. Dickinson, Esq., and Mrs. Dickinson's, Kingweston, Somerton, January 25, 1876 .....

αE. C. Trevilian, Esq., Curry Rivel .....	£1	1	0
αRobert Impey, Street, Somerset .....	0	10	6
αJohn Morland, Glastonbury .....	0	10	6
Capt. J. T. H. Butt .....	1	0	0
Miss C. Magens ..	0	2	0
Servants of Rev. M. Carey and Mr. Dickinson ..	0	6	0
αF. H. Dickinson, Esq. ....	1	0	0

Meeting at Weston-super-Mare, February 1, 1876. Secretary, Mrs. Tomkins ..

Various sums .....	£6	3	8½
αMiss M. Clark, Aldbourn Villa .....	0	10	6

Meeting at Rev. J. H. and Mrs. Stephenson's, Lympham, Weston-super-Mare, February 2, 1876.

Various donations .....

Meeting at Miss Heptinstall's, 3, Rodney Place, Clifton, February 3, 1876 .....

Various donations .....	£3	16	10
αMiss P. Taylor, Valetta Lodge, Clifton Park	0	10	6
Admiral Talbot, Merton Lodge, Oakfield	1	0	0

Meeting at Miss Harris's, Avondale House, Clifton, Down, February 8th, 1876.....

αRev. R. A. Taylor, Norton Malreward, near Bristol .....	£0	10	0
Various donations .....	3	0	2

Meeting at Mr. and Mrs. Wingfield Digby's, Sherborne Castle, Dorset, February 10, 1875.....

Major Falwasser, Sherborne .....	£1	0	0
Various donations .....	7	4	8
αMrs. Wingfield Digby .....	3	3	0
R. Wingfield Baker, Esq., Orsett Hall, Orsett, Essex .....	5	0	0

Meeting at Rev. Canon and Miss Meade's, Rectory, Castle Cary, Somerset, February 11, 1876 .....

Various donations.....	£6	4	0
Mrs. Boyd, Castle Cary .....	0	10	0

LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

Meeting at Rev. Godfrey and Mrs. Thring's, Hornblotton Rectory, Castle Cary, Somerset, February 15, 1876 .....	£6	0	0
<i>a</i> Rev. Godfrey Thring .....	£1	0	0
Mrs. Pratt, Rectory, Shepton Mallet .....	1	0	0
Various donations .....	3	9	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Goldney, East Pennard, Shepton Mallet.....	0	10	6
Meeting at Rev. M. and Mrs. Hawtreys, Rimpleton Rectory, Sherborne, February 17, 1876 .....	2	11	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Hawtreys .....	£0	10	6
Various donations.....	2	0	6
Meeting at Mr. and Mrs. Bennett's, Sparkford Hall, Ilchester, February 18, 1876 .....	7	2	0
<i>a</i> H. E. Bennett, Esq. ....	£0	10	6
Rev. Canon Wynter, Gatton Tower, Reigate .....	1	0	0
Various donations .....	5	11	6
Meeting at Rev. Canon and Mrs. Pratt, Rectory, Shepton Mallet, February 21. ....	4	3	3
<i>a</i> Mrs. F. Spencer, Ashwick Grove, Oakhill, Bath.....	£1	1	0
Various donations .....	3	2	3
Meeting at Dr. and Mrs. Macintosh's, Morden Hall, Torquay, February 25, 1876 .....	12	0	3
Mrs. Hunt, Quintella, Waldon Hill, Torquay .....	£1	1	0
<i>a</i> Miss Hunt, Quintella, Waldon Hill, Torquay .....	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Dr. Ayerst, 2, Belgrave Terrace, Torquay .....	0	10	6
Various donations .....	7	1	3
<i>a</i> A. R. Hunt, Esq., Southwood, Torquay... ..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Miss S. J. Marriott, Asheldon Copse, Asheldon Road .....	0	10	6
Miss Sealy .....	0	5	0
Miss Stone (towards Map of Palestine) ..	0	10	0
(Also Mrs. Macintosh's usual subscription, remitted to the Secretary) .....	1	1	0
Meeting at Mrs. Tinney's, Snowdenham, Torquay, Feb. 29, 1876 . .	24	0	4
<i>a</i> Miss E. Wills Sandford, Highfield, Torquay .....	£0	10	6
<i>a</i> Miss M. Macaulay, Hacqueville, St. Mary Church, Torquay .....	0	10	6
Various donations .....	5	6	10
Mrs. Salisbury, Sherwood, Torquay .....	1	0	0
Miss Haliburton, Grafton, Torquay.....	5	0	0
Mrs. Tinney, Snowdenham, Torquay .....	1	0	0
Rev. Flavel Cook, Clifton .....	0	12	6
Rev. G. S. Hele, Torquay.....	10	0	0
Meeting at Mrs. A. R. Hunt's, Southwood, Torquay, March 2, 1876	3	11	6
<i>a</i> Miss F. Gumbleton, Connemara, Torquay .....	£0	10	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Minton, Belmont, Torquay .....	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Miss Master, Hughfield, Torquay .....	0	10	6
Various donations .....	0	15	0

LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

Mrs. Hodgson Hinde, Balsdon, Torquay	£1	0	0
Miss Gumbleton .....	0	5	0
<i>a</i> Miss Jessie Coats, Northcourt .....	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Charles Martin, Esq., Clannarina .....	0	10	6

Ladies' Association, Earley, near Reading. Secretary, Mrs. C. Stephens,  
Woodley Hill, Earley.

Meeting at Mr. and Mrs. C. Stephens's, Woodley Hill, Earley,  
Reading, March 8, 1876 .....

.....	£28	2	6
Capt. and Mrs. Birch, Park House, Reading	£2	0	0
Mrs. Grahame, Eastern Avenue.....	1	10	0
Geo. Bennett, Esq., Caversham Vicarage...	0	10	0
Mrs. Knox, Sonning, Reading .....	1	0	0
Col. Chambers, Whiteknight's Park, Reading .....	1	1	0
Mrs. Marsland, The Wilderness, Reading ...	1	1	0
Rev. John May, Woodside, Earley .....	0	10	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. May .....	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. D. Birch, Heathfield .....	0	10	6
Miss Waterhouse, Whiteknight's .....	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Miss Vesey, St. Mary's Vicarage, Reading	0	10	6
Mrs. H. B. Blandy, Clifford, Reading .....	0	10	0
Miss Maurice, Graylands, Earley, Reading	0	10	0
Mr. and Mrs. Porter, Earley .....	5	0	0
Mrs. Phillips, Earley Hill .....	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Durand, Earley Vicarage .....	0	10	0
Miss Cowslade, Eastern Avenue.....	0	10	0
J. Cowslade, Esq., do. ....	0	10	0
<i>a</i> C. Stephens, Esq., Woodley Hill, Earley ...	1	1	0
Ditto, ditto .....	5	0	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Stephens, Woodley Hill, Earley .....	1	1	0
Rev. J. W. Taylor, Sawbridge House, Earley	2	0	0
Mrs. Lowndes, Graylands, Earley .....	0	10	0
Mrs. Anderson .....	0	2	6
A Lady .....	0	2	6

Meeting at Miss Buckland's, Blenheim House, near Reading,  
March 10 .....

.....	1	2	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Lockett, Blandford House .....	£0	5	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Wait.....	0	5	0
Various Donations .....	0	12	6

Meeting at Rev. H. and Mrs. de Brisay's, 12, Bradmore Road, Oxford,  
March 13th, 14th, and 17th, 1876 .....

.....	17	3	9
Various donations, 13th and 14th .....	£6	16	3
<i>a</i> Rev. W. B. Caparn, 6, Clarendon Villas	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Miss E. C. Backhouse, 5, Christ Church Terrace .....	1	0	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Lloyd Crawley .....	1	0	0
By Miss Sewell, New College .....	0	17	6
Mrs. Acland.....	1	1	0
Mrs. Lowndes .....	0	5	0
E. and M.....	0	2	0
Pupils at Training College .....	0	10	0
<i>a</i> Rev. H. de Brisay .....	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Gandell, Holywell Lodge.....	0	10	6
Mrs. Talbot, Keble Coll. ....	0	10	0
Col. Chambers.....	1	0	0
Rev. E. and Mrs. Pabner .....	2	0	0

LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

Meeting held at Mrs. Charles', Combe Edge, Branch Hill, Hampstead, March 21, 1876 .....	£12 19 3
aMartin Ware, Esq., Branch Hill, Hampstead .....	£1 1 0
aMrs. J. Matheson, West Heath Lodge, Hampstead.....	1 1 0
aMrs. Lyon, Montague Grove, Hampstead .....	2 2 0
aMrs. Morris, Oakhill House, Hampstead...	0 10 6
aMrs. F. Hill, Inverleith House, Hampstead .....	0 10 6
aMrs. Charles, Combe Edge, Hampstead...	0 10 6
Various donations.....	6 2 9
aMrs. Hugh Matheson, Heathlands, Hampstead .....	1 1 0
Meeting at Col. and Miss Fyers', 25, Kensington Square, W., March 22, 1876 .....	9 13 0
aMiss Gordon, 75, Gloucester Place, Hyde Park .....	£1 1 0
aMiss Matson, 107, Gloucester Terrace, Hyde Park.....	1 0 0
Mrs. Acock, 11, Clarence Parade, Southsea .....	0 10 0
Mrs. Acland, 27, Kensington Square, W. ....	0 10 6
Mrs. Merriman, 45, Kensington Square ...	1 0 0
Mrs. R. Anderson, 7, Kensington Gore ...	0 10 6
Mrs. J. C. Dimsdale, 52, Cleveland Square, Hyde Park.....	1 1 0
Various donations.....	3 15 0
A Lady .....	0 5 0
Meeting at Mr. and Mrs. Johnston's, Woodford Green, March 23, 1876 .....	49 14 0
E. N. Buxton, Esq., Knighton, Buckhurst Hill .....	£10 0 0
W. Fowler, Esq., Forest House, Leytonstone .....	10 0 0
Andrew Johnston, Esq. ....	10 0 0
— Venables, Esq., Wanstead, E. ....	2 2 0
Henry Fowler, Esq., Woodford, E. ....	2 2 0
Capt. Kyndersley, Wanstead .....	1 1 0
F. S. Deck, Esq., Loughton.....	1 1 0
Dr. F. C. Cory, Buckhurst Hill .....	1 1 0
H. Gore, Esq., Wanstead.....	1 1 0
J. Mills, Esq., Woodford .....	1 1 0
A Lady.....	0 5 0

In the July *Quarterly Statement* will be published a complete list of Ladies' Associations.

## LECTURES AND MEETINGS.

ADDRESSED BY LIEUT. CONDER, R.E.

Place.	Date.	Proceeds.
		£ s. d.
Easneye ... ..	...	18 8 6
Ware ... ..	...	15 8 3

REV. H. GEARY.

St. James's, Holloway ... ..	Jan. 18 ... ..	8 6 7
St. Anne's, Holloway ... ..	„ 25 ... ..	4 8 4
Willesden ... ..	Feb. 1 ... ..	3 2 2
Chislehurst ... ..	„ 8 ... ..	6 17 0
Farnham ... ..	„ 22 ... ..	7 0 3
St. Thomas, Portman Square ... ..	Mar. 25 ... ..	8 14 0

REV. T. C. HENLEY.

Malham Tarn ... ..	Feb. 14 ... ..	0 17 4½
Arnccliffe ... ..	„ 15 ... ..	0 13 0
Grassington ... ..	„ 16 ... ..	2 1 6
Kettlewell ... ..	„ 17 ... ..	0 11 9
Malham ... ..	„ 18 ... ..	0 5 6
Airton ... ..	„ 19 ... ..	1 9 8½
Jargrave (sermon) ... ..	„ 6 ... ..	1 7 3
Long Preston (sermon) ... ..	„ 9 ... ..	3 9 10

REV. R. J. GRIFFITHS.

Sevenoaks ... ..	Feb. 25 ... ..	5 18 9
Tunbridge Wells ... ..	Mar. 21 ... ..	20 19 9
Maidstone ... ..	„ 20 ... ..	4 5 7

REV. A. F. FORBES.

Wombourne... ..	...	2 11 6
Wombourne .. ..	...	0 10 0
Weston ... ..	...	1 6 7
Albrighton ... ..	...	3 17 3½
Pallingham... ..	...	2 3 0

Donations and Subscriptions from the Lecture Lists:—

St. James's, Holloway:—

aLady Barrington ... .. 2 2 0

## LECTURES AND MEETINGS.

St. Anne's, Holloway :—									
J. Chamberlain, Esq. (promised) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	£1 1 0
Chislehurst :—									
Rev. F. H. Murray ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 0 0
Farnham :—									
Rev. G. P. Irby ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0
Rev. G. J. Thomas ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0
Anon ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0
Easneye :—									
T. Fowell Buxton, Esq. (don.) ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	5 5 0
Do. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	2 2 0
Mrs. Wigram ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	1 1 0
Ware :—									
R. Hanbury, Esq. ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	10 0 0
Mrs. Collins ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 0
Mr. Collins ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 5 0
Tunbridge Wells :—									
Rev. A. Stnart ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 6
Mrs. Cromwell... ..	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 6
Maidstone :—									
Rev. T. Harvey ...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	0 10 6
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January, 1872; October, 1873; January and October, 1874; January, 1875.

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The Committee would be very glad to communicate with gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

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Agent, Mr. EDWARD STANFORD, 55, Charing Cross.

(1.) A series of one hundred photographs has been selected from those in the possession of the Society, which can be purchased by subscribers for £4, and by non-subscribers for £5. Those marked in the list \* are the 25 best, and can be purchased by subscribers for 25s., and by non-subscribers for 35s. Those marked † are the 50 best, and can be purchased by subscribers for 45s., and by non-subscribers for 55s. A selection of any 25 or 50 can be made at the same terms, but the marked ones are recommended as the best photographs. Each of the three sets forms a complete series of itself. Single photographs from among these selected ones are charged 1s. 3d. to subscribers, and 1s. 9d. to non-subscribers. Lists may be obtained of the Agent or at the Office of the Fund.

(2.) The Moabite Stone. Restoration by M. C. Clermont-Ganneau just ready. At same price as the preceding.

(3.) Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea volume, with letterpress. Ready for Easter.

(4.) Lieut. Kitchener's Fifty Photographs, at the same price as the first series. List on page.

THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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PREFACE.

DURING the winter months necessarily spent in England the officers of the Survey are engaged upon the office work connected with the great map of Palestine. For this purpose a room has been engaged in London. The materials brought home by Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener are of far greater importance than was expected. They consist of an addition to the map-work of 1,600 square miles, chiefly lying in the territory of Judah and Philistia. About 180 square miles of Lower Galilee are accomplished. There remain only some 1,400 square miles to complete the map of Western Palestine from Dan to Beersheba. We may therefore look forward with some confidence to the speedy completion of this part of our work. The reconnoissance of the Negeb, or South Country, with the examination of the ruined cities of that district, and a few disputed sites, will follow.

About 20 miles of levelling between the Mediterranean and the Sea of Galilee have been concluded. It was for this object that the British Association made, in 1874, a grant of £100. A very large number of names have been collected in the low hills of the Shephelah, the proportion previously unknown being nearly nine-tenths. The number of special plans is now 83. Among the new ones are surveys of Ascalon, Arsif, and Beisan, to the scale of a foot to the mile, and one of Masada, showing the positions of the Roman camp and the wall of circumvallation. Among the most interesting late ruins of Palestine are those of the churches. We have now

special plans of thirty of these. Notes on the architectural features of these have appeared from time to time in Lieutenant Conder's reports. The Crusading castles, also of interest from an architectural point of view, have been planned. A very large number of masons' marks have been collected.

Lieutenant Kitchener's photographs are about to be published. A selected list will be found in another page. Among them are many views never before taken, and of the highest Biblical interest, such as the Valley of Elah, the Valley of Sorek, two views of M. Clermont-Ganneau's proposed site of Adullam, the site of Jonathan's attack on the camp of the Philistines, and others. The descriptive letterpress of these photographs will be written by Lieutenant Kitchener himself.

The notes accumulated during the year's work have been far more voluminous than our published reports would seem to show. These reports, indeed, are but a very small part of the whole, which can only be published when the work is completed, and when the descriptions can be accompanied by plans, sketches, and illustrations. Among the notes are some obtained from one of the last surviving monks of Carmel, on the Carmel convents. The identifications newly proposed are now over one hundred. Some of these have been combated, but the Committee, while putting them forward as Lieutenant Conder's conclusions, would ask the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*, if they cannot accept them, to refrain from comment until they can be tested by the safest method of proof, a comparison with the map itself.

The preparations for the return of the party will commence almost immediately, and it is hoped they will again be afield at the commencement of early spring.

With regard to the attack on the Survey Party we have little to report except what will be found in the next page. The claim made by the Consul for payment of expenses incurred is still under consideration.

The plan for diocesan representatives will, it is hoped, lead to a general increase of interest among Church of England people. The Committee are most anxious to let it be known that they are not departing from the undenominational character which the Society

has always preserved. Any suggestions for a similar use of Nonconformist organisations will be gratefully received and considered.

The income of the Fund during the year 1875 has shown a gratifying increase. We ask for continued and *early* support during 1876, the tenth year of our existence.

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### NOTES.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications by officers of the Fund, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.

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Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year at their *earliest convenience* and without waiting for application. It is best to cross all cheques to Coutts and Co., and if so crossed they may be left payable to bearer.

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The Committee are always grateful for the return of old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

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The amount received at the central office between September 30th and December 28th was £1003 8s. 8d. The balance of current accounts at the latter date was £184 12s. 8d.

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Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Associations are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W.

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Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statements* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street, or to the office of the Fund. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," price one shilling. They can be obtained for any year by subscribers who have procured their sets.

## DIOCESAN REPRESENTATIVES.

The Committee have resolved upon obtaining, if possible, a representative and lecturer for every Diocese in England, who will be prepared to give lectures or to preach in behalf of the Fund, and to act generally as organising secretaries within the limits assigned to them. These appointments are by no means intended as a departure from the neutral ground on which the Society rests; but solely as a help to Church of England supporters to the Fund, and, as stated elsewhere, the Committee will be very glad to use the organisation of the Nonconformist bodies in any practicable way which may be suggested.

The following gentlemen have already kindly offered their services:—

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It is hoped to fill up this list before the next *Quarterly Statement*.

Suggestions and offers of help from Scotland and Ireland will be most gratefully received.

## LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

Drawing-room meetings have been held in various places during the last three months. Mr. and Mrs. F. Braby, of Sydenham, gathered a number of their friends together on the evening of Nov. 10, to hear from Mrs. Finn an account of the work. Photographs and water-colour drawings were used to illustrate the subject, and a Ladies' Association for Sydenham was at once formed.

In Edinburgh and Glasgow a series of drawing-room meetings has been held. One on Nov. 12, at the house of the Misses Stevenson, where about 130 were present and listened to the sketch of our work given in about an hour and a half with the help of photographs and drawings, and of a model specially prepared of Mount Moriah and the Temple Enclosure in accordance with the



survey and discoveries of Major Wilson and Captain Warren. Here, and at the succeeding meetings in other houses, contributions were made to the Fund. The Rev. Mr. White (successor to Dr. Candlish), spoke at this meeting.

The next meeting was held on November 15th at the house of the Dean and the Hon. Mrs. Montgomery. The Dean opened the proceedings; among the visitors was the Bishop of Edinburgh.

On November 17th a meeting was held at the house of the Rev. V. G. and Mrs. Faithfull, and on the next day, the 18th, at the house of the Rev. Mr. and Mrs. Main. Mr. W. Dickson, who had himself been in Jerusalem, followed up the account of the exploration, giving the results of his own experience and travels in the Holy Land. The Rev. Mr. Main also spoke, and pointed out in a few forcible sentences the immense value, as shown by these recent discoveries, of the apparently "dry lists of names" contained in the Bible, but which now give us invaluable evidence as to the accuracy of Holy Writ. Mr. Sheriff Campbell added his testimony as to the value, in a legal point of view, of evidence of this nature. Dr. Moir also spoke.

On Saturday, Nov. 20, a meeting was held at Lord and Lady Teignmouth's, and the proceedings were opened by Lord Teignmouth. After Mrs. Finn had described the Exploration work, the Bishop of Edinburgh summed up, drawing attention to the wonderful and unexpected results of the work done in laying bare the mighty works of old, beneath the vast accumulation of rubbish and *débris* in Jerusalem, and well described the accounts of the explorers as being as interesting as a romance in their wonderful details.

The last meeting in Edinburgh was at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Caird, and was presided over by the Rev. F. Horatius Bonar, who opened the proceedings, and spoke with the keenest interest as having himself visited the Holy City, and having followed the reports of the work done and doing there as one who has been on the spot cannot help doing. Mr. W. Dickson spoke here, also, and earnestly commended the work to those present as one which it was a national disgrace to leave incomplete.

The result of these meetings was the formation of an influential Ladies' Association, and a considerable sum was contributed in money. Our warm thanks are due to the ladies and gentlemen above mentioned, and to the Bishop of Edinburgh, for the hearty support which has been given to this effort on behalf of our work.

At Glasgow the meetings were arranged by the local secretaries, the Rev. Donald Macleod, Rev. Prof. Dickson, and Mr. McGrigor, with the active and most kind co-operation of their lady friends. Mrs. Macleod had the first meeting in her own drawing-room on Nov. 23; the next was held at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Collins. The Rev. D. Macleod made a long and interesting speech, kindly here and elsewhere assisting in the proceedings, which, on account of the absence of Mrs. Finn through illness, were conducted by her daughter. Meetings were held at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Alston (Nov. 26), Mr. and Mrs. McGrigor (Nov. 27), Sir James and Miss Watson (Nov. 29). A large meeting of ladies was addressed on Dec. 2, and on the evening of the same day Mrs. Archibald Watson assembled a large party of her friends, among whom was Lieut. Van de Velde, to whose early survey of Palestine, in 1852, we owe the fullest map of the country hitherto published. Here in Glasgow, as in Edinburgh, the ladies have formed an association with the intention of doing all in their power to assist in raising the funds needed for a vigorous prosecution of the work begun by the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Mrs. Finn (The Elms, Brook Green, W.) will gladly give assistance to any ladies who may be disposed to follow the examples given above, by interesting their friends in our work, and helping us to bring it to a successful conclusion.

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#### NEW PHOTOGRAPHS.

Lieutenant Kitchener has brought home with him a small collection of photographs, which have been added to the list of those already published. A selection of twelve will be issued immediately with descriptive letterpress by Lieutenant Kitchener himself (price one guinea). The others will follow. They can be procured of the agent, Mr. Edward Stanford, 56, Charing Cross. The following is a list of the selected twelve :—

1. The Valley of Sorek (1 Sam. vi. 12).
  2. The Valley of Michmash (Judges xx. 31, and Isaiah x. 28).
  3. Mount Moriah.
  4. The Mosque El Aksa.
  5. Elisha's Fountain (2 Kings ii. 22).
  6. Bethlehem.
  7. Interior of the Dome of the Rock.
  8. The Baptism in Jordan.
  9. Cana in Galilee.
  10. Bethany.
  11. The Way of the Cross.
  12. The Holy Sepulchre.
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## THE TRIAL AT ACRE.

IN compliance with instructions received from Sir Henry Elliot, H. B. M. Ambassador at Constantinople, Mr. Noel Temple Moore, Consul at Jerusalem, proceeded to Safed on the 31st August to represent the English interests in the trial of the persons accused of participation in the attack on Lieutenant Conder and his party.

On arrival at Safed he found that the trial was awaiting his presence at Acre, whither the accused persons had been removed.

At Acre Mr. Moore found that his Turkish colleague was Colonel Rushdi Bey, chief of the police force of the Villayet of Syria. It was arranged with the Governor of Acre that the trial should be held before a special commission consisting of Colonel Rushdi Bey, Mr. Moore, the Cadi, and a Mohammedan and a Christian member of the local Medjliss.

The proceedings commenced on Saturday, the 11th of September, in an apartment of the Serai specially allotted for the purpose. Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener personally attended the greater part of the sittings. Great difficulty was experienced at the outset in discovering who were the delinquents. By dint of cross-examination thirteen were inculpated.

The trial closed on Tuesday, the 28th September. At the subsequent meeting of the Commission a paper was produced embodying the views of the Medjliss (for the remaining members had now been added to the original three) as to the punishments to be inflicted, of which the Turkish delegate appeared to have no previous knowledge. Of the sixteen individuals convicted, eight were condemned to two months', six to three months', and two to one year's imprisonment, and £112 10s. was awarded as damages. The eight men sentenced to two months' incarceration were natives of Safed, who were punished chiefly for withholding evidence as to the names of the men who commenced and took an active part in the attack. The other eight were all Algerines settled at Safed. Ali Agha Allan (a connection of the Emir Abd el Kader), who was the primary cause of the fray, and five others, namely, Hadj Arab, Mohammed et Tahir, Ali Zeyyan, and Mohammed Rosa, were condemned to three months, while the remaining two, namely, Kahloush, and the negro Massoud, were sentenced to one year's imprisonment, because they were seen immediately after the attack with weapons in their hands, one carrying a gun and a sword, and the other pistols and a club.

On the reading of the paper strong remonstrances were made as to the inadequacy of the punishments, and on these representations the sum

of £37 10s. was added to the fine, being the value of certain things stolen from the tents; a month was added to the smaller periods of imprisonment, and six months to the sentence on Kahloush and Massoud. Mr. Moore's Turkish colleague concurred with him as to the shortness of the periods of imprisonment, but differed as to the amount of damages. The latter has now been fixed at a sum which we hope will be acceded to by the Superior Court of Damascus.

It is also intended to make efforts to enforce the due execution of the sentences upon the guilty persons. The satisfactory result of the trial is due in a great measure to the vigour and promptitude of Mr. Noel Temple Moore.

### NOTE BY CAPTAIN WARREN.

Sept. 30th, 1875.

I WISH to correct a few misapprehensions into which Lieut. Conder has fallen in recent communications.

*Quarterly*, 3rd July, 1875, p. 166. *Makkedah*. The identification of El Moghar as Makkedah was made by me, and published in *Quarterly* of 1871, p. 91, and in "Our Work in Palestine," p. 217.

*Idem*, p. 134, *Masada*. The "Serpent's Path" was scaled by the Rev. Dr. Barclay and myself in 1867, and I have no doubt is still accessible, though rather a difficult path during the hot season.

*Quarterly*, October, 1874, p. 241. I examined the summit of Kurn Surtabeh in 1867, and found there the citadel of a town, a good plan of which was then in existence, published by Herr Zschokke. C. W.

### NOTE ON M. GANNEAU'S PAPER, "THE ARABS IN PALESTINE."

A CORRESPONDENT sends us the following:—In the remarkable paper on "The Arabs in Palestine" that appeared in your last number, it is stated by M. Clermont-Ganneau, at p. 208, that the fellaheen of Modern Palestine are apparently the descendants of the ancient Canaanite nations. It will be very interesting to ascertain whether this is the case. If it is, it throws light on several passages in Scripture that have perplexed me for some years, I mean those which speak of these ancient tribes as existing in the last days, and being then destroyed by the vengeance of God. I subjoin a list of these passages. It will be found that all of them point more or less distinctly to this fact. Numbers xxiv. 17-24; Isaiah xi. 10-14; xxv. 10; xxxiv. 5, 6; lxiii. 1-6; Jeremiah xlviii. xlix.; Ezekiel xxv., xxxv.; Daniel xi. 41-43; Joel iii. 15; Amos i. 6; ii. 5; ix. 12; Obadiah 17-21. To the above may perhaps be added—Psalm lx. 8; lxxxiii. 6-8, and possibly other passages.

## DISCOVERY AT JERUSALEM.

JERUSALEM, *Oct. 21, 1875.*

IN the piece of ground west of the north road leading from Damascus Gate, about 150 yards from the gate, some interesting tombs have been recently discovered. The proprietor was digging a cistern, and about fifteen feet below the surface came upon rock which sounded hollow when struck. He broke through this and found beneath it some sepulchral chambers. In the structure of the tombs there is nothing very unusual, but in one of the chambers is a large stone chest which, when discovered, contained human bones. It is cut from a single stone, measures 7 ft. 7 in. in length, 2 ft. 8 in. in breadth, and 3 ft. 2 in. in height. It stands upon four feet, and has its rim cut to receive a lid. Some broken pieces of what is believed to have been the lid were found near. The rock roof of the chamber has been cut away in order to admit this chest, which is evidently of far later date than the tombs, which appear to be very ancient. Its use is not very clear. It is not an ordinary sarcophagus, and is much too large for a body. The most probable supposition that suggests itself is that it formed a cover for the protection of the wooden or leaden coffin of some distinguished person which has long since been rifled and removed. Near, perhaps over, this spot once stood the church dedicated to St. Stephen. Is it possible that in this chest we have the last resting-place of Eudocia? I send you an excellent plan and sections of the tombs made by M. Schiek.

THOMAS CHAPLIN.

## THE PARIS GEOGRAPHICAL EXHIBITION.

THE following correspondence has been received on the map work sent to the Paris Geographical Exhibition:—

1. Lieut.-Col. T. Montgomerie, R.E., to the Chairman of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

*Sept. 30th, 1875.*

To the Chairman of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

SIR,—I have the honour to inform you that the Paris Geographical Congress intends to send you a Letter of Distinction in recognition of the services of the Palestine Exploration Fund. This letter will be forwarded to you in due course, as you will see by the enclosed.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

T. MONTGOMERIE, Lt.-Col. R.E.,  
H.M.'s. Commissioner, Paris Geographical Congress.

2. THE Commissary-General, International Congress of Geographical Science, to the Commissioner for Great Britain.

Paris, le 16 Septembre, 1875.

Monsieur le Commissaire,

J'ai l'honneur de vous informer que le Jury International des récompenses du Congrès International des Sciences Géographiques a décerné une récompense de l'ordre le plus élevé au "Palestine Exploration Fund."

Aussitôt que les rapports du Jury me seront parvenus, je m'empresserai de vous adresser cette Lettre de Distinction.

Veillez agréer, Monsieur le Commissaire, l'assurance de ma haute considération,

Le Commissaire Général,  
BARON REILLE.

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South Kensington Museum, 23rd Dec., 1875.

SIR,—I am directed by the Lords of the Committee of Council on Education to acquaint you that their Lordships have received through Her Majesty's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, with a request that it might be forwarded to its proper destination, the accompanying testimonial, or letter of distinction, awarded to the Palestine Exploration Fund by the International Geographical Congress which was held this year at Paris.

It is stated in the despatch received from Lord Lyons that letters of this description are the highest testimonials awarded by the Congress to exhibitors.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient servant,

NORMAN MACLEOD.

The President, Palestine Exploration Fund,  
9, Pall Mall East, S.W.

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Société de Géographie.

Congrès International des Sciences Géographiques.

Deuxième Session, tenue à Paris.

1875.

Lettre de Distinction.

Paris, le 11 Août, 1875.

7<sup>e</sup> Groupe.

Monsieur le Président,—L'Exposition du PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND a paru au Jury International mériter une récompense exceptionnelle.

Les cartes, plans, reliefs, photographies, etc., de la Terre Sainte, envoyés par cette association scientifique au Congrès de Paris présentent une telle importance géographique que les distinctions prévues par le règlement ne pouvaient leur être appliquées.

J'ai l'honneur, au nom du Congrès de porter à votre connaissance cette haute appréciation du Jury et de vous délivrer pour le PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND la présente Lettre de Distinction comme la récompense de l'ordre le plus élevé décernée à l'occasion de l'Exposition.

Veuillez agréer, M. le Président, l'assurance de ma haute considération.

Le Vice-Amiral,

Président du Congrès,

Et de la Société de Géographie, Paris,

DE LA RONCIÈRE-LE-NOURY.

À Monsieur le Président du PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

## EARLY CHRISTIAN TOPOGRAPHY IN PALESTINE.

THE study of the topography of Palestine in periods subsequent to Biblical times is not merely a matter of antiquarian curiosity, it is intimately connected with the more important study of the topography of the Bible. We possess valuable works, like the Onomasticon of Eusebius and Jerome, the ancient Itineraries, and the mediæval travels, Christian and Jewish, containing hints and observations, the importance of which depends on the trustworthy character of the work in which any of them appear. To estimate fairly how far we may rely on these supplementary authorities we must consider the later topography as a whole, and thence deduce the amount of confidence to be placed in any particular statement bearing on Biblical questions.

I have in former reports touched upon mediæval and Crusading sites, such as the *Tower of Eder*, the two *Ascalons*, &c., but a few remarks on the earlier topography of Byzantine Palestine and of the Onomasticon may perhaps be of value.

Of the thirty-three episcopal towns of the Palestina Prima of the fifth-century division of the Holy Land (a district almost exactly answering to the Roman Judæa and Samaria taken together), six only remained unknown in the time of Reland, who has carefull<sub>y</sub> arranged the whole number in alphabetical order. These six are—*Alanus*, between Jericho and Sebaste; *Diocletianopolis*, south of Jerusalem; *Minois*, near Gaza; and *Sozusa Torus*. *Minois* alone is immediately recognisable as being the present ruin of El Minich, on the north bank of Wady Refah, the supposed River of Egypt.

### I.

*Diocletianopolis* was a town of some little importance as an episcopal see, and the bishops appear as early as the Council of Chalcedon, 451 A.D. Reland, however, gives no indication of its position, and the identification depends on a passage in an Italian work called "*Siria Sacra*," of which I discovered a copy in the library of the Carmel Convent, dating 1695 A.D. Here we find that *Diocletianopolis* was on the

road from Jerusalem to Hebron, and "come nota il Baudran" was originally called Bethsaca. Athanasius, mentioned in the papers of the Synod of Jerusalem, was one of its bishops under the Patriarch Peter.

Now we find from Reland that the southern town of Bezek, probably the  $\beta\epsilon\zeta\epsilon\kappa\eta$  of Ant. v. 1, was on the same road from Hebron to Jerusalem, and two miles from Bethzur. It was of this town that Adonibezek was lord (Judges i. 4), whose thumbs and great toes were cut off by the men of Judah after a great battle against the Perizzites and Canaanites in Bezek. Reland, with his usual critical acumen, proposes the identity of this site with the Bezeth of the book of Maccabees; a measurement on the map leads to the same conclusion, for the large ruin of Beit Z'ata, which I have proposed to identify with Bezeth, lies about two miles north of Beit Sur, the ancient Bethzur. It is interesting to observe the existence of those niched vaults which Dr. Tobler, in confirmation of my suggestion on the subject when writing about Beit Jibrin, informs us were originally [Roman] columbaria; they are not common in Palestine, and occur only in parts where other indications of Roman work exist. Here, therefore, as at Beisan, Lydda, Amwas, and in other places, the Hebrew or Aramaic name has outlived the more pretentious title conferred by the conquerors, and the Diocletianopolis of the early Christians, the Bezeth of the Maccabees, and the Bezek of the Old Testament, may, it would seem, be identified, with tolerable certainty, with the important ruins surrounding the modern village of Kúfin.

## II.

Of *Sozusa* I have spoken in former reports. It seems clear that the site of the town lay between Cæsarea Maritima and Sebaste. It is variously written Soscuris and Sorucis, whence the transition to Serúr, which I proposed last year, is easy. Deir Serúr, the town discovered by us between Sebaste and Cæsarea, shows signs of having been a large and important place in early Christian times.

## III.

*Bethar*, another site mentioned in the Itineraries, is of great importance as serving to fix the position of Antipatris. It is called *Bethar* both in the Antonine and in the Jerusalem or Bordeaux Pilgrim's Itinerary; its distance from Cæsarea is variously given as sixteen and eighteen Roman miles, and that from Antipatris was ten Roman miles. It appears to me to agree well with the present village of Tireh on the road from Ras el 'Ain to Cæsarea, which is nearly nineteen Roman miles from the last noted, and about nine from Ras el 'Ain, making twenty-eight in all. This completes the list of distances round Antipatris, which stand as below, affording pretty satisfactory evidence of identity of Ras el 'Ain with Antipatris:—



Lydda to Antipatris	12	Roman miles ;	to Ras el Ain	11½	Roman miles.
Tireh	10	„	„	9	„
Cæsarea	28	„	„	28	„
Galgula (Galgileh)	6	„	„	6	„
Jaffa (150 stadia)	19	„ (?)	„	13	„

The distance, 150 stadia, given by Josephus, agrees with no proposed site for Antipatris, but if we read  $\rho\iota = 110$  for  $\rho\nu = 150$ , a change easily made, we get 13¾ Roman miles, which is quite near enough.

## IV.

*The Onomasticon.* In his valuable introductory chapter Reland sums up carefully the merits and defects of this great work as far as his information allowed him to criticise it. The merits he enumerates are five, the defects five, as below :—

- |          |   |
|----------|---|
| Merits.  | 1. Certainty of correct reading where Greek and Latin agree.                                  |
|          | 2. The annotations and corrections of Jerome.   |
|          | 3. The additional information given by Jerome.  |
|          | 4. Mutual corrections in errors of orthography, names, &c.                                    |
|          | 5. Passages omitted by Jerome recoverable in the Greek text.                                  |
| Defects. | 1. The principal places whence measurements are made are not defined as to relative position. |
|          | 2. The four quarters of the compass alone are noticed, minor divisions being disregarded.     |
|          | 3. Relative positions of ten important places are not given.                                  |
|          | 4. The descriptions are sometimes vague.  |
|          | 5. Irrelevant matter is inserted.   |

To this list I would propose to add another merit and another defect:—

- |         |  |
|---------|--|
| Merit.  | 6. The minute acquaintance shown by Jerome with the out-of-the-way parts as well as with the more frequented in Palestine. |
| Defect. | 6. The impossible identifications of Scriptural sites occasionally occurring dependent on a similarity of name alone.      |

The real value of the *Onomasticon* and other topographical notices by Eusebius and Jerome, seems to me to consist in the accurate knowledge of the country shown by the authors. That the distances should when the text is uncorrupted, be correct, is not a matter of astonishment when we remember that the principal Roman roads, to which alone they refer, were marked with milestones, which remain in numbers to the present day.

As regards the identification of ancient sites, the only advantage possessed by these authors was in the more perfect preservation of the nomenclature in their time as compared with the nineteenth century, but it seems plain that they were far more hasty than modern students of Mr. Grove's school would be in fixing upon a site of similar name without reference to other requisites.

I may add a few examples which seem to bear out these views, and

to show that the value of the Onomasticon lies in its facts and not in its deductions:—

(1st.) As regards knowledge of the country. *Anab*, a town of Judah, is identified by Eusebius with Betoannaba, four miles east of Lydda. Jerome, however, adds a note that many supposed it to be Beth-annabam, eight miles in the same direction. Now in a direction south-east of Lydda we find at the present day, at the distance of five Roman miles, the village of Annabeh on a road which leads five miles farther to Beit Nuba. In these I think we can hardly fail to recognise the Betoannaba and Bethannabam of Jerome.

Under this very head we have, on the other hand, a remarkable instance of misidentification; neither of the sites is within the territory of Judah, and the town of Anab lay in the region of the Negeb or Daroma, where we fixed it as west of Debir (Dháheryeh), some thirty miles from the place where it is fixed by the Onomasticon.

Other instances occur as follows:—Three Gilgals are noticed in the Bible, and occur in the modern nomenclature; with all of these Jerome was acquainted, and he describes them all accurately. Salem, near to CEnon, is placed south of Beisan, but Jerome fails not to notice another Salem eighteen miles from the same centre, but situate in the great plain of Esdraelon. The distance agrees exactly with the village of Salim, near Ta'anik. Jerome even notices that the native place of Nahum the Elkoshite was pointed out to him in Galilee, near Jordan—no doubt the present Elkasyun, near the Huleh lake, giving us an idea of the extent of the more out-of-the-way parts of Palestine visited by this great author in his wanderings.

(2nd.) The instances of incorrect identification are very numerous. Thus, Betam, or Bethemin, which lay four miles from the Terebinth of Mamre, is evidently the modern Beit 'Ainún at about that distance from Ramét el 'Amleh, where the terebinth was in the fourth century supposed to have stood. Yet Eusebius would identify it with Ain, a city of Simeon lying in the Beersheba desert. Bareca and the Valley of Blessings are now identified with the ruin of Breikút and Wady Arrub. (I may observe in passing that W. el Arrub is probably the Arruboth of 1 Kings v. 10, in which case the Soeh mentioned with it would be Shiukh, a town close to Wady el Arrub on the south.) Jerome makes Kefr Barucha to be identical with the modern Beni Naim. He further mentions a Bareca as near Ashdod, probably the modern Burka, close to Esdúd.

## V.

A few more obscure sites mentioned by the Onomasticon may be very easily identified. Thus, Kaphar Zachariah, near which existed the House of the Terebinth, and where the tomb of Zachariah was found, is no doubt the modern *Kefr Zakaria*, near which is a Christian ruin called Deir el Butm—Convent of the Terebinth. Masphe, a Mizpeh lying north of Eleutheropolis, is no doubt *Khirbet el Meshrefeh* in the

same direction, the name having the same meaning as the Hebrew *Mispeh*. Bera, eight miles north of Eleutheropolis, is evidently the modern *Khirbet el Birh* at about that distance. If, as M. Ganneau thinks, the Timnath of the Onomasticon is to be sought near the road from Eleutheropolis to Jerusalem, a *Khirbet Tibneh* will be found to exist in that direction, besides the two well-known ruins of the same name which probably represent Timnah of Samson and Timnath of Joshua. To nearly all these sites, correctly described by Eusebius and Jerome, incorrect identifications or suggestions are added by those authors.

The Survey of Palestine will, I hope, show clearly that the topographical lists of Joshua are neither fragmentary nor unsystematic; that, as I have before pointed out, the towns are grouped under their royal cities, and occur in regular order. Such classification was first hinted by Mr. Grove; the new identifications by M. Ganneau observe the rule, and so agree well with those of the Survey. It seems to me, therefore, that identifications, whether ancient or modern, which disregard such conditions, and trust, as did Jerome or Eusebius, to similarity of sound alone, are but of little value, and serve rather to confuse what we have already made certain.

A place called *Chasbi* is mentioned by the Onomasticon as a deserted spot near Adullam. It seems identical with the Achzib or Chezib of Josh. xv. 44, which again appears Micah i. 14, in connection with Maresha and Adullam. It seems also likely to be the same as Cason (*Κασων*, LXX. Alex.), translated in authorised version "in the harvest time," which if a town was near Adullam. This forms a good check both on the identification of Adullam by M. Ganneau and on my own identification of Achzib or Chezib with Khirbet Kussa, "the ruin of the tale" taking the place of the Hebrew "town of liars," and the site being at a distance of about five miles from 'Aid el Mi'ch. This is an instance of the true value of notices in the Onomasticon.

*Abel Meholah* is a case in which the identification of the Onomasticon seems correct. It existed eight miles south of Beisan, and has therefore been placed on Murray's new map at a ruin called Shukk. It seems, however, to have escaped notice that the name still exists under the form 'Ain Helwe, in the plain east of Shukk and west of Sa'kút, the "meadow of circles" being the broad downs of the south end of the Beisan valley, but the name now transformed into "Sweet Spring."

*Gaba of Horsemen*, a town on Carmel, is often mentioned in the Itineraries. Eusebius places it at Gabe, sixteen miles from Cæsarea. The place is of importance as defining the limit of Lower Galilee. It is evidently the modern Jeb'a, on the west slopes of Carmel, not far from 'Athlit, but this village is not to be found on Murray's new map of Palestine.

## VI.

A few mediæval sites from other sources may be mentioned in the same connection. *Bethelia* was a town with a famous heathen temple

situate close to Gaza. It is no doubt the modern Beit Lehia, which lies among the olive groves north of the city, and retains its religious character by the mosque and minaret which no doubt replace the ancient temple. *Capbar Gamala* was the place to which Gamaliel, according to a venerable tradition, conveyed the bones of St. Stephen after martyrdom, and where they were afterwards miraculously discovered. It was twenty miles from Jerusalem, and may therefore be identified with Beit Jemál, near Yermúk, an identification which I do not find noticed in the Bible Dictionary.

In a former report from Beit 'Atáb I proposed with some diffidence that the little tomb house of *Sheikh Samit*, standing prominently above the valley of Soreg, near Ser'a, might have some connection with a tradition of the tomb of Samson. I now find, in the course of my studies of mediæval writers, that as late as 1334 A.D. the tomb of Samson was shown to Isaac Chelo, in this same village, which renders the connection with Sheikh Samit highly probable.\*

In the same Jewish Itinerary we find mention of *Roma* or *Rumal*, where was the cave of Caisran whence the Messiah was expected to appear. I have shown in a former report that this cave is to be found at the modern ruined village of Rumeih. The tradition originates in an extraordinary Targum on Exod. xii. 42, which runs as follows: "For Moses goeth forth from the desert and King Messiah from Roma." Isaac Chelo, as well as other Jewish travellers of the same date, show throughout a familiarity with the Targums and Talmud which is very valuable in some of the Galilean sites, as I hope later to be able to show in the case of Capernaum.

## VII.

The advent of the Crusaders acted as a disturbing element in the topography of Palestine. Their knowledge of the country was very imperfect, their imitation of Arab names is barbarous, and the mistakes made in sites not generally famous are numerous. The passion for localising sacred memories had reached its height in the ninth century. Thus in 700 A.D. Arculphus visited only seven or eight holy places in Jerusalem, but Bernard the wise, in 867 A.D., notices about twenty, and a few more were added in the twelfth century. A well-known instance of Crusading error exists in the identification of the modern Arsuf, a coast town north of Jaffa, with Antipatris, Asher, and even Ashdod. In the same way William of Tyre places Porphyryon, which stood, according to the ancient Itineraries, between Sidon and Beirut, at Haifa, and accordingly we find that the Bishop of Haifa, or Porphyryon, was under the metropolitan of Cæsarea. This error has a certain value because it serves to show that the town of Sycaminos is not to be placed at Haifa, but as having a bishop separate and distinct

\* I see that M. Ganneau (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1875, p. 211) mentions a tradition, evidently of Christian origin, in which Sheikh Samit appears as the brother of Shamsihún el Jebbar.

from the Bishop of Porphyriion, must be considered a separate site, and placed probably (from its distance in the Antonini Itinerary) at Tell el Semak, where are remains of a considerable early Christian town, as pointed out by the late Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake and by myself in former reports.

The Crusaders, as Reland remarks, even confounded the Sea of Galilee with the Mediterranean, and placed the site of some places mentioned in the New Testament as near Tiberias on the shore of the Mediterranean. Thus they supposed a connection between the name of the town Caiapha or Caiaphas (the modern Haifa), which Benjamin of Tudela makes to have been founded by Caiaphas the high priest, and Cephas, the Greek name of Simon Peter. Hence, at Haifa the Crusading clergy showed the rock where Simon Peter fished, possibly the present Tell el Semak, or "mound of the fish." A second rock was shown at Jaffa, probably near the Church of St. Peter, with the same tradition. To this curious confusion of ideas may also perhaps be traced the existence of a Crusading Capernaum between Caipha and Cæsarea.

In a former report (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1875, p. 90) I supposed this site, called Kefr Tauchumin by Jerome and the Talmud, and Kefr Thaucum or Capernaum by later writers, to be the present Tantura; the distances given by Benjamin of Tudela, however, serve to place the Crusading Capernaum at the modern village of *Kefr Lam*, where are remains of a mediæval fortress. This will appear from the Itinerary as below:—

Caiphas to Capernaum, 4 parasangs = 14 English miles.	} Benjamin Tudela.
„ Cæsarea 10 „ 35 „	

The true distances are:—

Haifa to Kefr Lam, 14 English miles.
„ Cæsarea, 36 „

These brief notes will, I hope, be enough to show that a great amount of incidental information as to scriptural topography is to be obtained by study of the obscurer sites mentioned in Talmudic and early Christian writers. Where, however, the more famous, such as Capernaum, Gilgal, &c., are concerned, ecclesiastical tradition of the middle ages tends rather to confuse than to assist the student. C. R. C.

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## ROCK-CUT TOMBS.

THE question of rock-cut sepulchres being one of special interest in Palestine as connected with the great question of the Holy Sepulchre, I may perhaps be allowed a few words to supplement Dr. Tobler's notice in the last *Quarterly Statement*.

In the course of the Survey I have examined some 400 or 500 tombs, and have obtained about 100 plans, endeavouring always to get some indication of the date of the structure.

The four species mentioned by Dr. Tobler may be divided into two groups: 1st, those with *kokim*; 2nd, those with side loculi. He does not mention the other varieties common in Palestine, viz., 1st, graves not in rock chambers; 2nd, rock-sunk graves with two loculi.

Of each of these four divisions there are specimens serving roughly to fix the date.

1st Group. *Kokim tombs*.—These have been variously described as tombs with the “perpendicular,” “pigeon-hole,” “oven,” “deep,” “sunk,” or “long” loculus, to all of which titles Dr. Tobler objects, proposing the very simple expedient of securing uniformity of description by returning to the original Jewish title, which I intend in future to adopt. Such tombs are carefully described in the Talmud, and the dimensions there given tally with the average size of chamber and graves of this class.

There seems to me evidence in Palestine itself of these tombs being Jewish work. In many cases the *kokim* exist in one chamber, with loculi differently arranged in another, but in every case, as far as my experience goes, it is the *outer*, or more ancient chamber, which has the *kokim*, whilst the loculi exist in the inner or more recently excavated.

The scanty inscriptions in Hebrew which I have found on tombs have all belonged to tombs with *kokim*, and I have never seen a Christian or a Greek inscription on such a tomb. The seven-branched candlestick we have also found only on tombs with *kokim*.

Another indication of antiquity may be found in the osteophagi to be discovered often in these chambers. They bear, as described by M. Ganneau, Hebrew inscriptions which he dates at about the first century A.D. The first of these inscriptions were communicated to the Fund in August, 1873, by Dr. Chaplin. As the osteophagi are not sufficiently large for an entire body, yet contain the bones of adults, it seems evident, as he then remarked, that they can only have been used after the body had decayed and the skeleton fallen to pieces. If, then, they were used to preserve piously the bones of former occupants of the *kokim*, when it was desired to place other bodies in these receptacles, it seems to argue a great antiquity for the *kokim*.

That further accommodation was often so obtained without the labour of rock excavation, we see clearly at Beisan, where sarcophagi of full size have been ranged parallel with the side loculi of the chamber.

2nd. Group. *Side loculi tombs*.—Under this head I would include the three varieties mentioned by Dr. Tobler as *shelf* graves, *trough* graves, and *sunk* graves.

The disposition is in either case the same. An arched recess, generally 6 to 7 feet long, and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, and 5 to 6 feet high, is cut at the back and on either side of the chamber. The loculus consists either of

a grave sunk in this recess, or more generally there is a rock wall reaching 2 to 3 feet up in front, and thus forming a deep sarcophagus covered with flat slabs. If the recess is not on the level of the chamber floor we have the shelf loculus. In either case the body lay with its side (not with its feet) to the wall of the chamber. Thus the title *side loculus* applies to all. There seems no distinction of date between the three kinds, but rather one of labour, the better tombs containing the trough loculus, which required more labour, though more than one kind may be found in the same tomb.

In some cases more than one loculus exists under one arch or arcosolium. A sort of transition style may be recognised where two loculi exist with a space between under one arcosolium, but endwise to the outer chamber like *kokim*.

These tombs appear later than the *kokim* tombs. I measured a great number of valuable examples with Greek inscriptions (some known) at Suk Wady Barada (ancient Abila). In Palestine itself I found an example with a Greek graphita at Sheikh Bureik. The inner or more recent chambers of the *kokim* tombs have often side loculi. At Shefa 'Amr, a seat of the early Rabbis, I visited such a tomb highly decorated with Christian emblems and a Greek inscription. Unless we suppose that other nations buried their dead with the Jews, we must conclude this to be a later Jewish style of tomb. This fact may be cited in favour of the authenticity of the traditional Holy Sepulchre.

3rd Group. *Graves without chambers*.—The Romans in Palestine seem to have used columbaria or sarcophagi, but a few examples occur, as near Seffurieh, of sarcophagi sunk in the rock, and covered with the usual lid. Another kind of grave, which is indeed the arcosolium cut in the face of a cliff instead of within a chamber, occurs in cemeteries of the second group. The columbaria exist in well-known Roman sites, such as that of Diocletianopolis, which I hope to show clearly is to be found at the modern village of Kufin, an interesting identification, and, as I think, quite new.

4th Group. *Rock-sunk tombs*.—By this term I have invariably described a kind of sepulchre not mentioned by Dr. Tobler, and scarcely known to exist near Jerusalem. One example occurs on Olivet, and others were planned by M. Ganneau in the Kerm es Sheikh. It consists of a trough some 6½ feet long, 3 feet wide, and from 4 to 5 feet deep, sunk in the flat surface of the rock, and covered by a great block 7 feet long; on either long side of the trough exists a recess or arcosolium, with a grave sunk in its floor. Thus the tomb held two bodies, and no more, placed side by side, with the trough between.

According to native tradition these tombs are Christian. A large cemetery of such exists in connection with a mediæval tower at Iksal, and is known as the Frank cemetery. The tombs are supposed to have held man and wife.

Several of this class of tombs give instances of Greek Christian inscriptions, as that found by M. Ganneau at Kh. Zakeriyeh. In the one on Olivet were found two leaden coffins with crosses upon them.

None of these systems of burial seem to have had any reference to orientation, and are hence not used by the Moslems.

A few specimens of structural sepulchres on the first or second system exist in Palestine.

Thus arranged and dated, we find the method of sepulture used by each succeeding race, Jew, Heathen, or Christian, in Palestine.

The Crusaders seem to have been buried as in Europe, thus we may confine group No. 4 to the Byzantine period, when a great deal of rock excavation was executed.

A careful paper, should I have time to draw it up, with plans of the important specimens collected by us, and professional opinion on the architectural details, would, I hope, in our present state of information, go far to settle the question of date, which would render the sepulchres thus classified of extreme value to antiquarians. C. R. C.

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### KALAMON.

In his paper on the Jerusalem Itinerary, published in the "Bulletin de la Société de Géographie" for July, 1875, M. Ganneau calls attention to the omission of the name Kalámun upon our map of Carmel as well as upon those of M. Guerin and Vandevelde, whilst it is to be found on the maps of Robinson, Ritter, and Jacotin. The explanation is simple, and, as in many other cases in Palestine, I have little doubt that the place has two names, the second of which is suggested by M. Ganneau, and actually appears on our map.

Ritter places Kalamón north-east of El Keniseh. Kalamón is mentioned by Isaac Chelo (1334 A.D.) as an important ruin near the sea, between Sycaminos and Cæsarea. The French army, in returning from Acca, passed through a place of the same name, and in the Notitia of the Roman knights it is mentioned as the quarters of one cohort and of certain native mounted archers. There is, therefore, little doubt as to its whereabouts, and M. Ganneau concludes thus: "Par induction la position de Kalamoun tomberait d'après ce raisonnement un peu au nord du point marqué oW dans la carte du Lieutenant Conder en face de Ferch Iskander." This position agrees with that given on Murray's new map.

I find, on inspecting the specimen map of Carmel, published in the Palestine Exploration Fund *Quarterly* for January, 1875, that the "point marked oW" in question is a well. M. Ganneau appears to have mistaken the small circle which in large surveys generally marks a well for the letter o; W. of course stands for well. A little to the north-east is a ruin of some importance occupying the position of the Kulmon of the new Murray; it is called by us Khirbet Kefr el Samír, and contains rock-cut tombs. On reference to the ruin list I find it to consist



of heaps of stones, and that a lintel with a cross cut on it was observed—an indication, as we suppose, of the place having been inhabited by the early Christians before the time of the Crusades.

M. Ganneau himself suggests the identity of Kalamon and the Castra of the Talmud (קכטרה). This site is mentioned by the Gemara as situate in Galilee near Khíphah, apparently the modern Haifa, and it is noted as one of the places inhabited by the Minim or pagans. "The Jews dwell in Khiphah, but the Minim in Castra" (cf. Reland, s. v.). This mention of its inhabitants makes it almost certain that the Castra of the Talmud is the Castra Samaritorum noticed by Antony of Piacenza as near Sugamia (Sycaminos), and beneath the monastery of the prophet Elijah. One other step alone is required in the identification, and I think it will hardly be denied that Kefr el Samír (village of the Samír) is the corruption of Castra Samaritorum (camp of the Samaritans), for the simple reason that the monastery in question is none other than the Dayr at Ain Siah, a spring known to the Carmelite monks as the Fountain of Elijah.

It is not to be supposed that Antony of Piacenza refers to the convent at present existing, which dates only from 1825 A.D., or to its predecessor on the same spot founded in 1631.

The convent of St. Brocardus was founded in 1209 at the Fountain of Elijah. In 1238 the monks were all massacred and thrown into a large reservoir still existing beneath the fountain, whence the valley over which the ruins of the convent stand is known as the Valley of Martyrs. A curious legend of the petrification of certain fruits by the prophet attaches to the place. The owner of the garden existing in Elijah's time (and still flourishing) refused to give the prophet any of its fruit, and said his ground produced only stones. "Stones be they," was the angry reply, and the petrified plums and melons are still visible, though a heretical geologist might give them the harder appellation of geodes. This site is mentioned by Mr. Drake (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1873, p. 15), and we possess detailed notes as to the remains of the convent. It will be found to be placed on the map half a mile north of Kefr el Samír, and is considerably higher up the side of the hill. The two serve to verify one another, and may plainly be identified with the Castra Samaritorum and convent of Elijah mentioned by Antony of Piacenza.

It seems, therefore, that we have recovered the more important of the two names by which this site was known at different periods. Whether the other title, Calamon, still exists in the memory of the peasantry it will be easy to find on revisiting the spot; meanwhile it is satisfactory to be able to show that an important ruin has not been omitted in the survey work.

C. R. C.

## THE SYNAGOGUE OF UMM EL AMUD.

August 15th, 1875.

THE only synagogue of the interesting group in Galilee first explored by Major Wilson which the survey party have as yet examined is that of the ruin of Umm el 'Amud on a hill east of the Buttauf plain. I have not found this mentioned in any of the early travels in Palestine which serve to identify and date many of the other synagogues, and, indeed, the name of the site is lost, being replaced by the modern title, meaning "Mother of the Column."

The synagogue is much ruined, and a part has been removed to build a sort of small keep or fortress south of it, near the Roman road. There are, however, traces of four rows of columns, and the plan seems to have been identical with that of others, namely, five walks, three doors to the south, and a double column (as described and sketched in Major Wilson's paper, *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1869), at the north end of the two outer rows of pillars. Of these outer double columns the greater part of that on the north-west corner is here standing *in situ*; the other has fallen and lies near to its original position. The bases of the two most southern columns, flanking the middle walk, are also *in situ*. Thus we have the means of ascertaining both the length and the width of the synagogue. The measurements thus obtained give a striking indication of the standard used, which seems to me to be clearly the medium cubit mentioned by the Talmudical writers, which was used in the measurements of buildings, and which from actual measurement of the unit (the barley-corn), of which it contained 144, has been fixed by some writers at 16 inches.

Measurements taken.	Feet.	Cubits.
Length of colonnade 53ft., approximately .	(53' 4")	equals 40 cub.
Breadth of two walks 26ft., do.	(26' 8")	„ 20 „
Base of a column measures .....	2' 4"	„ 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ „
Upper diameter do. ....	1' 8"	„ 1 $\frac{1}{4}$ „
Total height of pillar (abaqus to base incl.).	13' 4"	„ 10 „
Height of pedestal and stylobate .....	1' 4"	„ 1 „
Capital of attached pilaster.....	8"	„ 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ „
Lintel main door, length.....	8' 4"	„ 7 „
Do. do. height .....	2' 4"	„ 1 $\frac{3}{4}$ „

The decayed state of the ruin prevented the two main measures from being taken within a few inches, but they are near enough when taken with the exacter measures of the details.

The outer wall of the synagogue has disappeared beneath rubbish, but the entire plan of the building can perhaps be recovered by comparison with more perfect specimens. Thus in the width we have five walks ten cubits broad, giving fifty cubits interior measurement.

The length of the colonnade is 40 cubits, which with 6 columns

1½ cubits base gives an intercolumniation of 5·9 cubits, or about 7' 10", being very nearly the same as that of the synagogue of Arbela, which is exactly 6 cubits = 8 feet. Adding 6 cubits on either end of the building (in imitation of the plan of the Tell Hum synagogue), we obtain a total interior length of 52 cubits, being 4 cubits short of the length of the great synagogues of Tell Hum and Kerazeh.

The capitals of the pillars are of a very simple character. Attached pilasters seem to have been built against the walls either in or outside. A stylobate of simple moulding, identical with that of the pedestals on which the pillars stood and sixteen inches high, ran round the building.

In the little keep I found, besides pillar shafts of dimensions identical with those of the synagogue, three lintels which probably belonged to the three southern doors of the synagogue. The longest, 8' 4" by 2' 4", represents two lions flanking a base, which may perhaps represent the pot of manna (see Photograph No. 73, old series). They are boldly though roughly cut; the stone is broken in two. The other two have sunk centres with a surrounding conventional border of a very effective twisted pattern.

It would be very interesting to know the date of this building, but of this we have no positive evidence.

It is known that Rabbi Simeon bar Iochái built twenty-four synagogues at his own expense. Among these were the synagogues of *Kefr Birim*, *El Jish*, and *Meirán* (where he is buried), visited by Major Wilson, also one at *Etham*, of which we have, I believe, found the site, with two others as yet unknown at *Tiria* and *S'asa*. This famous doctor and builder, called "the great light," and also "the spark of Moses," is said to have been the author of the cabalistic book *Zohar*. He lived about 120 A.D.

The six synagogues enumerated above date, therefore, from the very commencement of the second century. It is extremely probable that the synagogue of Umm el 'Amed may be attributed to the same date and the same builder.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

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## THE STONE OF FOUNDATION AND THE SITE OF THE TEMPLE.

[*The substance of this paper has already appeared in the ATHENÆUM.*]

### I.

THE question whether the "stone of foundation" was a portion of the solid rock or a movable stone is one of considerable interest in connection with the topography of the temple. If the former, it will be easy to fix with all but absolute certainty its position, and from it as a starting-point, to lay down the sites of the temple, altar, and courts, with no

more uncertainty than the uncertain value of the cubit renders inevitable.

The use of the word  $\text{בִּזְוֵן}$  would imply that it was a movable stone, but its (supposed) history, as given by the Rabbis, quite removes it from the category of ordinary stones and represents it as the centre\* or nucleus from which the world was founded. "It is taught that from it the world was founded, which is the same as to say from Zion the world was created. The doctrine of the Bareitha is that Rabbi Eliezer said the world was created from its middle, as is said, 'when the dust groweth into hardness and the clods cleave fast together' (Job xxxviii. 28). Rabbi Joshua said the world was created from the sides. . . . Rabbi Izaak (Niphka) said the Holy One, blessed be He, threw a stone into the sea, and from it the world was created" (Yoma, 54b). Rashi explains: "Zion was first created, and around it the clods were compacted together until the world was completed on every side." The teaching of the Talmudic doctors therefore indicates clearly that the *aren shateyah* was rock, and not a detached stone, and also affords an explanation of the use of the word  $\text{בִּזְוֵן}$  in connection with it. Originally, according to their ideas, it was a stone, but when from it the world was created, either by a process of accretion from without, as R. Joshua held, or by a kind of growth from within, as taught by R. Eliezer, it was no longer a stone, though still retaining the name, but the foundation of the world, the holiest spot on earth, † "Zion the perfection of beauty," the place where the ark of the covenant was deposited, and where alone the "visible majesty of the divine presence" manifested itself. ‡

The notion that it was a movable stone appears to have arisen in later times, and to rest upon no better authority than that of the Toldoth Yesu—a work containing so many silly and blasphemous stories that its statements can hardly be regarded as worthy of serious consideration. Moreover, the testimony of this book is by no means of a definite character, for whilst, according to Buxtorf (Lex. Talm. 254f), it represents the stone as identical with that which the patriarch Jacob anointed at Bethel, the edition of Wagenseil gives quite a different account of its

\* In subsequent times the Church of the Holy Sepulchre was made the site of this as well as of some other traditions stolen from Mount Moriah.

† The Rabbis have, indeed, a quibble that the chamber over the Holy of Holies was holier than the most holy place itself, because it was entered only once in seven years, whereas the Holy of Holies was entered every year (Pesach. 86a).

‡ The expression "from the time of the former prophets" (Samuel, David, and Solomon) appears intended to indicate that in the time of the second temple there was no doubt about the site of the Holy of Holies in Solomon's building. Tosefta Yoma (ch. ii.) expressly notes that the ark had been placed upon the stone of foundation. About the extent of the holiness of the most holy place towards the east in the second temple there was a doubt (Yoma 51b, and R. Obadiah on Midd. iv. 7).

origin—namely, that King David, when digging the foundation (of the temple), found it “over the mouth of the abyss” with the name engraved upon it, and that he brought it up and placed it in the Holy of Holies.

On the whole, then, it is difficult to come to any other conclusion than that the *aven sheteyah* was a portion of rock projecting three finger-breadths upwards from the floor of the Holy of Holies, covering a cavity which was regarded as the mouth of the abyss, revered as the centre and foundation of the world, and having the ineffable name of God inscribed upon it.\*

## II.

The statements made in the Talmud, and repeated over and over again with great accuracy by rabbinic writers, supply us with the following data—viz.:

1. The stone of foundation (in other words, the solid rock) was the highest point within the mountain of the house, projecting slightly above the floor of the Holy of Holies.

2. There was a gradual descent from it by means of several flights of stairs to the floor of the mountain of the house opposite the eastern gate, the difference of the level of these two points being twenty-two cubits (and three finger-breadths).

3. A line produced from it through the centre of the house towards the Mount of Olives would intersect the top of that mount.

4. From it the rock sloped downwards on the western, northern, and southern sides, as well as on the eastern, a “solid and closed foundation” six cubits high being made all round the house in order to raise the floor to (within three finger-breadths of) its summit. On the eastern side this solid foundation was covered by the steps leading down to the court, but whether these steps extended along the whole breadth of the house is uncertain.

5. Although the difference in level of the floor of the mountain of the house at the eastern gate, and the floor of the temple was (as above stated) twenty-two cubits, the rise of the ground outside the courts, from east to west, was such that the floor of the temple was only twelve cubits above it at the southern and (perhaps) northern gates of the upper court.

The summit of the Sakhrah under the great dome of the rock is the only spot in the whole enclosure which answers to these data, and it will not be difficult to show that it answers to them in a very remarkable degree.

The Holy House, with its courts, was not in the centre of the enclosure,

\* It is impossible not to suspect in these Jewish traditions the origin of the sacredness which the Mohammedans have attached to the Sakhrah. The “stone,” which was the foundation of the world, might afford a fitting resting-place for the Prophet on his mysterious journey, and the “great abyss” may well have suggested the awful legends which still cling to the “well of souls.”

but was nearer to its western boundary than to its northern, nearer to its northern than to its eastern, and nearer to its eastern than to its southern; in other words, the largest free space was on the south, the next on the east, the next on the north, and the smallest on the west. In the Tosifoth Yom Tov and Middoth, the following measurements are given—viz.:

Northern space	...	...	...	...	...	...	115 cubits.
Breadth of court (north to south)	...	...	...	...	...	...	135 ,,
Southern space	...	...	...	...	...	...	250 ,,
							<hr/> 500
Western space	...	...	...	...	...	...	100 cubits.
Length of court (west to east)	...	...	...	...	...	...	187 ,,
Eastern space	...	...	...	...	...	...	213 ,,.
							<hr/> 500

What authority the author may have had for this statement I know not, but taking it as a useful hypothesis from which to work, and reckoning the cubit at twenty inches,\* we find (1) that if the centre of the Sakhrāh be regarded as the centre of the Holy of Holies, the northern boundary of the mountain of the house would come to within a few feet of the northern limit of the present platform, where is the scarpèd rock discovered by Captain Warren; (2) that the northern boundary would come to within a few feet of the entrance of El Aksa, a point near which other considerations would lead to the supposition that the mountain of the house terminated; (3) that the western boundary would fall a few feet west of the foot of the present western ascent to the platform; and (4) that the eastern boundary would fall within a few feet of the present eastern wall.

The difficulty presented by the large space left on the west between the present boundary wall and the boundary of the ancient enclosure, as here supposed, may be met by remembering the probability that there were houses (treasuries, dwelling-houses, &c.) on the western side, and that these may have occupied the space.

As to the levels. Within 153 $\frac{1}{2}$  feet east of the centre of the Sakhrāh the rock should descend 10 feet; 93 feet farther east, where the court of

\* The choice of 20 inches is of course purely arbitrary. In building their tabernacles the Jews still make use of the hand-breadth, closing the hand and doubling in the thumb. Such a hand-breadth, as I have ascertained by repeated measurements, is seldom less than 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches, giving a cubit of 21 inches. Sometimes the point of the thumb is made to project upwards and included in the hand-breadth, which of course makes the latter much larger, and brings the cubit to 26 or 27 inches. It may be hoped that it is still within the bounds of possibility that the ancient standards preserved in Shushan Habbirch (at the eastern gate) may be recovered.

† I here follow Rabbi Obadiah in taking the distance between the altar and the lowest of the steps leading up to the porch to be three cubits (cf. Midd. iii. 6, and the Commentaries).

the women began, there should be another descent of 16 feet 8 inches; and 225 feet still farther east another of 10 feet. Altogether the ground should be 36 feet 8 inches lower than the top of the Sakhrah at a distance of 513 feet towards the east.

Within 58 feet of the centre of the Sakhrah on the north and on the south the rock should descend 10 feet (to the level of the upper court), and 54 feet farther on the south, and perhaps on the north, other 10 feet (to the level of the mountain of the house at that part).

Captain Warren's valuable sketch-map of the levels of the Haram Area which faces page 159 of "Our Work in Palestine," shows that if the Sakhrah be thus taken as representing the Holy of Holies nearly all these levels will fall in without straining.

On the north there is some reason to suppose that the descent from the court was not so rapid as on the southern side. The house Moked, which was there, is understood by the rabbinic writers to have been built on the ground, and the northern half of it was certainly outside of the court, so that we need not be surprised to find that the rock makes its farther descent at a greater distance from the Sakhrah on the north than on the south, which the map shows to be the case. The descent into the court of the women is a greater difficulty, because the drop of the rock appears to be too far east, but it will be evident that these distances and measurements cannot be regarded as absolutely exact. The doubt about the cubit prevents it. Also the uncertainty as to whether the stairs leading up to the court projected into the court or outwards towards the mountain of the house. Those between the court of Israel and the court of the women are generally supposed to have projected outwards towards the latter, but the slope must have commenced farther west, because there were chambers under the court of Israel opening into the court of the women. The steps leading up to the court of the women from the east are believed to have been outside that court in the *chel*. Possibly some of these steps may have been cut in the rock itself. Another element of uncertainty is *the possibility of the top of the Sakhrah having been cut away since the temple was destroyed*,\* also the question to what extent the space eastward of the courts was filled up artificially. A not unimportant topic of inquiry is whether there were steps leading up to or from the eastern gate of the mountain of the house, or whether that gate was on a level with the ground outside and inside, questions to which I have not been able to find a satisfactory answer in the Jewish writings. Rashi, indeed (in Berachoth 54a), speaks of the eastern gate being "outside of the mountain of the house in the low wall which was at the foot of the house," but it is not certain from this that he understood steps to lead up to the higher level,

\* This is in fact a very probable supposition. Possibly the Mohammedans may have shaped it to suit their purposes, and made the gutter upon it to carry off the blood of their sacrifices.

nor is his opinion on such a subject decisive. Maimonides intimates that from the eastern gate to the end of the *chel* was one level; apparently this was from the inner side of the gate. (Beth Habbech vi. 1.)

Relative to the summit of the Mount of Olives the position of the Sakhrah is precisely that indicated in the Talmud as the position of the Holy of Holies. I have repeatedly proved by observation that a person standing on the top of the mount (near the minaret) may look straight through the little dome (judgment-seat of David) and the door of the dome of the rock towards the Sakhrah, and conversely, that a person placing himself at the eastern door of the latter building and looking away in a line at right angles to the door, will look straight at the top of the Mount of Olives, a few feet south of the centre of the minaret.

THOMAS CHAPLIN, M.D.

JERUSALEM, *September 24th*, 1875.

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## THE IDENTIFICATION OF THE ALTAR OF ED.

THE following letter expresses difficulties which have been felt by many with reference to Lieut. Conder's proposed identification of the Altar of Ed. The paper has been shown to Lieut. Conder, who has furnished a reply to the various points raised by Dr. Hutchinson. The substance of this is appended.

“Let us run through the narrative, and see how clearly it both implies and states that the Witness Altar stood on the *left* or *eastern* bank of Jordan; that it was erected by Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh within the borders of their own inheritance, and therefore could not possibly be identified with the western Kurn Surtabeh.

The Lord had given “unto Israel all the land which He swore to give unto their fathers; and they possessed it, and dwelt therein” (Josh. xxi. 43). And so Ephraim, in whose territory the Kurn stands, was in full possession and enjoyment of his lot, stretching from the Mediterranean right up to the west bank of the Jordan.

Mark this fact as bearing on the argument, and recollect also that Shiloh, the great rendezvous, whence Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh started for their inheritance, was also in Ephraim, and only about four and a half miles west of the Kurn.

The western tribes being in full enjoyment of their inheritance, and Reuben, Gad, and half Manasseh having faithfully fulfilled their compact (Numb. xxii. 17-19; xxxi. 32), Joshua solemnly blesses and dismisses them to their trans-Jordanic inheritance, warning them significantly to “take diligent heed to do the commandment and the law which Moses, the servant of the Lord, charged” them (Josh. xxii. 5). As a result of this warning the trans-Jordanic tribes raised this Witness Altar in their own isolated inheritance for the information and instruction of their descendants. When and where was this altar raised?



“The children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh returned, and departed from the children of Israel out of Shiloh, which is in the land of Canaan, to go unto the country of Gilead, to the land of their possession. . . . And when they came unto the borders of Jordan, that are in the land of Canaan, the children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh built them an altar by Jordan, a great altar to see to. And the children of Israel heard say, Behold, the children of Reuben, and the children of Gad, and the half-tribe of Manasseh have built an altar over against the land of Canaan, in the borders of Jordan, at the passage of the children of Israel” (Josh. xxii. 9-11).

Clearly, then, the erection of the altar was not accomplished while the two and a half tribes were on their march; separated from their homes and belongings by the length of the campaign, they would naturally hurry homewards, and it was not until they had passed over Jordan unto “the country of Gilead,” Gad’s inheritance, and directly opposite Shiloh, that the two and a half tribes resolved upon building the Witness Altar. That it was erected in the Gilead “borders of Jordan” is evident, because—

1. The deputation sent by the children of Israel and headed by Phinehas, was ordered over “into the land of Gilead,” and *there* encountered the two and a half tribes (Josh. xxii. 13-15). It is more than probable that Phinehas opened his speech with the Witness Altar in full view; and, as it were, tangible, when he exclaims, “What trespass is this that ye have committed against the God of Israel?” (Josh. xxii. 16.) The *point* of the deputation and its address would have been lost if the disputed altar lay in foreign territory, even though that was the territory of Ephraim.

2. It is impossible to believe that the halt of the returning tribes around the Kurn, not five miles from Shiloh, and their operations on its summit, would have prompted the wording of Josh. xxii. 11, “And the children of Israel heard say.” Such a proceeding in the great and quarrelsome tribe of Ephraim, hard by the sanctuary at Shiloh, could not have been a matter of *hearsay*; and if the altar took a long time to erect the work could easily have been arrested *in limine* by the heads of the tribes residing at Shiloh. Clearly the intelligence came, as if from afar, *after* the deliberate erection of the altar, and I think the *hearsay* report implies that it was not within eyesight or earshot of Shiloh, which it would have been if erected on the Kurn Surtabeh.

3. It is impossible to believe that this Witness Altar could have been erected by the trans-Jordanic tribes on territory other than their own; Ephraim would have resented the intrusion, and certainly would take no pains to keep the monument in repair; this would naturally be the care of its erectors, but could hardly be maintained in a foreign tribe, separated from them by the at all times rapid and yearly-inundated Jordan.

4. Again, the main object of the Witness Altar would have been defeated if it had been erected on the right bank of the Jordan. The two

and a half tribes clearly foresaw (what eventually happened) that the rapid and annually-flooded Jordan would slowly but surely raise a separating barrier between the eastern and western tribes. Mark their words: "If we have not rather done it for fear of *this* thing, saying, In time to come your children might speak unto our children, saying, What have ye to do with the Lord God of Israel? For the Lord hath made Jordan a border between us and you, ye children of Reuben and children of Gad; ye have no part in the Lord" (Josh. xxii. 24, 25). To obviate this, and bearing in mind the parting words of Joshua, "Take diligent heed to do the commandment and the law which Moses, the servant of the Lord, charged you" (Josh. xxii. 5), the trans-Jordanic tribes determined on erecting the Witness Altar, an exact representation in masonry of the brazen altar at Shiloh, to which they might appeal. "Behold the pattern of the altar of the Lord" (Josh. xxii. 28).

The western tribes had the original altar at Shiloh, and would not require its pattern on the Kurn, only five miles off; its presence there would not have the significance which would be conveyed by its erection on a trans-Jordanic site. It was not a witness for the *western* against the *eastern* tribes, but for the *latter* against the former, consequently they (the latter) would jealously guard their witness model, and keep it in careful repair, for upon its entirety depended their right to membership in the national theocracy. Such being the case, could they consign the Witness Altar to the precarious care of the opposite tribe? Surely not; the witness must be on their side of the Jordan, or, in the words of the narrative, "over against the land of Canaan;" it must be in their safe and jealous custody, and easily accessible to children and children's children.

5. I do not think the expression "over against the land of Canaan, in the borders of Jordan" (Josh. xxii. 11), can bear any other interpretation than of exactly fixing somewhere on the *left* bank the site of the altar; the words are apparently added to clear up the somewhat ambiguous description of the tenth verse. The site is further localised by fixing it "at the passage of the children of Israel," and here the northern extremity of that great passage must be alluded to. We are told in Josh. iii. 16, "that the waters which came down from above stood *and* rose up upon an heap very far from the city Adam, that is beside Zaretan." Now Zaretan (the modern Zertán) is to the north, but in the name of the Damieh ford, we have probably traces of the city Adam (Lieut. Conder), so that we cannot be far from the whereabouts of the Witness Altar. Why may it not be sought in the great eastern range directly opposite the Kurn, figuring in Robinson's map as the Mountain of Gilead, and culminating in Jebel Osha?

6. I cannot understand how Lieut. Conder *can* make the expression "children of Israel" applicable to the two and a half tribes only; if so, then analogy requires the application of the term throughout this particular narrative, and so ver. 9 and others ought to read, "And the children

of Israel (*i.e.*, the two and half tribes) returned and departed from the children of Israel out of Shiloh."

7. Lieut. Conder treads on very dangerous ground when he brings in a casual local appellation to suit a name which really does not exist; the word "Ed" after altar does not exist in the generally received Hebrew text, but was supplied by our translators. The passage is literally as follows: "And the children of Reuben and the children of Gad named the altar, because that is a witness (Ed) between us that Jehovah is God" (Grove); so that Ayd has been unwarrantably treated in having his name assigned to a non-existent locality. I venture to bring forward with equal pretension a name which may assist in localising my eastern site; for to the north-west of Mount Gilead, directly opposite Zaretán, and between the Wadys Aylun and Zurka, I find (on Robinson's map) the name Abu Obeidah, the mid syllable of which, *eid* or *eyd*, is as close to Ed as Ayd is.

I stated at the outset of my paper that "a careful consideration of the Scripture narrative, without any critical disquisition, is alone sufficient to upset Lieut. Conder's theory;" let me now by way of disquisition add Josephus's crushing testimony against the western site.

"Now, when the tribe of Reuben and that of Gad, and as many of the Manassites as followed them, were *passed over the river*, they built an altar on the banks of Jordan, as a monument to posterity, and a sign of their relation to those who should inhabit *on the other side*. But when those *on the other side* heard that those who had been dismissed had built an altar . . . they were about to *pass over the river*, and to punish them for their subversion of the laws of their country. . . . Accordingly they sent as ambassadors to them Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, and ten more persons that were in esteem among the Hebrews, to learn of them what was in their mind when, *upon passing over the river*, they had built an altar upon its banks."—*Antiq. B. V.* These extracts clearly show, what I have attempted to prove, that the Witness Altar was erected *after* the passage of the river, that its site must be sought on the *eastern*, and not on the western bank of the Jordan, and that, therefore, it could not possibly be on the Kurn Surtabeh.

Brighton, June 30, 1875.

R. F. HUTCHINSON, M.D.

Lieut. Conder replies in substance as follows:—

1. The Bible and Josephus are silent as to the keeping of the altar in repair, and as to its being in sight of Phineas during his speech on Mount Gilead.

2. The Kurn cannot be seen from Shiloh. A high range of mountains separates them, and it would be difficult to find one point whence both could be seen at once. Also, the distance between the two places is *eleven miles*, not *five*. Therefore, the Kurn is not "within earshot of Shiloh."

3. The children of Ephraim not only would have resented, but historically *did* resent, the building of the altar on their ground.

4. The object of the altar was not to preserve the memory of the brazen altar (by the Mosaic law all the men of the eastern tribes had to visit Shiloh and the brazen altar once every year); but "lest your children should say unto our children . . . the Lord hath made Jordan a barrier between us."

5. The expression "over against the land of Canaan" is explained by Gesenius to mean in *the fore part, in front of*. It must be borne in mind that the word *Canaan* means the "hollow country," or "low country," the Canaanites being the "Lowlanders." In Josh. xi. 3 we find "the Canaanite on the east and on the west," *i.e.*, east and west of the hills. The Arabs of the Ghor ("hollow or sunken country"), as well as in the plain of Sharon, now called the Ghawarni, thus correspond to the eastern and western Canaanites. It is therefore most probable that the Ghor is meant by the "land of Canaan" in this case, and the translation "over against" will not militate against the site proposed.

6. Lieut. Conder calls attention to the identification proposed by himself of Zaretan with Tellul Zahrah (see *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1874). No "modern Zerthán" is known as yet to exist.

7. The discovery of names which are "casual local appellations" has always been considered one of the strongest evidences which can be advanced in favour of any identification, and the more casually obtained the better.

8. The name of the altar is "Witness" in the Septuagint and in Jerome. The word *Ed* occurs in the Hebrew, and the meaning is clearly as in the A. V.

9. As regards the suggestion of another site, Abu Obeidah, "admitting the propriety of depriving a Bedouin proper name of two out of three syllables for the sake of an identification of the one remaining (and this, moreover, in a case where the first syllable omitted contains a guttural so strong as never to be lost or added in any known case of identification), I would ask a scholar to compare *Ed*, written *Ain, Daleth*, with my *Ayd*, written *Ain Yeh Dal*, and with Dr. Hutchinson's *Eid*, written *Yeh Dal*. It is well known to philologists that the *Ain* is never lost, though sometimes changed to *He*, in the conversion of Hebrew names into their present Arabic form. Thus, the remaining syllable in *Obeidah* lacks the most important letter of the syllable it is supposed to represent.

10. As regards the quotation from Josephus, the word used is *διαβαρτες*, as they were going over, or when they crossed.

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## MEETING AT MANCHESTER.

*The following report of the Meeting of December 8 is taken from the MANCHESTER COURIER of December 9. Lieutenant Conder has himself supplied the address:—*

A meeting in connection with the Palestine Exploration Fund was held in the Town Hall of this city yesterday afternoon. The Very Rev. the Dean of MANCHESTER presided, and there was a numerous attendance of ladies and gentlemen. Lieutenant Conder, R.E., the officer in command of the Survey expedition, was present, and delivered an address.

The Rev. W. F. BIRCH, the local secretary, explained the object of the present meeting. The survey of the Holy Land had to be discontinued last summer, and it was intended to resume it again in February. He was anxious that another meeting should be held in Manchester in order, if possible, to obtain money, so that those engaged in the survey might be enabled to complete it. The people of Manchester had promised to raise £500 in support of the fund, and he was happy to be able to say that £400 of it had been received. (Applause.) He had no doubt that the other £100, and even more, would be forthcoming. (Applause.)

The DEAN said they must all feel indebted to Mr. Birch for his prompt action in this matter. If the exploration was to be resumed next February, it was quite time that the Committee in London, who were responsible for the expenses, should know what means they had at their command. As to the advisability of their attempts to raise money for such a purpose, he did not think there could be two opinions. All Christians, of course, must grant that the knowledge of the Holy Bible and everything that enabled us to understand it more clearly was of immense importance to us; but not only Christians, but those who did not profess any Christian obligation, must still be called upon to help in this matter. The object of this fund was to enable us to become better acquainted with the Bible, and he was sure we could all read it more intelligently when we had before us a trustworthy map, by means of which we should be enabled to solve difficulties. Merely upon that ground he thought it was a fair thing to appeal to the whole community to help in such a matter. (Hear, hear.) When we thought of the life of our Lord, and how our hearts bounded within us when we considered the possibility of having looked upon His countenance when He was on earth, he was sure that every person must have a desire to possess a more accurate and perfect knowledge of the Holy Land in which He lived, and where we had the record of His short life on earth; and he could not conceive that any one could object or be cold-hearted in such a movement as this. (Applause.)

Mr. H. LEE, who has visited the Holy Land, said that he acceded to the invitation of Mr. Birch to address that meeting with great pleasure. The interest he felt in the Holy Land had been greatly deepened since he had had an opportunity of going over it. He had heard of some people who had come away from Palestine disappointed, who stated that all their previous views of the country were wrong, and who had come back with the impression that the country had no interest whatever for the Christian man. But it depended very much upon the mood in which any man travelled in that country, and he (Mr. Lee)

thought that if a man went over it in a right frame of mind, he must come back with a deeper interest in it than he had before. (Hear, hear.) To those of them who were familiar with, and were constantly in the habit of reading the Word of God, such knowledge was invaluable; and as they believed that the Bible was the one great book of all others on the face of the earth, the more accurate their knowledge of the spot to which it related, the more value it would be to them. (Hear, hear.) A great deal had been done during the last few years in the investigations which have been made in the Holy Land. The researches that had been made illustrated several portions of Scripture, and upon that account alone he thought they should do all they could to forward this great work. (Hear, hear.) It was a work which would throw additional interest round the Word of God, and therefore they ought to support it. Another reason why it claimed their support was because they must have some regard to the future destiny of Palestine, and whatever might be the destiny of that country it would be a very great matter to have a good map of it while we had the opportunity of getting it. (Hear, hear.)

#### LIEUT. CONDER'S ADDRESS.

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,—I hope that the subject upon which I have the pleasure of addressing you this evening will prove of sufficient interest to atone for an unpractised speaker.

The sound of the words Ordnance Survey of Palestine is rather suggestive perhaps of a dry subject, and I am afraid it is so considered by the majority of the English public. I hope, however, that I shall succeed in showing you that our work has an interest not only for the scientific and professional public, or for critical students of the Bible, but generally for all those who have ever thought of or cared for the Holy Land and the Bible history.

The Palestine Exploration Fund originated in the discovery made by certain English scholars who were engaged on Smith's great Bible Dictionary that our information as to the Holy Land was more deficient and inaccurate than had been at all suspected.

It was found that the best published maps contradicted one another; that the chances of finding any place mentioned in the Bible on such a map were more than five to one against success; that scarce a point was to be found in Jerusalem concerning the correct position of which any two authorities would agree; that the only scientific and accurate explorer of the century was an American, whose work was not by any means exhaustive. Of the manners and customs of the natives, Christian, Mahometan, Jewish, Druse, or Samaritan, scarcely anything was known. Their dress, their traditions, their very nationalities, were alike unstudied. Thus the dictionary, which was intended to illustrate with accuracy the innumerable details of local colouring which occur on every page of Old or New Testament, was obliged to seek materials in standard works on Egypt or Persia, as nothing of trustworthy information existed concerning the Holy Land itself. Scarcely any photographs of Palestine scenery had

been taken, and the pictures which endeavoured to give a realistic rendering of Biblical events are few and far between.

But yet further. One of the most important and interesting comments which at this remote period of time we can make on the Biblical narratives is that which refers to the topography of the country. Take any one of the numerous episodes of the Old Testament, the history of Gideon, of Samson, or of David, for example, you find the most minutè details of time and place continually occurring. Could such details be studied on the spot, and could it be shown that there is a wonderful truthfulness of detail in each and all, it is evident that we should thus obtain a testimony to the genuine and contemporary character of the history perhaps more valuable than any other criticism now practicable. To all who wish to see the opponents of the Sacred Record met on their own ground with arguments the force of which they must allow, such a work cannot fail to be of great interest. (Applause.)

I have often been asked what results have been gained by the operations of the Fund, since no great discovery has ever been reported from Palestine. I answer that in another two or three years, when the great work of the Society comes to be published, the public will be astonished at the amount of accurate and valuable information collected in so short a time, and under so many difficulties. (Applause.)

As regards Jerusalem, my predecessor, Captain Warren, R.E., has been the first to substitute facts for theory, and to lay a solid foundation of discovery upon which scholars can work in safety in restoring the ancient city, its Temple, its walls, its towers, and its palaces. A single shaft there has in some cases settled points concerning which volumes had previously been written on either side of the question. (Applause.)

But turning to the work which I myself have for the last four years conducted for the Fund in Palestine, and which they consider the most important they have undertaken.

As I have just pointed out, there was a field of exploration open to us beyond that of mere geographical discovery, and however good a map might be, it would be insufficient in such cases. Something to a larger scale and containing more minute details is necessary for the proper study of the subject, and thus it was determined that a survey to the English Ordnance scale should be run over the whole country from Dan to Beersheba. The work has been going on steadily for four years, in spite of various hindrances from weather, from sickness, and even the death of one valued member of the party, and now though a combination of unfortunate circumstances has compelled us to suspend the actual field work for this winter, we still hope that the summer of next year will see the completion of our work to the sources of the Jordan.

Our results are, as I have said, interesting to three classes—to scientific men, to Biblical students, and to the public interested in the Holy Land and the Bible history.

As regards the scientific aspect, Palestine is to the naturalist one of the most interesting countries in the world. The summit of Hermon is 9,000 feet above sea level; the Dead Sea, at the opposite end of the

Jordan Valley, is 1,300 feet below sea level. Thus, in the short distance of 150 miles, we have a range of fauna and flora extending from that of the arctic to that of the tropical regions. The mosses of Hermon are similar to those of Norwegian mountains, and in its desolate fastnesses now remain the last descendants of David's bear, often coming down to the mountain villages to feast on grapes in the luxuriant vineyards. In the valley of Jericho, on the other hand, the date-palm flourishes with proper cultivation, the mimosas are full of delicate sun-birds, which belong to African fauna, and in the jungle of Jordan the cheetah, or hunting leopard of India, is found.

Of this varied fauna and flora we have notes and specimens, collected in our spare moments, skins of hyenas, ibex, and gazelles (one a new species, I believe), and collections of birds of every kind, &c., &c.

Again, the geology of Palestine has more interest for students than that of almost any country. The Jordan valley, an immense fissure unparalleled in the world, has never been studied throughout its whole extent. The theories of its formation have been conflicting, and scarcely any reliable facts had been collected whence to draw a satisfactory conclusion. Captain Warren was the first explorer who ever passed along the whole length of the valley. Following him we have been the first Europeans who have ever lived in it. For three months of most variable weather we were camped in this wonderful country, moving slowly northwards, and only leaving it when the Bedouin themselves could no longer endure the heat of its climate. During that time we have collected a large amount of valuable information as to its topography, its climate, its fauna, and above all its geology. As regards the origin of its formation, how it happened that this great crevice was opened, and at what period of the earth's history, I think we shall now be able to give a satisfactory explanation. Some have supposed (following the present Mahometan tradition) that the Jordan originally ran to the Red Sea, and that the present lake was formed at the time of the destruction of Sodom and Ghomorrah, forgetting, apparently, that it was by fire, not by water, these cities of the plain were overwhelmed. Others have made the formation volcanic, and some even have supposed it to be the result of ice action during the glacial period. The plain result of the observations now recorded is a complete answer to these theories.

Dr. Tristram, the well-known naturalist and explorer, from observations made on either shore, first put forward the theory which our observations have fully confirmed. (Applause.) The valley was first formed by a depression of the strata at a period subsequent to our English chalk period. The area formed was filled by a chain of great lakes, probably reaching to the sea, and resembling the great lake system at the head of the Nile. The depression continued, and is, indeed, slowly continuing at the present day, and as the climate altered, the heat and consequent evaporation increased until the great lake system had shrunk to its historical proportions, and is only represented by the present basins—the waters of Merom, the Sea of Galilee, and the Dead Sea, which has



no outlet of any kind, but is simply dependent on the evaporation for the maintenance of its level.

This explanation cannot, I think, be disputed, being based on detailed observations throughout the entire length of the valley. Faults in the strata unknown before we discovered in more than one place. The general character and dip we marked throughout, and the old shore lines of the great lakes at various periods we traced in a tolerably complete manner throughout the valley.

Turning to the critical aspect of the Survey work, few, I think, but the students who have made the topography of the Bible a special study, can be aware how little we have previously known, and, on the other hand, how much there is still capable of recovery. The very interest which has been taken in Palestine from the third century of our era to the present day appears to be the very reason why all the topography has become so frightfully confused and falsified. In the fourth century we find St. Jerome, the great author of the Latin vulgate translation of the Bible, editing the work of Eusebius, the earliest attempt at a Bible dictionary; but whilst we envy the minute acquaintance with the country which he shows throughout, the wild guesses at the relations borne by the then existing sites to those of the Bible forbid our accepting his opinion on any such identifications as authoritative.

Later on, with the advent of the Crusaders, things grew worse. The knights themselves were not famous for their acquaintance with even the best known of Bible events, and the clergy, in fixing traditional sites not previously settled by the early Christians, seem to have been actuated by many motives other than the strict regard of truth. A very curious instance of the many errors into which they fell is the fact that they made a confusion between the Sea of Galilee and the Mediterranean. Thus not only did they show near Acca the rock from which Simon Peter was said to have fished (a site which can still be identified), but yet further they gave the name of Capernaum to a neighbouring seaside town, which still retains the ruins of its Crusading fortifications.

This inaccuracy, due to the pious anxiety shown by men almost entirely ignorant of the country to localise all the Scriptural events, proves extremely puzzling to modern students. Almost every famous site has a shadow or double, the mediæval traditional site often at a considerable distance from it. One site often had to do duty for two or more Scriptural places. Thus, the fortress of Arsuf was supposed to be the site of Antipatris, of Asher, and of Ashdod, neither of which was a correct identification, as the nearest of the three places in question was five or six miles off, and the farthest more than forty.

The first explorer who endeavoured to deal with this complicated puzzle, a jumble of traditions of every age, Jew and Gentile, early and late, was the celebrated American traveller, Doctor Robinson, a man eminently fitted by his former studies and his great capacity to deal with the subject. The results of his travels form the groundwork of modern research, and showed how much could be done towards recovering the ancient topography. He found that the old nomenclature clings to

Palestine in an extraordinary manner, and that in the memory of the peasant population the true sites have been preserved, though undiscovered by the Frank invaders.

He started with a broad canon, very characteristic of his nationality, that no traditional information was of any authority. In this it appears to me he went too far. When properly distinguished as to date and origin, some of the traditions are of undoubted antiquity and value. Thus, whilst the site of the Holy Sepulchre was only discovered in the fourth century, and by a miracle, the Grotto at Bethlehem, on the other hand, is mentioned by Justin Martyr in the second century, and the tradition thus dates back to the same authority which gives the earliest testimony to the Gospels themselves. (Applause.)

The traditions, again, which group round the sacred rock in the Temple enclosure at Jerusalem, seem to have been taken by the Moslems from the Jews, and serve to point to its identity with the Stone of Foundation on which the Holy of Holies stood; an indication of the greatest value to any student wishing to restore the Temple of Herod.

This unqualified disregard of tradition raised at first great prejudice against Dr. Robinson's views, but they have come to be very generally accepted by students. It is in his steps that we have trod. With greater advantages, more time, and more money, we have been able to more than double the number of his discoveries; but the cases in which we have found him wrong are few and far between.

Within the course of our work we have recovered more than 100 lost sites, many of them of great importance. Among these we can reckon Bethabara, the site of our Lord's baptism, which we sought for over three months, collecting the names of over fifty Jordan fords, and only at the end of our survey of Jordan did we find the name still existing, some miles south of the Sea of Galilee; a position little expected, but which harmonises completely with the Scripture narrative. (Applause.)

A very interesting papyrus has lately been edited and published in England. It contains an account of the travels of an Egyptian officer of state who visited Palestine at the time when Israel was oppressed by Jabin, king of Hazor, just before the deliverance by Barak. By the aid of our discoveries, I have succeeded in disentangling the complicated topography of this narrative, not previously understood. I find that it agrees with the topography of the Books of Joshua and Judges, and that I can trace his journey in a chariot from Tyre to the Sea of Galilee, and thence to Joppa. According to my explanation, he kept in the plains throughout the whole journey until he arrived at Megiddo; he then endeavoured to go down one of the precipitous valleys into the plain of Sharon, and the story tells that here, as we should naturally expect, he entirely smashed his chariot.\*

But yet further, our discoveries have not only added an immense number of ancient sites to those previously fixed, but we have been able, by the collection of nearly three out of every four places mentioned in the Bible, to prove that the long topographical lists of the Book of

\* Lieut. Conder is engaged in a paper on this subject.

Joshua are neither fragmentary nor unsystematic. I have been able to show that the towns are enumerated in groups, each group a natural division of the land, and each division containing a Royal city as capital. Such a vindication of the character of these curious and hitherto little understood lists would, to my mind, be itself sufficient result to put before the public as the outcome of our labours. (Applause.)

Turning now to the third aspect of our work, that which interests the general public, who are not specially attracted by either the scientific or the critical part of the undertaking. To a great many our work is, I think, interesting because we are engaged in exploring the land of the Bible, and in noting the habits and customs of a people almost unchanged since the time occupied by the Biblical events.

A good illustration of the wish which is growing strong in England to clearly appreciate the Scripture narrative is to be found in the illustrated editions of the Bible lately published. The old conventionalisms of the great Italian painters, and the mediæval realisms of the Dutch masters, are alike seen to be false. One of the most imaginative of modern artists, M. Doré, has attempted to supply the want in sketches which aim at being Oriental. To any one familiar with the East, and who has studied the vivid episodes of Old Testament stories on the spot, these clever pictures are eminently unsatisfactory. They have none of the life and reality which might be thrown into really faithful pictures of the people and the scenes as we see them at the present day.

To give you even a general idea of all our discoveries would be impossible in the time I have at command. I will, therefore, take a single example—an episode in the Old Testament—on the localities of which we have thrown a remarkable amount of light, and from this you must judge of our results, with the assurance that there is no other episode which we have not studied with equal care, and in some cases with perhaps even more striking results.

The example I propose to take is that of the early history of David down to the death of Saul. The topography includes no less than twenty sites, of which three of the less important are still unknown, five were found by Robinson, and the remaining twelve we have discovered lately.

The scene in which David first comes prominently before us is that of the Valley of Elah or of the Terebinth, where was fought the famous duel with Goliath. So many of the sites connected with David's wanderings group round this valley that I may as well give a short description of its course. It rises close to Hebron, and runs as a narrow rocky ravine northward, being flanked by the ruined sites of many important towns, among which we notice Keilah—a city built on the top of a steep, terraced, treeless hill. A little beyond this point the valley widens considerably, and on its western side is another strong site with numerous caves; this, as I shall show presently, is the true site of Adullam. About a mile farther north, the broad valley sweeps round westward, and the old Roman road from Jerusalem comes in. Here, perched above

the left bank, stand the ruins of Socoh. Continuing westward we find, on the south side, a yet more strongly fortified natural site, which I believe to be Shaaraim. At length we reach the place where the valley debouches into the great plain of Philistia, and here, on a white and perpendicular cliff, stands the Philistine stronghold of Gath.

It will be clear, I hope, from this account that the valley of Elah was the great highway from the plains into the hill country. It separates the high mountainous tract held by the children of Israel from the lower hills, the country called Shephelah in the Bible. All along its course the most beautiful cornfields in Palestine, the richest soil, and evidence of the thickest former population exist. Huge terebinths still remain, showing the origin of its name, for the terebinth is not to be found in all parts of Palestine, and some of these appear to be of great antiquity. The scenery, with its foreground of cornland and its distant rocky hills, is throughout most picturesque, and there can scarce be found a part of Palestine more fertile or beautiful.

We see, therefore, the reason why this valley was so often the scene of conflict between the Jews and the Philistines, and how when unchecked these marauders were able to penetrate to such a remote village as Keilah by simply following the valley without crossing the intervening hills of the Shephelah. Holding Gath, they held the key of the valley, and the door to the best corn country in Judah.

It was in this valley, then, that Saul encamped over against the Philistine host, coming up, no doubt, in the harvest time to pillage, as their modern representatives the Bedouin still come up in spring. The exact site of the battle may also now, I think, be pointed out at the bend of the valley, just the point where the Jerusalem road, down which Saul must have come, crosses the valley. For it is stated to have been in Ephes Dammim, between Socoh and Azekah, and between the modern sites of Shuweikeh and El Azek, which are generally supposed to represent Socoh and Azekah, we have discovered Ephes Dammim. The name means Boundary of Blood, and was no doubt given because of the sanguinary conflicts there occurring. Here, then, below Socoh we still find a ruin with the name Beit Fased, or House of Bloodshed, no doubt as ancient a site as any of the rest. (Applause.)

But in further illustration of this episode; I found that much discussion had occurred as to two words used in the narrative, one meaning a broad flat valley, such as I have described, with low bushy hills and broad cornfields, the other a ravine or narrow channel. It was supposed that a gorge must exist somewhere, and this point explorers were required to clear up. On visiting the valley I could find no such gorge, but the true meaning at once became apparent on the spot. The *Emek* or broad valley has in the middle of it the *Gai*, or narrow channel. The water of the turbid winter torrents has dug a deep channel in the middle of the valley. The course is strewn with smooth white pebbles, and the steep banks are built up of them. This, therefore, it seems to me, is the channel which separated the two hosts, and here David found those

smooth pebbles of the brook which, according to the Jewish tradition, were gifted with voice and called out, "By us shalt thou overcome the giant."

This site of the battle also agrees perfectly with the subsequent events when the Philistines fled back to their own country to Shaaraim (Tell Zakeriyeh, as I have already pointed out) and Gath, the stronghold at the mouth of the valley.

I will pass over the episodes of David's life in Gibeah of Saul which are not of especial interest, merely noting that Gibeah and the well Sechu and one or two other sites, including Nob, the city of the Priests, have never been fixed before our survey in a satisfactory manner.

Flying first from Saul, and after that from Gath, David took up his abode at one of the most famous sites mentioned in Scripture—the Cave of Adullam. This site we have at length fixed and explored. It had long been unknown since the traditional site had come to be regarded as irreconcilable with the narrative. In 1872 the French explorer, M. Ganneau, discovered the existence of the name on the borders of the valley of Elah under the modified form of Aid el Mieh, and following up this discovery we verified the existence of the name and found the site to agree well with all requirements. Briefly stated, the argument in its favour is that the cave is stated in one passage of Josephus to have been close to the Royal city of Adullam, and the whereabouts of this city had long been known before the recovery of the name.

The question which I suppose would always be asked first is, What is the cave like? I fear many persons would be disappointed on visiting the spot. We imagine a great cavern such as we see in Salvator Rosa's picture of brigands, and such as really exist in Palestine. We find, instead, a row of small, low, smoky caves on a hill-side, some now used as stables for goats and cows, some inhabited by families of Arabs. But their insignificant proportions are just the best indications of the probability of the site. The great caves are far more picturesque, but they are unfitted for living in, and are never inhabited, nor probably ever were they.

They are damp, and dark, and cold, full of huge bats and creeping animals, and, as I personally know only too well, are very unpleasant places to be in. The small caves, on the other hand, are almost always in use. The light comes in in front, a fire in the centre keeps them warm, and a single lamp lights them.

A row of these small caves exists at Adullam, on the north and west of the city, separated from it by a narrow valley. On the top of the city hill are two or three other caves, also inhabited, and the whole number might accommodate 200 or 300 men, a greater number than David could at any time reckon in his band. The site is very strong and defensible, and its position in a district which is a sort of border land between the possessions of Judah and of the Philistines is most remarkable. David had two enemies to fear, Achish on the west, and Saul on the north-east, when, therefore, Adullam became unsafe, and he was obliged to

retreat farther, his natural course was south, placing Bethlehem, which must have been friendly to him, between Saul and himself.

We find that he retreated to Hareth, and that whilst there the Philistines, no longer restrained by his holding the strong position at Adullam, came up the valley of Elah, even as far as the village of Keilah, where they robbed the threshing-floors. David hearing, comes to the relief of Keilah. The question at once arises, Why should he have specially selected Keilah, whose inhabitants, as we see from their subsequent attempted treachery, were no special friends of his, when so many other towns were robbed without his offering assistance? The reason seems to be that Hareth was close to Keilah.

It is doubtful whether the wood of Hareth is a correct translation. Some versions give the city of Hareth. Whichever be correct, there is no doubt that a city of Hareth existed. No woods now exist, but it would be too much to say they never did, for pine woods existed in this very district and round Hebron as late as the times of the Crusades, though not a single tree can now be found. The site of David's hiding-place at Hareth we have, I think, been the first to discover in the strong ruined site of Kharas, which lies in the higher hills above Keilah, scarcely more than a mile from it, among inaccessible ravines, but easily reached from the valley of Elah, which forms the central theatre of his exploits up to this time. (Applause.)

Driven away yet farther south, David next appears at Ziph, a site found by Robinson in his first journey. Here we made a very curious discovery, which is, I am happy to think, to be incorporated in the new revised version of the Bible. (Applause.) His hiding-place we learn was the wood of Ziph. This wood has been sought in vain. Visiting the spot, I was unable to discover any traces of it, and yet more, it seemed to me, from the geological structure of the country, highly improbable that any such wood could have existed. For, leaving the high hill country to the north, we have here entered on an entirely different scene—one far wilder and more deserted a step occurs in the hills below Hebron and we descend to a district of rolling chalk downs, the country of the southern Hittites and the Horites, who dwelt in caves. This open country is specially fitted for such pasturage as goats and camels, and even Syrian sheep, can thrive upon. Here we find Nabal living a pastoral life, and to the present day the riches of the peasantry consist in the numerous and thriving flocks and herds. There is not a single spring in their district, and scarce a tree; the water sinks through the soft strata, and deep wells are required. How, then, could a forest be expected to exist in a country destitute of water?

The answer is, that no such forest existed, that the word Choresch is the proper name of a place. As such it is understood by the Greek version of the passage and by Josephus. The discovery, therefore, of a ruined site near Ziph with the modern name Khorcisa seems to me of great value. It is a sort of suburb of the town of Ziph, and might very

well, I think, have been thus called the Choresh of Ziph, whence, translated, Wood of Ziph.\* (Applause.)

We must now follow David into a yet more desolate scene. Leaving the pastoral country where he had levied a sort of black mail on the great proprietors, as guardian of their flocks against the wandering nomadic tribes of the true desert just to the south, we find him driven to the most desolate region in Palestine, and perhaps in the world.

The pastoral country of Ziph and Carmel looks down on the east to a glaring white desert; not a tree or shrub exists in it; the hills rise into fantastic cones and knife-like ridges, separated by deep, dark gullies. There is no water, not a building or a ruin in it. The very beasts of prey seem to shun it. The desert partridge and the ibex are almost its only inhabitants, and in this episode of the narrative *both* are noticed, for David was "hunted as a partridge on the mountains," and sought by Saul among the "rocks of the wild goats."

Few scenes can be finer than that at Engedi. The steep brown crags above, the clear thermal spring surrounded by a cane brake and by huge nightshade plants (the apples of Sodom), and spiny mimosas, of which the crown of thorns was woven, with birds of the tropics, bulbuls, thrushes, and sun-birds, in the branches. Beneath lies the thick oily water of the Salt Sea, and, beyond, the towering crags upon which the great fortress of Kerak stands, like a mediæval citadel, on cliffs seemingly impregnable.

This Desert of Engedi, in which we passed two weeks, is, however, not habitable in summer. And this is probably the reason why we find David returning to the higher ground near Ziph.

We endeavoured, when surveying this part of the country, to find the cave in which David encountered Saul, on the road from Jerusalem to Engedi. But in this we cannot be said to have succeeded, not because no cave exists, but because there are so many that it is impossible to say which is the right one. The pastoral people send down their flocks from the plateau to the borders of the Engedi desert in spring. The descent to this desert is steep and sudden, the difference of level being some 2,000 feet. Along all this descent there are innumerable caves; at their mouths one sees the ragged shepherd boy sitting, and the whole flock is folded within. Such caves exist farther north, near Bethlehem, and in the Shepherds' Plain, where tradition makes the herald angels to have appeared. David himself must have been well acquainted as a boy with the district, when he led his "few poor sheep in the wilderness." It is supposed that many are old dwellings of the Horites, who were troglodytes and lived in caves, and though this fashion of living in caves extends throughout Palestine, and is constantly mentioned in the Bible, yet it is in the south country principally that the Horites lived, and that we find most caves inhabited and most mention of caves in the Old Testament.

I may remark that all these caves are of the class to which our newly discovered Cave of Adullam belongs, and not huge caverns such as

\* The place was probably called Choresh Ziph to distinguish it from another Choresh (Khirbet Khoreisa) existing farther west.—C. R. C.

exist in other districts, but which are never inhabited at the present day.

We now come to the last scene of David's persecution, the last meeting with Saul before the fatal battle of Gilboa. This is the Hill of Hachilah, where David came upon Saul's camp at night and stole the cruse of water and the spear from his head. This site was unknown before we explored the district, and perhaps the incident which we have most fully illustrated is that here occurring.

David had ascended from the Dead Sea Desert and was again close to Ziph. The Hill of Hachilah is said to have overlooked the Jeshimon or Solitude, which is the desert in question. There can scarce be a doubt of its locality because there is only one hill east of Ziph overlooking the desert. The rest of the country consists of rolling downs at a lower level. On the summit of this hill we find a ruin called Yekin, and this name is only Hachil, or Hachilah slightly modified. You may object that it ends in an N and not in an L, but when I tell you that Ishmael is always called Ism'ain by the peasantry, the children of Israel the Ben Israin, and the towns of Jesreel, Zerim, and Bethel Beitin, you will see that the change of L into N is very common in well-known instances.

There was, however, a curious point in the narrative which required illustration. Saul lay "in the trench," with his men of war round him. Now had he encamped, as Josephus supposed, which seems to me very doubtful, as contrary to the customs of war among the modern Bedouin, it is not in the trench that he would have lain.

Again, a visit to the spot clears up, I think, the difficulty. The hill of Yekin is a bold promontory, standing just at the edge of the plateau. It looks over the whole desert, and the cliffs of Engedi, the waters of the Dead Sea, the heights of Moab, are in full view. Just beneath the crest of the hill is a hollow, with another knoll beyond. It is the head of a great valley, which soon becomes precipitous, running down into the desert. In this hollow is a spring and a cave.

This, I imagine, is what is meant by the trench. David is said to have crossed over to the other side, and we may imagine him standing on one or other of the hill-tops and looking down on the king and his sleeping party in the hollow.

Nothing could be more in accordance with Bedouin custom than the choice of such a place for a sleeping-place. The Bedouin understand thoroughly how to take advantage of every fold in the ground. I have been more than once surrounded by ten or twenty men without knowing of their vicinity. At the right moment when they emerge from a depression close at hand, they seem to spring as if by magic from the ground. To encamp on a hill-top or a point whence they might be easily seen would be contrary to all their ideas of prudence. Hence I have no doubt that it was in the hollow near to the only supply of water that Saul halted. The cruse of water and the spear are again little touches which seem to link the past to the present. The Syrians are a thirsty race, and at night they never sleep without a bottle with a spout at their heads. Again, the spear, a long bamboo with a knife-like blade at the end, and



the tuft of black ostrich feathers beneath, is invariably set up on end, the spike at the butt being driven into the ground when a resting-place has been chosen.

With the meeting at Hachilah David's persecution ceased. He retreats again into Philistine territory, and settles in the town of Ziklag. Here we must leave him. The town of Ziklag was quite unknown until this year. I cannot say anything much about it at present, but I discovered whilst we were at Gaza that there is a ruined place of importance called Zehleika, in the middle of the plain north of Beersheba. This is a district of some 200 square miles, which we could not enter because of the serious fighting between the Arabs going on round Zehleika and Beersheba. It is just where all the circumstances of the narrative would lead us to place Ziklag, and I hope that next year we may be able to go back and report another discovery connected with the history of David's wanderings. (Applause.)

In taking leave of this subject I would beg you to remember how much of this minute illustration of the narrative is due to that dry and uninteresting piece of work, the Ordnance Survey of Palestine.

The site of David's combat with Goliath was unknown. The Cave of Adullam had never been discovered or described. The Wood of Hareth had been sought in vain; the Choresch Ziph was not understood; and lastly, the scene of the last meeting, the Hill of Hachilah, was not identified.

Not only were these places not known, but the full force of all the little incidental details could not be brought out because the story had never been studied on the spot. The trench in the valley of Elah, for instance, the brook whence David obtained the stones. Again, the reason why David went to help the men of Keilah was inexplicable, and the trench in which Saul lay was not understood.

I have taken but one episode. It would be easy, if I had time, to show you how the history of Samson is illustrated in the same manner, and the stories of Saul and Jonathan, of Gideon, or of Joshua. Throughout the whole of the Old Testament narrative there is scarcely an episode on which we cannot claim to have thrown light in a similar manner.

Some, however, will have confined their interest to the Gospel narrative, and will be anxious to know what we have done towards illustrating its topography. (Applause.)

This, however, is just the part of the work which remains to be done. It is true that we have found CEnon, Bethabara, and Cana of Galilee, but the shores of the Sea of Galilee we have not yet visited.

Many of you will have heard of the interruption of our work, and the attack on my party in Upper Galilee. The whole country from Beersheba to Nazareth, more than four-fifths of our work, we had completed, without any serious difficulties. We had passed through the Hebron hills, the stronghold of fanaticism, with only one row, which was quickly settled. We had at last reached the high hills of Upper Galilee, and were looking forward to the speedy and successful termination of our labours. The insolence and fanaticism of the Mohametans in the

district surpasses, however, anything of which we have had experience before. My servants were insulted and stoned without any provocation on their part, and I myself was assaulted before I had spoken a word. The serious fray which ensued seemed at the time inevitably fatal to us; had we not succeeded in communicating with the Turkish Governor, who sent soldiers to our assistance, we should probably have been killed. Every member of the party was wounded, and we all suffered subsequently with bad fever. The legal proceedings, the gradual spread of cholera, our own condition, and the lateness of the season, made it advisable to suspend operations for the winter.

We hope, however, to take the field in spring, and should we be uninterrupted by new misfortunes, we may count on finishing all our work from Dan to Beersheba by next summer.

Among our future studies there is much which will, I think, surpass in interest what we have done before. The site of Capernaum is not yet fixed, and that of Bethsaida is unknown. Chorazin alone has been discovered. We have still hopes of doing something towards elucidating these interesting questions.

Again, in Galilee we have objects of interest which exist in no other part of Palestine. I mean the synagogues which are to be found in all parts. Some of these were first discovered by Major Wilson whilst working for the Fund. Their date was not known, but I have succeeded lately in finding the names of the builders, and the time at which they lived. It proves that some are earlier than the time of our Lord, and may be the very synagogues in which He taught. I have also obtained indications of the whereabouts of two synagogues which have never been seen by any European, and I believe others besides are yet to be found. These discoveries we hope to be able to follow out early next year. The question of the measurements of the synagogues is of great importance. We have here buildings of undoubted Jewish origin, some previous to the building of the Temple, others dating immediately after it. From their measurements we may hope to discover the length of the cubit, which is quite doubtful at present. I have very carefully measured the only synagogue we have yet visited, and I find that if we take the cubit at sixteen inches, the synagogue is exactly thirty cubits by forty, and its pillars ten cubits high. I find that the measurements taken by others of the other synagogues give the same results, and to any one wishing to restore the Temple at Jerusalem this investigation, with others we have made, is of the greatest importance. (Applause.)

My only object to-night has been to endeavour to create a greater interest in our work than is generally felt, to show what our real aim and object is, and that it has an interest not only for those who look to its scientific or its critical aspect, but for the English public in general. That we throw a light on the Bible which is not only new, but which is more practical and more conclusive as to the character of the sacred record than any amount of criticism from those who have not studied Palestine and its inhabitants on the spot.

If I have at all succeeded I may perhaps venture to hope that you will

follow our future proceedings with interest, and wish us a successful termination to our labours. (Applause.)

On the motion of the Rev. Canon CRANE, seconded by the Rev. W. F. BIRCH, the thanks of the meeting were accorded to Lieutenant Conder for his address; and a similar compliment having been paid to the Dean for presiding, the meeting separated.

## THE AMERICAN EXPEDITION.

THE following letters from the Rev. Selah Merrill are reprinted from the *Athenæum* by the kind permission of the proprietors. It will be remembered that Captain Warren has anticipated much of their work at Thellthatha, Rukleh, and other places in the Lebanon.

*November 5th, 1875.*

The friends of Palestine Exploration in England may be interested in some account of our reconnoissance survey of the Hauran, which we have just completed. It will be impossible, however, in a single letter, to give more than an outline of our operations. We had with us twenty-three baggage animals and nine horses. Then we had eight muleteers, six servants, including two cooks and a table boy, and two assistants and interpreters from the college in Beirut. Besides the four gentlemen who comprised the exploring party proper, there were with us three others, two gentlemen from Beirut, one an excellent botanist, and the other an excellent marksman, and our photographer. No person unacquainted with the facts can realise the difficulties to be overcome in order to secure good photographs in the Syrian deserts, especially in the summer. All green things are burned up, the air is full of fine dust, the sun is intensely hot, and the sky, of course, is affected accordingly. Both instrument and chemicals are often injured or ruined. Ordinary rules and laws cannot be followed; and the skill and patience of the artist are constantly taxed to their utmost even to produce any work at all. Then the difficulty of obtaining pure water is another serious drawback. We often carried water eight and ten and even sixteen miles for our photographer to use. But notwithstanding the obstacles to be overcome, we have been remarkably successful. We have brought away as trophies from the desert considerably over one hundred photographs of temples, churches, theatres, towers, castles, and other ruins, which, for the most part, have never before been visited by a photographer. Our small plates are nine and a half by twelve inches, and our larger ones are twelve by sixteen inches. The collection, we hope, will prove to be one of great interest and value.

We left Abeih, whither hundreds from Beirut had fled to escape the cholera, on the 2nd of September, and passing over some of the Lebanon mountains, camped at Kefr Nebrakh. The next day we passed over the last Lebanon range, and down into the valley of the Litany or Leontes, which we crossed, and camped at Jub Jenin. That day our photographer

went by another route, and took photographs of a fine grove of cedars which had never been photographed. We went next over a low foot-range of Anti-Lebanon, and camped at Rasheiya. The same day I went with the photographer to Thellthatha, or Nebi Safa, as it is sometimes called, a place to the south, in the same range just mentioned, and photographed one of the famous Hermon temples which still exists there. We went north the same night, and joined our camp at Rasheiya. Leaving our camp here, we went in an easterly and north-easterly direction to Rukleh, where there are a number of inscriptions and the remains of two temples, one of which possesses some features of unusual interest. We took several photographs here, and also squeezes of the inscriptions, and returned to our camp in Rasheiya. The next day we went to the top of Jebel esh Sheikh, and while the engineers took bearings and made observations, I, with the help of our guide and a fine glass, made notes of the places and points of interest that can be seen from this wonderful observatory of nature. What appear from the distance to be mere patches of snow, we found, on reaching the summit, were great fields and drifts of it. The thermometer showed 36 degrees in the snow, and 72 in the atmosphere. This was on the 7th of September. The water which flowed in little streams from these snow banks was cold and refreshing. That night we went down the side of Hermon to Shiba, a place in the mountains a little to the east and south of Hashbeiya, which our camp had reached by the direct route. Here we found most excellent water gushing in full-grown streams from the foot of the mountain. From here we went over some of the lower or southern ranges of Hermon, past Medjel esh Shems, to Baniyas, where we camped and spent several days. We took a number of photographs in this region, including the castle Subeibeh, the famous oak grove of Hazor, the fountain of the Jordan at Baniyas, the other fountain at Tell el Kadi, and two or three besides. We then went to Lake Phiala, and made a thorough geological examination of that most interesting volcanic region, including Tell el Achmar, an extinct crater, two or three miles to the south of the lake, and took a panoramic view of the lake itself, and then went on to Medjel esh Shems, where we camped.

We then pushed east into the desert, and what some have really found to be the land of danger, but from which we escaped unharmed. We crossed Nukr Sasa, which geologically and in other respects is a very interesting section, and camped at Sasa on a delightfully fresh and green grass-plot between two branches of the Jennani. The small tell on which Sasa stands is an extinct crater. From here we pushed east to Musmeh, the Phaeno of the Romans, situated in the north end of the Leja. Here is a beautiful temple, one of the best preserved in the Hauran, which we photographed; we also photographed a section of the interior, in order to show the architecture. The Leja I shall not attempt in this outline to describe; but it seems to me that more travellers, especially if they are scientific men, ought to visit this largest and most wonderful lava bed in the world. Then the number of ruined towns

which are found in the Leja, the Trachonitis of the New Testament and the Argob of the Old, is perfectly surprising. We went down the western border of the Leja and camped at Zara (or Zora, or Edra), a place of great antiquity, and important now for its ruins and inscriptions. We passed on then in a south-easterly direction through Ed Dur and several other ruined towns, and camped at Kirateh (or Kurrassoh), a place entirely uninhabited, but where we found a fountain of excellent water, full of fish. There is another Kirateh a little to the north of Zara: the two must not be confounded. I found some exceedingly curious and interesting ruins, formed of very large unhewn stones, on the tops of some of the hills about this place, of which I shall give an account with drawings in my Report. From here we went on to Kunawat, the Kenath of the Bible, and camped and took a number of photograprs there, and of places in the vicinity, and also copied many inscriptions. I always had with me Waddington's invaluable work. My practice was to verify his copy, and to copy and take squeezes only of such as he had not seen. At Suleim, a little to the north-west of Kunawat, is one of the most beautiful temples in the East. We photographed this, and also two temples at Atil. Kunawat is remarkable for its situation as the centre of a populous and wealthy district. Six or eight cities or towns were clustered about it within a distance of two hours' walk, most of which were withiu sight from its temple-roofs and towers. Among them Sia, twenty-five miutes to the east and south, was a beautiful place, and intimately connected, as its inscriptions (both Greek and Aramaic) show, with the history of Herod the Great. Our next camping-place was at Suweideh, where we also took photographs. We then went on by way of 'Are to Salchad, and photographed the splendid castle there. This castle forms a fine laudmark, seen for many miles from the north, west, and south. As we found no good water here, we turned back on the the route we had come about one hour, to Aiyin, an uninhabited place, where there was a fine fountain and some very peculiar ruins. From there we went on south-west through Kerioth to Bozrah (or Bostra), and camped and spent several days, including Sunday, September 26th. Here the churches, theatre, columns, castle, old bevelled stones, streets, gates, triumphal arches, and reservoirs, not to speak of the inscriptions, are all wonderful, and I will undertake to describe them in due time. Here also we enlarged and enriched our collection of photographs.

Leaving our camp here we went sixteen miles to the south-west into the genuine desert, to visit the ruins of Um el Jemal, which some suppose to be the Beth Gamul of the Bible. Burckhardt, Buckingham, Porter, Wetzstein, and other distinguished travellers have looked out from the castle at Salchad, or from that at Bozrah,\* on to this dark mass of ruins with longing eyes; but although two or more of these made the

\* I did not myself see the ruins of Um el Jemal from the castle at Bozrah, and make this statement on the testimony of others. But there are so many piles of ruins on the plain, that one might easily be mistaken and think he had seen Um el Jemal when he had not.

attempt, they did not succeed in reaching them. Mr. Cyril Graham and Mr. Waddington were the only Europeans who had visited the place previous to ourselves. The ruins of this *unwalled* town cannot here be described, but I may say that they are very instructive even to those who are tolerably familiar with Hauran and Syrian ruins as they exist in other places. Two or three photographs were taken here. We went next from Bozrah north-west in the direction of Der'at (Edrei or Adra'a) to Jisre esh Shirk, and camped; and then on to Der'at itself, and turned south and camped at Remtheh, an important place, on the pilgrim road from Damascus to Mecca. Through all this region we were obliged to guard our camp at night ourselves. We found we could not trust our men for this, because they would invariably go to sleep, with the most perfect indifference to danger imaginable. It was while on guard at Remtheh that one of our party, Mr. T., took a severe cold, which brought on a fever and nearly cost him his life. We found here only miserable water. The people had good water in their cisterns, but they would neither give it nor sell it to us; and had it not been for some Turkish soldiers there, who gave us some from the garrison supplies when they learned our need, we might have fared worse than we did. The next day we had a long, tedious journey to Jerash, where we arrived on the 1st of October. That day the thermometer was 87 degrees in the shade at noon, and we were entirely without water, either for men or animals, until near night, when we were almost within sight of Jerash. We came then upon a spring of cool, fresh water, which was worth more to us at that moment than a gold mine would have been. As for our animals, they were perfectly wild and unmanageable until they had quenched their thirst.

We spent three or four days at Jerash, and brought away over forty inscriptions and some beautiful photographs. In regard to the heat, I may add that at Jerash, as well as while on our way there, and also at Bozrah, and afterwards at Es Salt, we had many days when the thermometer showed 85, 87, and even 90 degrees in the shade. Through Jerash, from one end of the city to the other, there flows a stream of cool, fresh, living water. Here is one of the finest "water-powers" in the East. From here our sick friend was taken to Es Salt, our next camping-place, and from there, as soon as he could be moved, to Jerusalem in a palanquin, *i. e.*, a great box fastened on to long poles, and carried between two mules, one before and one behind it. At Jerusalem he was placed in the Mediterranean Hotel, under the care of Dr. Chaplin. We took photographs of Es Salt, supposed to be the Ramoth Gilead of the Bible, and several at Amman, the Rabbath Ammon of the Bible, which was our next camping-place after leaving Es Salt. From there we went to Heshbon, and visited Nebo, the peak called "Siagah," and supposed by some to be the Pisgah of Moses, Main, or the ancient Baal Meon, and several other places. We took photographs at Heshbon, and our photographer went several miles east of Heshbon, to a place called Musshattah (some distance east of Ziza, but not down on the ordinary maps), and photographed a very beautiful temple which still

exists there.\* From Heshbon we went north to Ariak el Emir, and photographed the ruins of the wonderful castle of Hyrcanus, and also the face of the cliff, in which the chambers, reservoirs, and stables which Josephus describes, were excavated. These "stables," in which there are accommodations for one hundred horses in a single room dug out of the solid rock, appear something like a long livery stable, when one stands at the door and looks into it, except in this case there are no partitions for stalls; but the mangers are quite perfect, and so are the rings cut in the rock by the side of each manger, where the horses were tied. From here we crossed the Jordan at Jericho, and went by way of Jerusalem and Nablous to Beirut.

It has been impossible in this outline to give any special details of our work, yet we hope it will be found that our journey has been a very successful one. The whole country has been mapped out for future operations; the bearings taken, the observations, and the various records and notes kept by the engineers, are important; and the inscriptions copied, together with the measurements taken of ancient churches, temples, theatres, and other ruins, we hope will prove interesting and valuable. The geological, botanical, geographical, and archæological features of this east-Jordan land are of the highest interest. The fertility of this region, which we commonly call a "desert," cannot be exaggerated. Its populousness and prosperity in ancient times will always remain one of the wonders of history: and an industrious and enterprising people, under a good government, could again make those broad fields, now so desolate, as productive as Egypt in her palmyest days.

#### UM EL JEMAL—THE BETH GAMUL OF JEREMIAH?

It has been my good fortune recently to visit the ruins of this little-known but very interesting city. Burckhardt made three attempts from as many different points to reach this place, all of which were unsuccessful. Buckingham still later was also unable to reach it. And even so recent a traveller as Wetzstein was obliged to turn back without seeing it, after he had made every preparation and had proceeded half an hour or more from Bozrah on his way thither. Dr. Porter says, "the only European who ever succeeded in reaching it is Cyril C. Graham." But the place has been visited, probably since the statement just quoted was written, by Mr. Waddington, who, however, has not described it with any detail. Besides the two gentlemen just named, I am not aware that the place has been visited by any other Europeans previous to the arrival there of our own party. Out of the path of travellers, and even of adventurous explorers, it is not strange that books on Palestine and Bible dictionaries have very little to say about it. In Jer. xlviii. 21—25, where it is said that "judgment is come upon the plain country," a list of eleven cities is given, and among them are mentioned "Beth Gamul, Beth Meon, Kerioth, and Bozrah." "Judgment is come," it is said, "upon all the cities of the land of Moab, far or near." The phrase

\* See Dr. Tristram's "Land of Moab."

"far or near" may prove a significant hint towards determining the question whether or not this site corresponds with the Beth Gamul of Jeremiah. The sites and ruins of Kerioth and Bozrah, which places I have also recently visited, are supposed, by some, to be well known; and it is argued, with good reason, that Beth Gamul must be in the same region. And Um el Jemal, or "Mother of the Camel," may, it is thought, represent the Hebrew Beth Gamul, or "House of the Camel."

From the castle at Salchad, and some say from that at Bozrah also, one can see a pile of ruins far away to the south-west, a dark mass resting upon the treeless plain. They lie about sixteen miles from Bozrah. They are at present uninhabited, there being no water there that we could find, although there is a large reservoir in the centre of the town, and I counted as many as four smaller ones in different parts of the city. There is evidence that the place contains also large cisterns, one such at least I saw, in which may be water. These it would be interesting to examine. The roof of the one that I looked into was supported by five Roman arches.

We left our camp on Monday morning, Sept. 27, at five o'clock, and proceeded to the castle in Bozrah; for the officer in command, Ibrahim Effendi, proposed, as he had never visited the place, and was very much interested in antiquities, to accompany us with some soldiers. Fortunately the morning, and the whole day, as it proved, were quite cool, so that our ten hours and forty minutes in the saddle were less tedious than they might otherwise have been. We were in all twenty men, well mounted, and well armed. Besides the animals we rode, we had three extra ones for photographic apparatus, water, and other baggage. About two miles outside of Bozrah we came upon a large encampment of Bedouin of over one hundred long black tents; and, judging by the deafening howl, there were three or four dogs to every tent. There were several hundred camels scattered about in groups; and there was evidently excitement of some kind, for men were shouting and running in all directions. Some of them ran up to our soldiers, and told of a heavy robbery that had been committed during the night, and of the great loss they had suffered in cattle and camels. Our soldiers gave chase in the direction indicated by these men; and it was a fine sight to see them, with such of the Bedouin as were mounted, dashing over the plain in their efforts to discover the robbers. These, however, had done their work too near morning, or else had taken more than they could manage, and had fled, leaving the camels, or most of them, to return at leisure to their masters. I counted in a single string one hundred and fifty camels, thus making their way back. During the next hour or two we saw as many as half a dozen groups of camels, at different places on the plain, that had passed through the experience of being stolen the night previous. Three miles south of Bozrah we struck the perpetual desert, the region of desolation. Not that the soil is barren, but in all this wide and naturally fertile district no man dare plough, or plant, or build. Here is land as level as any prairie, and as rich as any in the world, with stones enough upon it to serve for building purposes, lying



idle and useless. One can easily picture it cut up into hundreds of fine farms, and covered with dwellings and orchards and gardens, and all the marks of civilised and skilful husbandry. Yet this desert shows signs of former cultivation, for the stones in many parts have at some time been gathered into long rows, evidently to serve as boundaries for fields. The plain is covered with a small shrub which resembles the sage bush. Then the crocus appeared in many places; and the contrast between the barren burnt surface of the plain and these beautiful flowers was very striking. On the way we passed several ruins, the names of which we could not learn; and the same was true of our return, as we came most of the way by a different route. There are scores of these ruined towns scattered about this plain awaiting the careful explorer. Far in the north-east the fortress, Al Salchad, loomed up a magnificent object on the horizon, commanding a view of all this wide plain to the north, east, south, and west. I noticed that the common barn-swallows were very abundant; and we also saw during the day ten or more gazelles, to some of which our men gave chase, but without success.

We reached Um el Jemal after a ride of about five hours. The ruins do not abound in columns and temples like those of Kunawat or Jerash, still they are imposing, and make a peculiar impression upon one because they stand alone in the desert. They are remarkable, in the first place, from the fact that they present only two prominent styles of architecture, namely, Roman and Christian, and not half a dozen, as is so often the case in other places. They are remarkable again because they afford a good example of an *unwalled* town. Indeed, in this respect they are very instructive. The dwellings and buildings were not huddled together. Then there has been no building and rebuilding on the tops of former buildings, according to later oriental style. The open spaces about the houses were large, and the streets were broad. At least two avenues ran through the city from north to south, one of which was one hundred feet wide, and the other nearly one hundred and fifty feet. Nothing appears crowded. Everywhere there is a sense of roominess. It must have been a city noted for broad streets, spacious avenues, large courts, fine gardens, promenades, and the like. Consequently it would be a cool city, and no doubt delightful as a place of residence. Then, again, the houses, which were built of stone, are not only the finest, but the best preserved of any that I have seen in the Hauran, or in all the country east of the Jordan. They were built on a generous scale. Some of them were three and even four stories high. I noticed that eleven and twelve feet was a common height for the ceiling on the first floor, and ten feet on the second, and in two or more cases the height of the ceiling on the third floor was also ten feet. The doors of the rooms were, as a rule, seven and a half and eight feet high in the second story as well as the first. The rooms were not small but spacious, that is, spacious for private houses. A number of those that I measured were ten feet by twenty-five, or twelve feet by twenty-four. There were, of course, both larger and smaller rooms than these. A common style of building seems to have been a group of houses with a large open space

around the outside, and a large open court on the inside. These courts were fifty feet by seventy-five, and sometimes much larger. Stone stairs led up on the outside of the houses facing the court to the second and third stories. Many of these are in as good condition as if they had been built but one year ago. There are no traces of the Saracens here. Nor, on the other hand, are there any decided marks of great antiquity. In the large reservoir before mentioned there are some bevelled stones. It is the fullest bevel. Very many of the stones of which the houses were built were simply split, and not faced at all; yet it should be observed that the splitting was remarkably regular. It was evidently at one time, and, I should judge, for a long time, a prominent Christian city. I found remains of what I consider to have been three Christian churches. Further examination might develop more. One of these, at least, had had a portico, and columns were lying about the front of it. In no other city east of the Jordan that I have visited do so many crosses appear on the lintels of the doors of private houses as here. Then, again, the inscriptions are by no means the least important fact connected with these ruins. I can, however, only allude to this fact at present. Mr. Waddington, whom I have already mentioned, has published several Greek and Latin inscriptions which were found here, and during my short stay I found seven inscriptions which he has not given. Aramaic inscriptions also exist here. Without deciding whether or not this is the Beth Gamul of the Bible, it is certainly a rich field for research.

I am sorry to state that the Arabs are every year carrying off the stones of this city to other places. As many as six men were at work while we were there, throwing down the walls and getting the long roof-stones, which were to be carried away on camels. Just before we reached the place we met thirty or forty camels that had started with a load of stone taken from these ruins. It is easy to see how important inscriptions may be carted off, and thus valuable historical material for ever lost. It was on account of this plundering which I saw going on that I regretted so deeply I could not remain and complete a thorough archaeological examination of the ruins at once. We took two photographs of the city, and made some measurements, the details of which would probably not be of general interest. In regard to this place being identical with the Beth Gamul of Jeremiah, while I do not care to discuss the question here, I may say in a word that I see no special objection to its having been the same. The objection offered by some scholars that it is too far north, can, I think, easily be removed. The place appears to have been deserted for centuries. I should judge that the desertion was sudden and complete. There are no traces of there having been any lingering, deteriorating remnant or people, nor of any wretched subsequent inhabitants to mutilate it, as is usually the case in these large ruined cities. I noticed an interesting fact with regard to the pieces of pottery with which the surface of the ground here, as in all these ruined towns, is covered. In most cases one sees only the red pottery, but in Um el Jemal the black was the prevailing kind, and the

red decidedly the exception. There are but few places in Syria where the black pottery is made. In the first century, according to the Talmud, the black kind was considered superior to the red, and brought a much higher price in the markets; and what is also interesting in this connexion, a certain village in Galilee had a monopoly of its manufacture.

On our way home, as we had no guide and paths do not exist, we took the wrong direction, and when we had ridden five hours we did not find our Bozrah. We ascended a slight elevation, which commanded a view of a wide region. We had a choice of seven ruined cities which were in sight from where we stood; but as night was rapidly approaching, even our Effendi could not tell which Bozrah was. We made a guess, which proved to be a lucky one, and after one hour and a half hard riding in the dark we reached our camp in safety.

SELAH MERRILL.

## MANUSCRIPTS OF THE HEBREW SCRIPTURES.

[*Reprinted by permission of the proprietors from the ATHENÆUM.*]

THE Codex of the Hebrew Scriptures which Rabbi Aaron Ben Asher revised has recently been discovered at Aleppo, and Dr. Ginsburg, the well-known Orientalist, intends to start, in a week or two, for Syria on purpose to collate it. This celebrated MS. was originally preserved at Jerusalem; but probably when Saladin took the Holy City and put an end to the Latin Kingdom, it was removed to Egypt, where Maimonides (A.D. 1135-1204) saw it. He adopted it as his model, "because," he remarks, "I saw that there is a great confusion in all the codices which I have consulted with regard to these matters; and even the Massorites, who wrote and compiled works to show which sections are to begin new paragraphs and which not, are divided upon these matters, according to the authorities they leaned upon. I found myself necessitated to write, thus, all the sections of the Law, both those which begin new paragraphs and those which do not, as well as the forms of the accents, so that all copies might be made according to it. Now the Codex which is followed in these matters is the one well known in Egypt which contains the four-and-twenty Sacred Books, which was in Jerusalem for many years, that all the codices might be corrected after it, and *whose text all adopted, because Ben Asher corrected it and laboured over it many years, and revised it many times. It is this Codex I followed in the copy of the Law I wrote.*"

At present this important MS. is preserved in a cave under a synagogue at Aleppo, "at the entrance of which stands a chest in which are deposited crowns of the Law" (*i.e.*, Bibles written with points and accents), "and they are all adorned with flowers and blossoms in various colours drawn like chains around." At the end of the MS. is written, "This complete Bible, consisting of 24 Books, was written by R. Solomon, who was a skilful scribe, May the Spirit of God give him rest: and was punctuated and furnished with the Massora in the most proper way by the great teacher, wise, sagacious, Master of the Scribes, father of the wise, chief of the teachers, skilful in his works, prudent in his advice,

and altogether unique in his generation, R. Aaron Ben Asher, may his soul be bound up in the bundle of life with the Prophets, the just and the holy ones—and was presented as a holy gift by the great prince glorious and mighty, Master and Rabbi of Israel, the beauty of all Israel, wise, sagacious, holy and liberal. May the Lord lift up his banner, make his crown flourish and extol his glory," &c. The writer goes on to say that the MS. is to remain "at Jerusalem, in the possession of the two great patriarchs whose glorious, holy, and majestic names are Joshiahu and Zechez Riahu;" and to be shown to the people on the three festivals of Passover, Pentecost, and Tabernacles. "Any learned Rabbi of the children of Israel" who shall wish to consult the MS. may do so; but he must put it back in its place, and no unbeliever may touch it.

We have said enough to show the immense antiquity and authority of this MS., to which attention was first drawn by Iben Safir, and the learned world will no doubt look forward with some curiosity for the publication of Dr. Ginsburg's collation.

Iben Safir has also called attention to another important MS. of the Earlier and Later Prophets, imperfect at the beginning and end, which is deposited in the Karaite Synagogue at Cairo. It is the oldest of the MSS. the Karaites possess. At Cairo the ancient MSS. are usually preserved with peculiar care, being placed in a shrine near the ark containing the law, and a lamp is kept continually burning before it. It is in the square Spanish character, large letters, with points and accents and the Massora according to all its rules. At the end of the minor prophets is written, in the handwriting of its scribe, and in the same ink: "I, Moses Ben Asher, wrote this cycle of Scriptures with all correctness, as the good hand of God was upon me, in the province of Miziah, in the renowned city of Tiberias . . . Amen. Finished at the end of 827 years after the destruction of the second Temple. May the Creator of our souls return to it in mercy, rebuild it with stones of carbuncles, sapphires, and agates, so that it may be a perfect and durable edifice which shall not be forsaken, nor destroyed, nor pulled down for ever and ever. May this be done speedily in our own day, and that of all Israel. Amen." On the same page is added: "Whosoever alters anything in this cycle or writing, or obliterates any letter, or tears any page of it, unless he thoroughly understands that we committed some error, whether in writing or punctuation, or Massora . . . let him have no forgiveness nor atonement, and let him not see the beauty of the Lord, nor the good which is hid for those who fear God, but let him be as an unclean woman, and a leper shut up, that his limbs may be crushed, his strength broken, his flesh consumed, and his bones rotten till he disappear. Amen."

In a note on the following page, in the same handwriting as the above, we are told that "this book is now in the possession of Jabez Ben Salomon the Babylonian."

Dr. Ginsburg intends to collate this MS. also before his return to England.

THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE constantly recurring attacks of fever under which Lieutenant Conder has suffered during the winter have necessitated a postponement of the return of the Survey Expedition till the autumn. In order, however, that time may not be lost, an office has been taken at the Royal Albert Hall, where the party are at present engaged in preparing the map for publication. It is hoped to be able to place in the hands of the engraver before the end of the year at least two-thirds of the great map of Western Palestine (West of the Jordan). The part remaining to be finished consists of the greater part of Galilee and a small piece in the south.

The Survey party consists of Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener, Sergeant Armstrong, and Corporals Maule, Wilson, Brophy, and Malings, all of the Royal Engineers. The four last have been specially granted by the War Office for this purpose.

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Full particulars of the mode, time, and place of the publication of the great map will be given in an early number of the *Quarterly Statement*. At present we can only state, in addition to the above facts, that a Survey Publication Committee has been appointed; and that the map will be accompanied by special memoirs which will contain all the facts collected by the officers of the Survey.

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Intelligence has been received that the Court at Damascus, to which appeal was made in the Sufed affair, have confirmed the judgment of the Acre Court. The ringleaders are in prison; a fine of £150 has been levied upon the place, and is waiting for the English Consul-General of Syria at Acre. This is much less than was asked, and it is not yet certain that the English Government will consent to receive this amount as compensation. The moral effect of the judgment, the arrest of the prisoners, and the actual enforcement of the fine, is reported to be excellent, and the determined attitude of Mr. Consul Moore in the affair will doubtless bear good fruit in the behaviour of the natives for some time to come.

The papers by Lieutenant Conder for this number of the *Quarterly* may be taken as illustrations of the results to be expected from the map. He has taken the two most ancient documents existing on Palestine topography and subjected them to comparison with the new map. One of these, a translation of which was given by Mr. C. W. Goodwin, in the Cambridge Essays of 1853, and again published in the "Records of the Past," vol. ii., 1875 (Bagster and Co.), gives an account of the travels of an Egyptian official in Palestine. The date of the journey is assigned by M. Chabas to some period between the 12th and the 15th centuries B.C. Lieutenant Conder has followed the route of this traveller step by step, identifying the places he visited by means of the new names he has obtained from the Survey.

The second document is that published by Mariette Bey, and consists of lists on the walls of the pylones of the Temple at Karnak, of places conquered by Thothmes III. Those names which belong to Palestine are of the Canaanite period. It is a list older than the lists in the Book of Joshua. The identifications proposed by Lieutenant Conder will be found in his paper.

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The first memoir which Lieutenant Conder will prepare is that on the sheet called the Jenin sheet. It includes forty-eight biblical sites (either new or old identifications), with twenty identifications of early date. On examination of the list of names, the following points of interest were noticed.

(1) *Affarea*, a town mentioned by Jerome as six Roman miles north of Megiddo, = *el Farriyeh*, at exactly that distance.

(2) *Arbol*, noticed in the Onomasticon as nine miles from Megiddo in the great plain, = *Arabûneh*, at the proper distance.

(3) *Adamah*, a town of Naphtali, situate west of the Sea of Galilee, = *Kh. Admah*, near Kaukab el Hawa, on the north of Wady Bireh (which appears to form the boundary).

(4) *Anem*, a town of Manasseh, apparently near Jenîn, = el Ghannâm, two miles south of Jenîn.

(5) *Kedesh*, a town of Issachar, and therefore in the great plain, = *Tell Abu Kalis*, an ancient site near Megiddo.

(6) *Aver*, a town of Manasseh, probably 'Allar, in the territory of that tribe.

(7) *Ain el Jem'ain*, "fountain of the two troops," possibly the well Harod, where Gideon divided his men, being near Gilboa.

(8) *Anahareth*, a town apparently near Shunem, belonging to Issachar. The name is almost exactly represented by the modern *en-Naurah*, in the required position.

(9) Megiddo and Bethshan were separate cities belonging to Manasseh; about a mile from each is a Tell with a name somewhat resembling Manasseh—viz., *Tel Mensi*, near the former, and *Tell el Menshiyeh*, near the latter.

(10) In the plain of Beisan are found the name of *Rahab*, a place called *Gilgal* near it, and a ford of Jordan called "the ford opened by God."

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The long promised restoration of the Moabite Stone by M. Clermont-Ganneau is at last completed. A fac-simile cast, in white plaster, has been presented to the Committee by the authorities of the Louvre. A photograph has been taken, which can now be obtained at Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. The

position of the actual fragments is very clearly marked ; there can be no confusion between them and the part restored by means of the squeeze in the possession of M. Gamneau.

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We regret to say that the delay in the publication of the promised archaeological work on the Researches of M. Clermont-Ganneau, is due to the illness of that indefatigable worker. But the book has not been given up, and will be proceeded with as soon as its principal author is able to go on with it.

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We publish on page 99 a remarkable paper by Professor Sprenger, the well-known eminent Orientalist, which sums up, and, we hope, finally disposes of the famous Shapira forgeries, which were first exposed almost simultaneously by M. Clermont-Ganneau and the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake.

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The American Expedition, east of the Jordan, commanded by Colonel Lane, has suspended work for the present. Colonel Lane has returned to New York. The Rev. Selah Merrill is still in Syria. They have made a large collection of photographs, which will immediately be published. Their route lay through the Hauran, southward through Moab, and so on to Jerusalem. Among the important places photographed are Kunawât, the Kenath of Numbers xxxii. 42 ; Bnsrah, the Moabite Bozrah of Jeremiah xlvi. 24, supposed to be distinct from the Bozrah of Edom, mentioned elsewhere ; Um el-Gemal, identified as the Beth-gannul of Jeremiah xlvi. 23 ; Jerash, the Gerasa of Roman history ; and Ammân, the Rabbath-Ammon of Scripture, and the Philadelphia of Greek and Roman annals. These cities are all within a circuit of fifty miles to the east and south-east of the Sea of Galilee, except the last, which is more distant towards the south-east.

The descriptive catalogue of about ninety has been prepared by the Rev. Selah Merrill. The whole will be published as soon as possible. The future action of the New York Committee has not yet been decided upon.

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Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs will be published at Easter. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound. The following is the list of the selected views :—

1. The Valley of Sorek (1 Sam. vi. 12).
2. The Valley of Michmash (Judges xx. 31, and Isaiah x. 28).
3. Mount Moriah.
4. The Mosque El Aksa.
5. Elisha's Fountain (2 Kings ii. 22).
6. Bethlehem.
7. Interior of the Dome of the Rock.
8. The Baptism in Jordan.
9. Cana in Galilee.
10. Bethany.
11. The "Via Dolorosa."
12. The Traditional Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

All Lieut. Kitchener's views can be obtained at the same rate as the ordinary photographs of the Fund, of the agent, Mr. Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross. The complete list is on page 62.

The financial position of the Fund may be ascertained by reference to the balance-sheet and the Treasurer's statement, shewing a balance of £555 still due to the Treasurer. It should be observed that the balance against the Fund has been reduced from £759 18s. on December 31, 1875, to £200 0s. 4d. on March 28, 1876.

The income from all sources from January 1 to March 28 amounted to £1395 13s. 4d., and the balance at the banks on the last day was £561 2s. 2d.

The expenses during the stay at home are somewhat diminished, but as the Survey party now consists of seven officers and men, about £200 a month is still required for the necessary expenses. Subscribers will observe that the work of map drawing is imperative, and would have had to be done at the conclusion of the Survey, so that no time is lost. The Committee earnestly hope that the annual subscriptions will be paid on the usual application being made, if not before.

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The following are the diocesan representatives of the Society :—

PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

Diocese of Exeter : Rev. Franklin Bellamy, St. Mary's Vicarage, Devonport.

Gloucester and Bristol : E. H. Stanley, Esq., 80, City Road, Bristol.

Archdeaconry of Hereford : Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

Archdeaconry of Salop : Rev. A. F. Forbes, Badger Rectory.

    "    Lichfield :    "                    "

London : Rev. Henry Geary, 26B, North Audley Street.

Norwich : Rev. F. C. Long, Stowupland, Stowmarket.

Essex : Rev. W. H. A. Emra, Great Blakenham Rectory.

Peterborough : Rev. A. F. Foster, Farnish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester : Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Archdeaconries of Canterbury, Maidstone, and Surrey : Rev. R. J. Griffiths, 10, Trafalgar Road, Old Kent Road, S.E.

PROVINCE OF YORK.

York : Rev. J. De Courey Baldwin, Training College, York.

Archdeaconry of Craven : Rev. J. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

IRELAND.

Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

The Rev. Horrocks Cocks, 17, Edwardes Square, London, S.W., has also kindly offered his services among Nonconformist churches.

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While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications by officers of the Fund, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.



Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application. It is best to cross all cheques and post-office orders to Coats and Co.

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The Committee are always grateful for the return of old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

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Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Associations are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W.

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Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statements* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street, or to the office of the Fund. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," price one shilling. They can be obtained for any year by subscribers who have complete sets.

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### TOMB AT JERUSALEM.

A VERY interesting tomb has recently been opened about two miles from Jerusalem in the direction of Sur-bâhir. It consists of a cave in which has been constructed of masonry a chamber measuring seven and a half feet by ten feet, with "deep" loculi, also of masonry, on each of its four sides. The roof of this chamber is formed by the rock, which slopes downwards towards the door. The loculi are eighteen in number—eight on the left side (four above four), six on the right (four above two), two at the end opposite the door, and one on each side of the door. They are all somewhat larger than the usual rock-cut loculi, measuring nearly two feet by two feet. They were each closed by a stone slab carefully fitted, and these slabs have been removed by the fellahin, and are now lying upon the floor of the chamber. On the north side, opposite the door, is the usual bench, also of masonry. The entrance is by a descent of seven (or eight) steps; it is closed by a stone door still *in situ*, and swinging on its pivots, and having a groove on its inner side for the lock. Some of the lead with which the lock was fixed still remains. The masonry is of large well-dressed stones, and the joints are carefully cemented. The loculus farthest from the door on the western side leads into a portion of the cave beyond the masonry, and in this are ancient loculi sunk in the rock. In one of the loculi remains of iron nails and wood were found, which probably formed part of a coffin. No inscriptions or crosses were discovered upon the masonry, or the lamps found in the tomb, but a cross is rudely cut on the rock outside, and there can be

little doubt that the masonry is of the Christian period, an old sepulchral cavern, whose loculi had crumbled away, having been utilised by building new tombs within it. On a hill just above is a site called Khirbet Subkhah, where are several cisterns and large stones. One of the latter bears some rude crosses cut upon it. Masonry tombs are very rare in South Palestine, and the stone door still upon its hinges is unique. It is much to be desired that this monument be preserved from destruction, but there is probably little chance of this, as the stones are valuable for building. The swinging stone door in a tomb of comparatively recent date is of considerable archæological interest, as showing that these doors were in use at a later period than is commonly supposed.

THOS. CHAPLIN, M.D.

*Jerusalem, March 2nd, 1876.*

### THE STONE OF FOUNDATION.

THE following from the Mishnah Yoma, v. 2, translated for me, January 30, 1872, by the late Emanuel Deutsch, may prove interesting with reference to Dr. Chaplin's paper on the "Stone of Foundation," published in the *Athenæum*, p. 608, 1875:—

Yoma, v. 2. "Since the ark had been taken away [*i.e.*, since the days of the first Temple] there was [only] a stone there [in the Holy of Holies] from the time of the first prophets; and its name was Shithiah [foundation], three fingers' height above the ground, and upon it did he [the high priest] place it [the incense]."

CHARLES WARREN.

*Waltham Abbey, Jan. 28th 1876.*

### NEW PHOTOGRAPHS.

THE following is Lieut. Kitchener's complete list:—

1. Scene of the Return of the Ark.
2. Scene of the Attack on the Philistines' Camp by Jonathan and his Armour-bearer.
3. Mount Moriah, the Site of Solomon's Temple.
4. Site of Solomon's Palace.
5. Elisha's Fountain.
6. Bethlehem.
7. Interior of Dome of the Rock.
8. The Jordan.
9. Cana in Galilee.
10. Bethany.
11. Way of the Cross.

12. The Traditional Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
13. Jerusalem: View from Palestine Exploration Fund house on Zion.
14. Citadel at Jerusalem.
15. Abbey Church of St. Marie la Grande, Jerusalem.
16. West Window of ditto.
17. Cloisters of ditto.
18. General View north of Jerusalem.
19. Jeremiah's Grotto north of Jerusalem.
20. Dome of the Rock, interior.
21. Ditto, showing architectural details.
22. Sebil Keyat Bey, Haram Enclosure, Jerusalem.
23. Kubbet el Abd, near Jerusalem.
24. Site of Bether (Bittir), near Jerusalem.
25. Boundary of Judah—Kustal in the distance.
26. Church of Santa Hannah, Beit Jibrin.
27. Cave at Beit Jibrin (Columbaria).
28. Fortifications at Beit Jibrin.
29. Details of Arcade at Beit Jibrin.
30. Adullam, showing the Caves.
31. Ditto, showing the Site of the City.
32. Ascalon: General View from East.
33. Ditto: View from East Wall.
34. Ditto: View on Sea-shore.
35. Ditto: Tomb Sheikh Mohammed el Messelli.
36. Ditto: Well (Bir el Kushleh).
37. Ashdod from the South.
38. West Door of Church of St. John, Gaza.
39. Interior of ditto (now used as a mosque).
40. Mosque in Jamnia.
41. Scene at Well, Jamnia.
42. Makkedah (El Moghar) from the East.
43. Valley of Elah, looking west, near Shochoh: scene of battle between David and Goliath.
44. Ditto, looking East.
45. Shefa Anur: Village and Castle.
46. Ditto: Rock-cut Tomb.
47. Church of St. Anne and St. Joachim at Seffurieh.
48. Castle at Seffurieh.
49. Convent at Kasr-Hajlah (Beth Hogla).
50. Masada from North-West, showing the Roman Bank.

To these must be added a photograph of the Restored Moabite Stone and one of M. Clermont-Ganneau's Vase of Bezetha.

## LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

WE have pleasure in stating that the Ladies' Associations in aid of the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund are increasing in number. Mrs. Finn has held meetings at the houses of friends in various places, and one result has been that several hundred persons have heard—some of them for the first time—of the discoveries made by Major Wilson and Captain Warren in Jerusalem, as well as of those made by Lieut. Conder and M. Clermont Ganneau in other parts of the Holy Land. Although many thousand copies of our Quarterly Reports have been circulated, and numerous articles on the subject have appeared in the newspapers and in magazines, it is the fact that there are still numbers of people who do not know that any very definite results have been obtained, or any discoveries of importance made in Palestine. Mrs. Finn has been able, by means of drawings, photographs, and a model of the Temple Sanctuary, to bring home to the minds of many the extraordinary nature of the ancient Temple walls discovered by Capt. Warren. The following is a list, in their order, of the meetings thus held, and the best thanks of the Committee are tendered to the ladies and gentlemen who, by opening their houses, have thus given us opportunities of making our work known in a pleasant and effectual manner.

A meeting was held Jan. 6, at Mrs. De Bergue's, 17, Kensington Palace Gardens, and a large company was present. Colonel Gawler took the chair, and spoke in support of the object.

Jan. 11. The Rev. T. Cornthwaite had a meeting at his house at Walthamstow, and he addressed the assemblage on the subject brought under their notice.

Jan. 17. About sixty persons assembled, being invited to a private room kindly lent for the purpose, at the Crystal Palace, to Mrs. Standing, the secretary of the Sydenham Ladies' Association. The Rev. Canon Gover, Rev. Mr. Franklyn, and Mr. Standing addressed the meeting.

Jan. 21. Lady Smith and Colonel Pinney assembled their friends at their house in Somersetshire, Somerton Erleigh, to hear about the Exploration work. This meeting led to a series of other meetings being held in neighbouring places, viz., on Jan. 25, at Mr. and Mrs. F. H. Dickinson's, Kingweston; on Feb. 1, at Weston-super-Mare, where the Rev. Mr. Hunt presided, and Mrs. Tomkins undertook the office of Secretary to the Ladies' Association formed after the meeting.

On Feb. 2 a meeting was held at Lympham, which was attended by many ladies and gentlemen, as also by the inhabitants of the parish, invited by the Rector, Rev. J. H. Stephenson (Rural Dean), and Mrs. Stephenson. The Rector spoke, as did also the Ven. Archdeacon Denison, of East Brent, expressing their deep interest in the information which had been given to the meeting.

Two meetings were held in Clifton, one by kind permission of Miss

Heptinstall, at 2, Rodney Place. The Right Rev. Bishop Anderson presided, and addressed the meeting, as did also the Rev. W. Wallace and the Rev. J. B. Goldberg, local secretaries. Another meeting was held at the house of Miss Harris. The Rev. Robert Taylor presided at this meeting. The next was held by invitation of Mr. and Mrs. Wingfield Digby, at Sherborne Castle, where a large party met. Mr. Digby presided, and addressed the company on the subject. The Rev. F. W. Portman, Rev. M. and Mrs. Hawtrej, and about seventy other guests were present at this gathering.

On Feb. 11, the Rev. Canon and Miss Meade assembled their friends at the Vicarage at Castle Cary, and Canon Meade opened the meeting by a short address recommending the subject to his friends, among whom were Mr. H. E. and Mrs. Bennett, of Sparkford Hall, who a few days afterwards (Feb. 18) collected another company at their own house for the same purpose. Meetings were also given at Hornblotton Rectory by the Rev. Godfrey and Mrs. Thring, and at Rimpleton Rectory, by the Rev. M. and Mrs. Hawtrej, who spared no pains in collecting their various friends to hear the accounts of our work in Palestine.

The Rev. Canon and Mrs. Pratt had a meeting at the Rectory, Shepton Mallet, on Feb. 21, presided over by Canon Pratt. Some of those who had attended the meetings above mentioned wrote to Torquay and enlisted the aid of friends there, who in their turn obtained the co-operation of others in extending our efforts among our lady friends. The first meeting in Torquay was held at the house of Dr. and Mrs. Macintosh, and this led to others—*i.e.*, one at the house of Mrs. Tinner, where the Rev. Flavel Cook made an eloquent address, urging the importance of the work now being done in the Holy Land. Another meeting was held at Mr. and Mrs. A. R. Hunt's. Meanwhile, friends living at Earley, near Reading, arranged a meeting at the house of Mr. and Mrs. C. Stephens, and a Ladies' Association was formed at Earley, Mrs. Stephens undertaking the office of secretary. A similar meeting was held at Miss Buckland's, Blenheim House. Other friends had taken the matter up at Oxford. The Rev. H. and Mrs. De Brisay opened their house during a whole week for a series of meetings. A special meeting was also held for a large number of young ladies. A very considerable interest appears to have been created, and we trust that our work may commend itself to many in that ancient seat of learning as one of real practical value. Measures have been taken for the formation of a Ladies' Association in Oxford.

Mrs. Charles, of Combe Edge, Branch Hill, Hampstead, invited a large party to her house on the 21st March, and, in spite of the inclement weather, about eighty assembled. On the following day, the 22nd, there was a full meeting at the house of Col. and Miss Fyers, 25, Kensington Square; and another very large meeting on the evening of the 23rd, at Woveford Green, at the house of Mr. and Mrs. Johnston.

## PROPOSED TESTS FOR THE SURVEY.

THE following identifications I have carefully collected, and propose to enlarge upon as forming the best tests of the character of the Survey work. They refer to places the positions of which can be obtained with accuracy, from such sources as the Onomasticon, the Talmud, or the various itineraries. They have been collected during the last few months only, and consequently the map has been made in ignorance of the existence of such records. If, then, we are able simply by measurement to discover in their proper places, and with their proper names, sites as obscure as those about to be noted, we may fairly argue that the probabilities are in favour of all the more important names and places existing on the new Survey, and requiring only patience and scholarship to fix in a generally satisfactory manner. The examples given are merely a selection of those most evidently correct out of a number of about forty.

*Enam.*—The words *Phathach* ‘*Ainim* (פַּתַּח עֵינִים) occurring in Gen. xxxviii. 14, and translated in the English version “in an open place,” are understood by the Rabbis (Sotah, 10a Tal. Bab.)\* to form the name of a town, situate, to use the words of the Authorised Version, “by the way to Timnath.” The Septuagint agrees with this, translating the words πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις ‘*Αἰνάν* “by the gates of Ainan,” or “by the opening of Ainan.” In the list of the towns of Judah we find the name of a town, Tappuah Enam, occurring (Josh. xv. 34) immediately after En Gannim, which is proposed by M. Ganneau for the modern *Umm Jina*. This town, therefore, is also to be sought in the vicinity of Timnath, and in all probability would be identical with Phathach ‘Ainim.

In the Talmud ‘Anim (עֲנִים) is noted as a *Kefr* or village (Pesikta Rabbathi, ch. 23), but the same place is evidently mentioned in the Onomasticon under the name *Αἰνάν* or *Ænam* as a ruin. “Euntibus Thamnam nunc desertus locus et proximus Thamnæ vico grandi”—viz., “now a deserted place and close to the great village of Thamna.”

Close to the site of Thamna, now Tibneh, three miles to the east, on an ancient road coming from Adullam—the very road by which the patriarch Judah would have come from Adullam to Timnah, as related in the passage commented upon (Gen. xxxviii. 14)—will be found on the Survey the ruin called ‘*Allin* or *Wad* ‘*Allein*. This, with the ordinary substitution so common in the Fellahin dialect of L for N or N for L, represents exactly the Hebrew ‘Ainim or ‘Anim. On the south side of the ruin there is, moreover, a spring to which the name *Fatir* is given, possibly a corruption of the Phathach or Tappuah of the Old Testament. This discovery makes the list of fourteen cities of the Shephelah in the group of which the Royal cities Jarmuth and Adullam, were capitals (Josh. xv. 33) almost complete.

\* The quotations of the Gemara are as a rule taken from Neubauer’s *Geographie du Talmud*.

## II.

*Anuath*.—The division between Judæa and Samaria has never been very accurately determined. According to Josephus (B. J. iii. 3. 5) the whole plain of Sharon up to Ptolemais belonged to Judæa, and Samaria therefore had no sea-coast. There is, however, some doubt as to this portion, for Antipatris is spoken of by the Rabbis as a boundary town between the Jews and the Samaritans (Gittin, 76a Tal. Bab.), and Caphar Saba as a Samaritan town (Demoi, ii. 2, Tal. Jer.) Josephus gives the village of Anuath as situate on the same boundary (B. J. iii. 3. 5). The words in the Greek are (H) *Ἀνουὰθ Βορκέως προσαγορευομένη κωμη*. “Anuath, a village belonging to Borceos” (*προσαγορευω* having the meaning to *assign or attribute to*). This is badly translated “*which is also named*,” by Whiston. By a curious mistake Borceos has been identified with *Burkin*, near Jenin, under the mistaken impression that it marked the *northern* boundary of Samaria (cf. Neubauer’s *Geographie du Talmud*, p. 57). A glance at the passage in Josephus is, however, sufficient to show this to be wrong.

In the Onomasticon we find mention of a town called Anua or *Anoua*, as between Jerusalem and Neapolis. According to Eusebius it is on the road between the two towns, fifteen Roman miles from the latter, but Jerome places it at ten miles from Neapolis. If this be the Anuath of Josephus, the town of Borceos is to be sought not far off.

In a former paper I have shown that a similar discrepancy between Jerome and Eusebius is due to the fact of two places of the same name existing near one another. This is probably the case in the present instance. To the west of the main road, from Nablus to Jerusalem, at a distance of thirteen English miles, or fourteen and one-third Roman miles from Nablus, is the ruin of *Aliata*, marked on the Nablus sheet of the Survey; this with the very common change of N and L, is very near in sound to Anua or Anuath. Farther north, and to the east of the ancient road through Shiloh from Nablus to Jerusalem, at the distance of nine English or ten Roman miles from Neapolis, is the ruin of ‘Ainah, which even more exactly reproduces the Anua of the Onomasticon or the Anuath of Josephus.

It seems most probable that this latter ruin represents the boundary town (for *Aliata*, the Anoua of Eusebius, is situate south of Shiloh, which appears to have belonged to Judæa); so placed, the boundary of Samaria and Judæa becomes immediately plain. A great watercourse rising at ‘Akrabeh (the Accrabi of Josephus) passes by the ruin of *Ainah* on the north, and descends into the little plain north of Lebonah (*Libben*). Thence it continues westwards and becomes of great depth, with precipitous sides passing *Ferkha* (Pherha of the Talmud) on the south side, and beyond this by the important village of *Burkin*. It here obtains the name of *Wady Deir Ballut*, from the fine ruined convent of *Deir Ballut* on its north bank. At this point I once crossed the valley and found it the most formidable we ever encountered, excepting

that of Michmash. Farther west, the same valley runs into the Aujeh River close to *Ras el 'Ain*, the probable site of Antipatris.

There is more than one indication that this is the proper boundary of Samaria. 1st. The Acerabattene Toparchy, of which Acerabi (Akrabeh) was the capital, was on the marches between Samaria and Judæa (B. J. iii. 3). 2nd. Caphar Etea was a Samaritan town, according to Justin Martyr (Apol. ii.), and is no doubt the present *Kefr 'Atia*, near the head of the valley. 3rd. Shiloh and Lebonah, on the south of the division, appear to have belonged to Judæa, whilst Pherha (*Ferkha*) on the north seems to have been Samaritan. 4th. Again, Antipatris was on the very boundary which agrees with the debouching of the wady into the plain.

If in the ruin of *'Ainah* we recover through the Onomasticon the Anuath of Josephus, it is evident that the village of *Brukin* represents Borceos. The distance of these two places apart is only eleven miles, so that *Ainah* may very well be said to have belonged to Brukin.

As regards the northern Samaritan boundary the Survey also gives new information. Bethshean, En Gannim, and a place called Xaloth,\* are noted by Josephus as on the boundary between Samaria and Galilee. To these the Talmud adds Caphar Outheni (כפר עייתני) (*Mishna Gittin*, vii. 8), which M. Neubauer supposes to be identical with the modern *Kefr Kud* (p. 57). Close to this, however, on the Survey (Jemin sheet) will be found the village of *Kefr 'Adhân*, which evidently reproduces very closely the Aramaic name 'Autni.

### III.

*Bethsarisa*.—In 2 Kings iv. 42, we find mention of “a man of Baalshalisha.” The LXX. version in both texts has *Βαθσαρισσα*. We find also a Land of Shalisha mentioned in Saul’s journey to seek the asses of Kish (1 Sam. ix. 4), which may very probably be connected with the town of Beth Sarisa.

In the Onomasticon we find noticed a *βαθσαρισσαθ*, or Bethsarisa, as the place called Baalshalisha in the English version, at about fifteen Roman miles towards the north of Lydda (Diospolis), and in the Regio Thamnitica. Jerome uses the expression “ferme”—i.e., “scarcely”—in translating the fifteen miles of Eusebius. Measuring on the map, we find at a distance of thirteen English miles, or about fourteen and one-third Roman miles, a large ruined village called *Sirisia*. There can be little doubt that this is the Bethsarisa of the Onomasticon, though there is nothing so far to show whether or no it be the Biblical Beth Shalisha. The discovery is of interest principally as giving a point within the Regio Thamnitica, or country of Timnath Heres, a district the boundaries of which have not as yet been determined. The position of

\* Xaloth is generally identified with Iksal (Chesulloth Joseph, Chisloth Tabor, Josh. xix.) This does not agree with the northern boundary of Samaria. It is more probably *Iksim* on the south-west side of Carmel.



Sirisia tends to show that the limits are to be taken at the edge of the Plain of Sharon.

Baal Shalisha (בער שלשה) is also mentioned in the Talmud (Sanhedrim 12a Tal. Bab.) The fruit is here said (commenting on that brought to Elisha by one of its inhabitants) to ripen earlier than in other parts of Palestine. The Targum of Jonathan translates Shalisha by Daroma, the name of a district of which the boundaries are not well determined, though at one time it seems clearly to have included the country round Lydda (Pesachim v. 3). The Land of Shalisha was the first district entered by Saul on leaving Mount Ephraim, and is therefore to be sought near to it. We have therefore here those indications of the position of Baal Shalisha:—

1st. In Daroma, or the low hills near Lydda, according to the Talmudic use of the word.

2nd. In low country not in the high hills where the seasons are later, and where Elisha (then at the mountain Gilgal, now *Jiljilia*) would have possibly found no corn at the time (cf. 2 Kings iv. 42).

3rd. Not far from Mount Ephraim (1 Sam. ix. 4).

These all point to the identity of Baalshalisha with the site claimed as identical by Jerome, and determined by us as the present ruin of *Sirisia*.

#### IV.

*Bezek*.—I have had occasion to point out in a former report (January, 1875, *Quarterly Statement*) that the value of the Onomasticon consists in its facts rather than in its theories, and that whilst the most intimate knowledge of the country is shown by Eusebius and Jerome, the science of identification was not well understood by them.

Baalshalisha, we see by aid of the Jewish Commentaries, probably was correctly identified by them, but in the present instance an entirely wrong identification is suggested.

The Bezek of Adonibezek I have shown to be probably the present *Beit Z'ata*, south of Jerusalem; the Onomasticon, however, notices a Bezek on the road from Neapolis (Nablus) to Seythopolis (Beisan), and seventeen Roman miles from the former. This we find on the Survey as the ruin of *Ibzik*, fourteen English miles (fifteen and a half Roman) from Nablus on the road in question. In pure Arabic the name would be *Bezik*, the addition of an *aleph* before the consonant being a common vulgarism in the dialect of the Fellahin.

#### V.

*Netopha*.—This town is mentioned in the Bible (Esra ii. 22; Nehemiah vii. 26), in lists of which the order appears consecutive, as being between Bethlehem and Anathoth. Under the name *Netopha*, or *Metopa*, the same place is noticed in the *Acta Sanctorum* as “in solitudine,” or in the wilderness of Judah.

In the Talmud (Sheviith ix. 5, Mishna) the Vale of Beth Netopha (בְּקֵעַת בֵּית נְטוֹפָה) is noticed as well watered and grassy. These two

places can scarcely be the same. The Talmudic town may well be identified with the present *Beit Nettif* in the Shephelah, south-west of Jerusalem.

The Biblical town has never yet been identified as far as I can find in the best authorities. On the Survey (Jerusalem sheet) the ruins of a town called *Metoba* or *Umm Toba* will be found north-east of Bethlehem on the edge of the Marsaba desert, thus fulfilling the requisites of the two Biblical lists, and of the later *Acta Sanctorum*.

## VI.

A few scattered Talmudic notices may be classed together as follows:—

1. *Garob* is mentioned in the Gemara (Sanhedrim 103a Tal. Bab.) as situate three miles from Shiloh. M. Neubauer proposes to read Jerusalem for Shiloh (Geog. Tal. p. 150) and identify it with Gareb (Jeremiah xxxi. 39). At the distance of three miles west of Shiloh (*Scilún*) and south of Lebonah (*Libben*) will be found on the Survey a ruin called *Gharabeh*, which is probably the Talmudic *Garob* (גרב), the Arabic letter *ghain* representing, as in other cases, the Hebrew *Gimel*.

2. *Cozeba*.—In a former report I have suggested the identity of the ancient town of Chozeba (1 Chron. iv. 22) with the present ruin of *Kuwzi'ibah*. In the Talmud Beth Cozeba is noticed (Midrash Tanhuma sect. Hukkath 68a), as having a *Bek'ah*, or small plain. This would agree with the proposed site, which is situate immediately south of the great Wady Arrub (valley of Berachoth, 2 Chron. xx. 26), a broad valley to which the term would apply.

3. *Kefr Aziz*—Is noted as being south of Jerusalem, as follows:—

“If one shall train a vine upon any part of a fruit tree, it is lawful to sow seed under the remaining part. . . . Instance: R. Joshua went to Rabbi Ishmael at Kefr Aziz. He showed him a vine hanging on part of a fig-tree, &c., &c. (Mishna, Kilaim vi. 4.)

Rabbi Ishmael lived in Idumea, as we learn from another passage: “Rabbi Jose said, No one orders barley (for feeding a wife) except R. Ishmael, who was by Idumea. (Mishna, Ketuboth v. 8.)

Kefr Aziz may therefore be very probably identified with the great ruin of Aziz discovered by the Survey party south of Yutta, in the borders of Idumea. This part of Palestine would appear to have been the home of more than one Rabbi, for we find that R. Ziphai was buried at Ziph (Berachoth viii.). His tomb was visited by Isaac Chelo in 1334 A.D., and is no doubt the fine sepulchral monument planned by us immediately south of the present *Tell Zif*.

At Maon (*M'á'n*) also, a little farther south, there was a synagogue, traces of which still remain.

4. *Yajúr* is mentioned (Tosaphta, Oholoth, ch. xviii.) with a place called *Júb* or *Gúb*, and “the great tomb” as the limits of the impurity of the town of Ascalon. The inhabitants being idolaters, the town within these limits was not considered as part of the “Land.” Thus, in discussing

the limits of the Holy Land (Tosaphtha, Shevi'ith vi. 1, dating about 120 A.D.), the line is drawn at the "Gardens of Ascalon." This would lead us to identify Yajúr with the site of the village of *El Jurah*, just at the limit of the Gardens of Ascalon. The great tomb may possibly be the present tomb-house of *Sheikh Mâhammed*. Júb and the "Tharin," or "gates," cannot be identified, but it would seem from the above that the Roman Ascalon was not much larger than the Crusading enceinte.

In more than one instance the present *Wely* chapels seem to preserve Jewish traditions. Thus the Kubbet (or dome) of *Sheikh Sant*, at Ser'a, seems probably the traditional tomb of Samson mentioned by Isaac Chelo in 1334 A.D., and Berúr Heil, the residence of R. Johanan ben Zakai (Sanhed. 326, Tal. Bab.), in the environs of Yebna, is not improbably the present small mosque of *Abu Hreir*. (See the "Arabs in Palestine," by M. Ganneau, *Macmillan's Magazine*, vol. xxxii., p. 370, and *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1875.)

## VII.

In conclusion, some of the less important sites noticed in the various early authorities may be readily identified by use of the Survey.

1. *Choba*.—Χωβα is mentioned in Judith xv. 3, 4, and identified by Reland with the Coabis of the famous Peutinger Tables (a Roman chart dating 393 A.D.), which is shown as twelve miles south of Scythopolis, on the road to Nablus. This has been identified with the modern *Kubatieh*, which, both in position and in spelling, is an unsatisfactory identification. Twelve English miles south of Beisan (Scythopolis) will be found on the Survey a place called *El Mekhobbi*, a ruin with a cliff beside it called *'Arák Khobbi*. This is more probably the Coabis of the Tables, and the name is philologically nearer to Choba than the other identification.

2. *Ceperaria*.—This also is marked in the Peutinger Tables as a station on the road from Bethgabri (*Beit Jibrin*) to Jerusalem. It is placed at eight miles from the former town, and the total distance to the capital, twenty-four Roman miles, measures with great exactitude. There were three roads between Beit Jibrin and Jerusalem. The one shown on the tables is, however, marked as going eastwards to Ceperaria, where several zig-zags are shown, and it then turns almost due north. This is evidently the ancient road passing by Beth Zacharias (Beit Sakaria), and winding down the high hills into the valley of Elah, south of Adullam. The zig-zags represent exactly the general character of this part of the road, and beside it, just east of the great valley at the commencement of the ascent, stands the ruin of *El Kefr*, at a distance of  $8\frac{1}{4}$  Roman miles ( $7\frac{1}{2}$  English) from Beit Jibrin. This is a new instance of the great value and exactitude of this ancient chart.

3. *Betownea*.—In speaking of Aniel, or *Ανειρ*, the Neiel of Asher (Josh. xix. 27), which is probably the present *F'anin*, east of Acca, the Onomasticon notices a town called Betorenea as identical. It is said by Jerome to be situate "fifteen stones from Cæsarea, in the mountain

towards the east side, where also the baths (*lavacra*) are said to be salubrious."

At the distance of sixteen English miles east of Cæsarea, along the great road leading to the plain of Esdraelon, and some few miles south of our camp at Umm el Fahm, we discovered a village called 'Anín. In company with Dr. Chaplin and Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, I visited this place, which we found to be an ancient site. Rock-cut tombs, now filled in with earth, exist to the north side of the village, and we investigated a curious system of water-supply, which I find mentioned in my note-book as follows:—

"Close to 'Anín is a rock-cut passage cement lined just large enough for a man to enter. It runs some 50 feet into the hill, and then becomes only a foot high." 12th October, 1872.

It is marked on the Survey sheet to the north of the village and east of the tombs. It leads out on to a sort of rock platform.

In this we probably have remains of the baths mentioned by Jerome.

4. *Fathoura*.—Under this head, commenting on the town Pethor, the home of Balaam (Numb. xxii. 5), Jerome remarks: "Also near Eleutheropolis is a certain town called Fathura, on the way to Gaza."

I discovered in the spring of 1875 on the ancient road to the plain from Beit Jibrin, at a distance of five English miles, the remains of a town evidently of importance in early Christian times, the present name of which is *Fert*. By a common introversion this may possibly be the Fathura of Jerome, though not the Biblical Pethor, which was east of Jordan.

5. *Salim*.—No fewer than four towns of this name are noticed in the Onomasticon, which may be identified as follows:—

1. Saalim, 7 R. M. west of Eleutheropolis; Summeil, 6½ E. M.
2. Salim, near Neapolis (John iii. 23). Salím.
3. Salem, west of Jerusalem. Deir Salám.
4. Salumias, in plain, 8 R. M. from Scythopolis. Salím.

Under the head *Ænon* another Salem is noticed as being near that place and Jordan. *Ænon* is said to be eight miles south of Scythopolis (Beisan). This is the position of the large Christian ruin of *Umm el 'Amdán*, "Mother of Pillars," but we did not succeed in recovering any name like Salem or *Ænon*. There are several springs near the spot.

6. *Betariph*, a town "near Diospolis (Lydda)" is mentioned in the same work in connection with Avim of Benjamin. It is probably the modern *Deir Tarif*, another instance of the fact that the title *Deir*, "Convent," applies as a rule to Christian sites only.

7. *Hasta*, between Ashdod and Ascalon, is probably the present ruin of *Khassch*.

8. *Asor*.—Four towns, apparently ancient Hazors, are placed as follows by Jerome:—

- a. *Aser*, between Ascalon and Azotus, possibly *Yasin*.
- b. *Aser*, 15 R. M. from Neapolis, on road to Scythopolis, possibly the important Christian ruin of *Yerzeh*, situate on an ancient

road 13 English miles from Neapolis, 14½ Roman. It is not marked on any published map that I have seen, but was evidently a large place.

c. *Asor*, in "the bounds of Ascalon, towards the east," possibly the present ruin of *Erzeh*.

9. *Bethked*.—In the account of the journey of Jehu from Jesreel to Samaria (2 Kings x. 12), we find mention of the "shearing house in the way," where he met and slew the forty-two brethren of Ahaziah.

Eusebius takes the words Beth Eked (בֵּית עֶקֶד) to be the name of a town, and places it 15 miles from Legio, in the great plain. This brings us to the position of the present *Beit Kad*, on the edge of the plain of Esdraelon, near Gilboa. It is not, however, in the direct route to Samaria. The Arabic name *Kal* does not, however, at all represent the Hebrew Eked; the biblical site is more probably represented by the present 'Akàdeh on the west side of the great plain.

In this connection I may notice one or two of the places in the preceding chapter. 2 Kings ix. 27.

"He fled by the way of the garden house (Jenín), and Jehu followed after him, and said, Smite him also in the chariot . . . at the going up to Gur, which is by Ibleam, and he fled to Megiddó."

The position of Gur between Ibleam (which Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake identifies with *Bel'ameh*, near Jenín) and Megiddó (*Lejjun*) points to *Kefr Kad* as the site of Gur. The similarity of D and R in both Aramaic and square Hebrew results in continual transpositions as supposed in this case.

The present paper upon these scattered topographical notices will be found to contain over thirty suggested identifications, all of which I believe to be new.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

LIST OF THE MORE IMPORTANT PROPOSED IDENTIFICATIONS.

'Ainim	=	'Allín.
Anuath	=	'Ainah.
Borceos	=	Brúkin.
Baal Shalisha	=	Serísia.
Kefr 'Aútni	=	Kefr Adhán.
Bezek	=	Bezik.
Netopha	=	Metoba.
Garob	=	Gharabeh.
Kefr Aziz	=	Khírbet Aziz.
Yajúr	=	El Júrah.
Choba	=	El Mekhobbi.
Ceperaria	=	El Kefr.
Betoænea	=	'Abín.
Fathoura	=	Fert.
Betariph	=	Deir Taríf.
Gur	=	Kefr Kud.

## THE FIRST TRAVELLER IN PALESTINE.

1. Hieratic Papyrus. Facsimile folio, 1842, pl. 35—61. British Museum.
2. Translation by C. W. Goodwin, "Cambridge Essays," 1853, p. 267—269.
3. "Voyage d'un Egyptien en Syrie en Phenicie en Palestine," &c. F. Chabas. Paris, 1866.
4. "Records of the Past," vol. ii., p. 107—116. London, 1875.

THE history of the interesting document, which it is proposed to examine as far as regards the topography connected with Palestine, may be briefly given as follows. It formed part of a collection made by M. Anastasi, Swedish Consul in Egypt. It was examined by Lepsius in 1838, and bought by the British Museum, and published by them in facsimile in 1842. It consists of twenty-eight pages of fine hieratic writing, and by the character of the letters Egyptologists refer it to the 19th or 20th dynasty. By other arguments it is more exactly limited as to date, and assigned the 14th century B.C., and dates therefore, according to the ordinary chronology, about the time of the oppression of Israel under Jabin, king of Canaan. Its great interest consists in the enumeration of no fewer than 56 places, of which 18 are north of Tyre, and the remaining 38 are in Palestine proper. This gives us a topography which it is important to compare with the history of contemporary events to be found in the Book of Judges, as well as with the lists of the Book of Joshua referring to the same part of Palestine.

The Papyrus gives an account of the travels of an Egyptian officer called a Mohar, a man evidently of importance, journeying in a chariot drawn by horses, and accompanied by a servant. It is not clear what his official duty may have been, but his journey commences near Aleppo, and he visits a certain town, which, as will appear later, must have been on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, and which formed a rendezvous with other Mohars. Thence he returns to Egypt *viâ* Joppa.

There is much in the Papyrus that is very interesting and amusing, but quite unconnected with the topography. Those who wish to see how unchanged the character of a journey in Syria is since the time of this, the earliest visitor to the country of whom we have any record, and how much life and even humour is to be found in a papyrus 2500 years old, should read the text for themselves in the "Records of the Past." The present paper will be confined to the question of the topography referring to Palestine proper and to a comparison with that of the Old Testament.

## I.

The first and second sections contain eighteen names, of which eight are identified by M. Chabas as follows:—

1. Kheta, a tribal name = the northern Hittites (Josh. i. 4).
2. Khaleb = Aleppo, the modern Haleb.
3. Kodesh = Kedesh on the Orontes.

- |            |   |                          |
|------------|---|--------------------------|
| 4. Kabaon  | = | Gebal, the modern Jebel. |
| 5. Berytus | = | Beirut.                  |
| 6. Sidon   | = | Saida.                   |
| 7. Sarepta | = | Sarafend.                |
| 8. Tyre    | = | Sur.                     |

It is sufficiently evident from these identifications that the whole list refers probably to towns near the coast of Syria, and between Aleppo and Tyre; we need, therefore, devote no more space to this group, as the unknown towns all apparently lie north of Beirut. It is important, however, to observe that the order of occurrence shows a systematic progress southward by the coast road, where a chariot could be driven with safety.

## II.

The third section of the Papyrus is of sufficient importance to be quoted:—

PAGE LINE

- 21 . 3 The entrance of Djaraou, and the order thou hast given to set this city in flames. A Mohar's office is a very painful one.
- 21 . 4 Come, set off to return to Pakaikna. Where is the road of Aksaph?
- 21 . 5 In the environs of the city; come then to the mountain of Ousor: its top,
- 21 . 6 how is it? Where is the mountain of Ikama? Who can master it? What way has the Mohar
- 21 . 7 gone to Hazor? How about its ford? let me go to Hamath,
- 21 . 8 to Takar, to Takar-Aar, the all-assembling place of the Mohars; come
- 22 . 1 then, on the road that leads there. Make me to see Jah. How has one got to Matamim?

This curious description seems to refer to a journey from Tyre to Tarkaal, including a notice of ten places, of which M. Chabas only identifies two with any degree of certainty. It will be best to notice each site in the order of occurrence.

1. *Djaraou*. An alternative reading is *Tsaraou*.—This town seems to have been somewhat out of the line of the traveller's march, since we find him *returning* from it to the next. It seems to be near Tyre, and if we accept M. Chabas' identification of the next site, *Tsaraou* should be near the town of *Kana*. This would lead us to suppose an identity with the ruin of *El Mezra'ah*, a spot which will be found marked on Murray's new map, about three miles east of *Kanah*. The change is a very simple one, in accordance with the ordinary laws of the survival in Arabic of ancient names. *Zera'a*, or *Tsaraah*, would mean "sowing," and the servile letter *mim* may be supposed to have been added, making *Me-Zera'a*, or "place of sowing." The road from Tyre to *El Mezra'ah* passes through *Kana*,

and thus the Mohar if intending, as seems most probable, to follow the coast, would naturally "return to Pakaikna."

It is important here to note that the Mohar is travelling in a chariot. In the Bible we find contemporary record of "chariots of iron," but it seems clear that these chariots were used only in the plains. In our Papyrus it will be found that the Mohar's chariot is broken as soon as he attempts to pass down a difficult ravine (p. 23, line 3); previously we have no account of any great difficulties, excepting in the case of two mountains mentioned in the present section. It is, therefore, *primá facie*, most probable that the route should be traced across open country, avoiding as much as possible the rugged hills and deep ravines.

2. *Pakáikna*, or, taking the alternative reading, *Pakanana*.—This, as M. Chabas suggests, may be identified with Kanah the Great, "an ancient town whose ruins may be seen two hours and a half south-east of Tyre. It was here that M. Renan found the finest of the Tyrian sepulchres. Near Kana is the Egyptian bas-relief of Wady 'Ashúr. This is, however, only hypothetical" (Chabas' Memoir, p. 179). The position, it will be seen above, fits well with the general topography, as a road leads through Kana to El Mezra'ah, and again from Kana to the main line along the coast.

3. *Aksaph*.—The Hieratic Aksapou M. Chabas supposes to be the Achshaph of Joshua (xii. and xix.), a town occurring in the list of Asher. Dr. Robinson has proposed to identify it with the present *El Kesaf*, but the objection to this position is very strong. The territory of Asher is defined by Josephus as "that part which was called *the valley*, for such it was, and all that part which lay over against Sidon. The city Aree belonged to their share, which is also named Actippus" (Achzib), *Ant.* v. 1. 22.

It is pretty evident in this case that *El Kesaf*, situate in the hills above the sources of the Jordan, and thus within the limits of the tribe of Naphtali, cannot represent a town of Asher, which must be sought in the *valley* or *Shephelah*, the low country bordering the maritime plain, and probably not far south of Achzib, the modern *El Zib*. The list of the towns of Asher in this part includes the names of the following towns (Josh. xix. 25), which may be identified as below.

1. Helkath = Yerkush—Schwartz.
2. Hali = 'Alia—Vandevelde.
3. Beten = Bethbeten—Onomasticon.
4. Achshaph = Yasif—C.R.C.

The towns thus enumerated occur in regular order, in accordance with the proposed canon of identification published in the *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1875. It is unnecessary to go into the question of the south boundary of Asher, because these places are well within the limits of the tribe. El Yasif is a town on the very edge of the plain, south-east of El Zib, and the name corresponds exactly to the LXX. translation Αἶψα.



The towns of Asher appear to be enumerated in order; those on the east first, going southwards, and afterwards those on the west going north. If, therefore, the Egyptian be supposed to visit the Achshaph of the Old Testament—a place of importance and a royal city—he will be found to have followed the coast road from Tyre almost to Akka, which is very practicable for a chariot, whilst the line from Tyre to El Kesaf is intersected by several very considerable water-courses, and runs over very hilly country.

4, 5. *Mount Ousor and Mount Ikama*.—It is not clear whether the phrase “in the environs of the city” is an answer to the question, “Where is the road?” or whether it defines the position of the two names following it. Achshaph is much nearer to the next place, Hazor, than to Tyre or Kanah, hence we should expect names to occur along the road, just as subsequently (p. 22, line 1) we find places mentioned out of order. M. Chabas compares Ousor with Asher, the tribe in whose territory the traveller is journeying. As noticed above, a Wady Ashúr exists close to Kana, and another Wady ‘Azziyeh is to be found close to the great promontory of Ras el Abiad.

It is worthy of remark that in the journey from Tyre to Achshaph the traveller passes over two promontories, the only places where any difficulty occurs in the road, one being the *Ras el ‘Abiad*, the second the *Ras el Nakura*, or Ladder of Tyre. The word translated “top,” referring to Mount Ousor, is compared by M. Chabas with the form רָאשׁ (*Ras*), being identical with the Arabic *Ras* or *promontory*, as above. It is, therefore, quite possible that the document here describes the difficulties experienced by the traveller in passing round these two important headlands.

6. *Hazor*.—The name Hazor, meaning in Hebrew “an enclosure,” is of very common occurrence throughout Palestine. Two Hazors at least are mentioned as occurring in Galilee in the time of Joshua, and three Hazors are to be found in this district to the present day.

The first of these is a Hazor close to *Tell el Kadi* the modern representative of Dan, at the main source of Jordan. This seems at first a likely identification, as a ford of Jordan exists near. It would agree with the position given by Robinson for El Kesaf if identified with Aksapou; but to this there is the objection that the Mohar visits the west and not the east coast of the Sea of Galilee, and that it would have been extremely difficult to proceed from Tyre to El Kesaf, or thence to Tiberias.

The second Hazor is the En Hazor of Josh. xix. 37, a site identified with Hazzur or Hazzireh, close to Wady el Ayyun, and occurring in the lists in its proper order between towns in the same district also identified. There can scarcely, however, be any connection between this and the Hazor of the Egyptian.

Of the position of the Royal Hazor, the seat of King Jabin in the time of Joshua, and of another Jabin, king of Canaan, at the very time of this Egyptian journey, we have no definite indication in the Bible.

It is said by Josephus to have stood above the waters of Merom, and is therefore generally identified with the present *Tell Hurrawiyeh*, east of Kadesh.

It seems probable that the Hazor of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 36) mentioned in connection with Ramah (Er Rameh) and Kedesh (Kedes) is the same place, for otherwise the royal city would not appear at all in the lists; but in spite of the word used by Josephus there seems some ground for supposing that this royal city is the present '*Ain Hazzur*, a spring, and a ruin of importance existing near *Er Rameh*, the supposed site of Ramah of Naphtali; for not only does the name occur next in the list to that of Ramah, but Jabin is called King of Canaan, or the "low lands," which seems a title scarcely applicable to the country near Kedesh. On the other hand, Sisera, captain of Jabin's army, is found flying to the immediate neighbourhood of Kedesh after his defeat by Barak.

Whichever be the site of the Royal Hazor, there can be but little doubt that '*Ain Hazzur* represents the Hazor of the Egyptian Mohar, for if the position of Achshaph and its identity with Aksapon be admitted, this place lies on the road which he would naturally have followed in going from the maritime plain to the shores of the Sea of Galilee.

An important valley starts near this spring, and the main road from Akka, down the plain of Ramah, passes north of it. Thus, without crossing any mountain ridge, the Mohar is able to drive from the western plain to Hazor, but here he is obliged to cross the watercourse of the main Wady, as we may understand him to mean when speaking of the "ford" of Hazor.

7. *Hamath*.—M. Chabas himself is inclined to identify this with the fenced city Hammath of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 35) which we learn from the Talmudists was near Tiberias. The fact that the next places are to be found in the Jordan valley would seem almost decisive on the question.

8, 9. *Jah* . . and *Matamim*.—The Papyrus is here defective. North of the valley by which the Mohar would seem to have descended to Hammath is the present Yakúk, the representative of the Biblical Hukkuk, the *Иккк* of the LXX. It is possible that this may represent the fragmentary word *Ia*, a place evidently between Hazor and Hamath. *Metamim* is a word which would seem to refer to water—compare the Hebrew מים (*Mím*) "waters." It may refer to the springs of the plain of Genesareth or to the waters of the lake itself.

10. The phrase "to Takar (or Tarka) to Takar Aar (or Tarkaal)" may be supposed to refer to one place, as the *al* is probably the Hebrew *el*, "God," so often attached to the names of places, as *Jabneel*, *Eshtaol*, &c. M. Chabas identifies it with the Tarichæa of Josephus, a place thirty stadia south of Tiberias (*Vita*, § 32) which is identified by Major Wilson, R.E., with the ruin of Kerak, at the point where the Jordan leaves the Sea of Galilee. This agrees well with the subsequent narrative.

## III.

The fourth section of the Papyrus describes a group of towns, not apparently in the main direction of the journey, though evidently visited by the Mohar. It runs as follows:—

PAGE LINE

- 22 . 3 I will speak to thee of the towns other than the preceding ones.  
 Wentest thou not to the land of Takhis, to Cofer-Marlon, to Tamena,  
 22 . 4 to Qodesh, to Dapour, to Adjai, and to Harnemata? Hast thou  
 not seen Keriath-Anab, near to  
 22 . 5 Beith-Tuphar? Knowest thou not Odulam and Tsidphoth?  
 Knowest thou not the name of  
 22 . 6 Khaouretsa, which is in the laud of Aup?

These places, with exception of the last, would seem to be in the land of Takhis. This district should probably be sought in Galilee, for in another papyrus we find it mentioned with the tribes of the Amaour (the northern Amorites), the Kheta (the northern Hittites), and Ars (supposed to be Asher). M. Chabas proposes identifications with places scattered all over Palestine, many being in parts where a chariot could scarcely have penetrated. It will appear, however, that the majority at least can be found in Upper Galilee, in the neighbourhood of Kedesh, and in the very part of Palestine where, if we credit Josephus, the chariots of Jabin assembled.

The number of names is ten, none of which are identified with any degree of certainty by M. Chabas. They may be discussed in turn as follows:—

11. *Cofer-Marlon*, or *Cofer-Maron*.—The R and L appear to be indistinguishable in the hieratic character. Two places of similar name are mentioned in the Old Testament, both royal cities—1st, Shimron Meron, or “the watch-tower of Meron;” and 2nd, Maron, the *Μαρων* of the LXX., which is written Madon in the English version (Josh. xi. 1). Both of these are noticed in later Jewish writings, and both still exist, the former being apparently *Meirûn*, a place famous in Talmudic times; the latter *Márûn*, near Kedesh. It would seem probable that the Maron of the Mohar is this *Marûn*, the Cofer being the representative of the Aramaic Caphar or Arabic Kefr, “a village.”

It is curious to remark that Maron and Achshaph with the town of Shimron (not apparently Shimron Meron, but another, now *Sammûnich* farther south, and lying out of the Mohar’s route) were the royal towns to whose kings Jabin of Hazor sent messages in the time of Joshua (Josh. xi. 1). It would seem, therefore, that a league of some kind existed among these tribes, and it is not impossible that the Amorites and Canaanites in the time of Sisera were allied to Egypt against the children of Israel—an explanation fully agreeing with the subsequent narrative, when the Mohar appears to enter a hostile country on leaving Galilee and approaching the land of Manasseh.

12. *Tamena*.—Two towns of similar name are to be found in the south of Palestine: 1st, Timnah of Samson, a town of Judah (Josh.

xv. 10), now *Tibneh*; 2nd, Timnath, the town selected by Joshua (Josh. xix. 50), now *Tibuch*, in Mount Ephraim. The present Timnath is, however, more probably one mentioned in the Talmud as existing in Galilee, and from its connection with Maron and Kedesb it may be identified with *Tibuin*, the Crusading Toron, about ten miles north-west of Kedesb.

13. *Qadesh* is apparently Kadesh of Naphtali, a place often mentioned in the Bible. M. Chabas hesitates between this and several other Biblical towns of the same name; all, however, very far from the previous scene of the Mohar's wanderings.

14. *Dapour*, *Dapul*, or *Dubl*.—The L and R being indistinguishable. This name does not appear to represent any Scriptural place. There is, however, in the district visited by the Mohar, a site of some importance called in modern Arabic *Dibl*, which may possibly represent the place in question.

15. *Adjai* or *Atai*.—Not far from the site just noticed are ruins and a spring, to which the name of *Atu* is now given; these two identifications seem to agree well together. *Ata* is about four miles west of Kedesb, and *Dibl* six miles farther west.

16. *Harnemata*.—This, if a Hebrew word, would mean "Mountain of Nemmata," a place apparently not mentioned in the Bible. If, however, the next identification of Beth Anath with Keriath Anab be accepted, it must be noticed that a town called Horem precedes Beth Anath in the list of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 38), just as Harnemata precedes Keriath Anab in the Mohar's list. Possibly, then, Harnemata may be a lengthened form of Horem (the modern *Hurah*, as identified by Vandeveldé).

17. *Keriath Anab*.—The three names on the list now following Keriath Anab, Odulam or Adúram, and Beith Tuphal or B. Tufhar, naturally suggest the three towns in Judah—Kirjath Jearim, Adullam, and Beth Tappuah; but it is remarkable that these names all recur in the north of Palestine, as does that of Bethlehem, and possibly that of Hebron. M. Chabas proposes to identify Keriath Anab with the modern Kariet el 'Anab, often called Abu Ghosh. This is, however, probably a modern name. The real title, as we have often remarked, of Abu Ghosh, is simply *Kariet*, and it seems to represent the Kirjath of Benjamin (Josh. xviii. 28). In the north of Palestine we find a *Beth Anath*, mentioned in the list of the towns of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 38) as follows:—

Migdal el	=	Mujeidel, Robinson.
Horem	=	Hurah, Vandeveldé.
Bethanath	=	Hánin, C. R. C.

Beth Anath is the Beth Ana of the Talmud, and the last mentioned but one of the towns of Naphtali in a list beginning apparently in the south, and going northwards to the district of Kadesh.

Keriath Anab is defined as being near Beith Tufhal. It is curious to remark that *Hanin* is close to the Dibl, which it is proposed to identify with the Dupul of the Mohar; whether Beith Tufhal be the same place

recurring is of course doubtful, but if so, it would give a reason for the definition, and serve to identify the Kariath Anab of the Egyptian with the Beth Anath of Joshua.

18. *Odulam* or *Aduram*, M. Chabas proposes to be either Adullam or Adoraim, in the tribe of Judah. There is another Adullam in the north, the present 'Adlún, the site of the Greek town of Ornithon. If, however, the land of Takhis be circumscribed to the hill district of Kedesh, Aduram may very well be supposed identical with the Edrei (עדרים) of Naphtali, the Ἐδραὺν of the LXX. This site occurring between Kedesh and En Hazzor (Hazzur), may possibly be placed at the modern 'Aitherún, some three miles west of Kadesh Naphtali. Thus the whole number of sites in this list is brought into a district of about 150 square miles.

19. *Tsidphoth*.—Supposing the former identifications to correctly represent the district visited by the Mohar, this town falls into place as the Tsephath of the Talmud and Seph of Josephus, the modern important town of Safed. This identification is hinted by M. Chabas, though he discards it in consequence of identifying the three preceding places with towns in the south of Palestine.

20. *Khaouretsa*.—This town, evidently a fortress of importance, was in the land of Aup. The meaning of Aup is not exactly known. It occurs again in the first section of the Papyrus, and is supposed by M. Chabas to refer to a district near the Lebanon and the country of the Kheta. M. Chabas proposes to identify Khaouretsa with Harosheth of the Gentiles (Judges iv. 2), the home of Sisera, captain of Jabin's host. There is as yet no satisfactory identification of this place, which is not mentioned in any other passage in the Bible. It has been placed at the present village of *El Harathiyeh*, but there seems no reason for this beyond a certain similarity of name, and it is far more probable that Harosheth is to be sought in the neighbourhood of Kadesh and Safed, which would agree with the mention of Khaouretsa—if the same—in this part of the narrative.

The towns of this section are thus supposed to represent the principal places in the tribe of Naphtali, with the addition of three not mentioned in any Jewish writings.

#### IV.

The narrative at this point would seem to take up the continuation of the Mohar's journey from the rendezvous of Tarkaal (Tarichea), and runs as follows:—

PAGE LINE.

22 . 7 Come then to the image of SINA : let me know RO-

22 . 8 HOB : represent to me BEITH-SHEAL as well as KERIATHAAL. The fords of the

23 . 1 Jordan, how does one cross them ? let me know the passage to enter Mageddo, whereof it remains to speak. Thou art a Mohar,

23 . 2 expert in courageous deeds. Is there found a Mohar like thee to march at the head of the soldiers, a Marina

## PAGE LINE

23 . 3 superior to thee to shoot an arrow! Take care of the gulf in the ravine two thousand cubits deep; full of rocks and rolling stones.

23 . 4 Thou makest a *détour* :

The rest of the section describes the flight of the Mohar, his difficulties in a descent "full of rocks and rolling stones, no practicable passage; the road is obstructed by hollies, Indian fig, aloes, and bushes called jackal's shoes. On one side is the precipice, on the other rises the vertical wall of the mountain (p. 24, lines 2 and 3).

In this descent the horses become frightened and run away, the chariot-pole is broken; and the Mohar impeded by thorny bushes, with the enemy behind, tortured by thirst and heat, is reduced almost to despair. He reaches, however, Joppa (p. 25, line 2), where his chariot is repaired.

There is but little difficulty attending the topography of this section.

21. The *Image of Sina*.—It would seem to apply to some place in the Jordan valley.

22. *Rohob*.—From the context this is evidently the town of Rehob, near Bethshean. This is mentioned under the form Ρωβ in the Onomasticon, and placed by Jerome four miles south of Scythopolis (Beisan). This is the exact distance of the ruins called now *Sheikh el Reháb*, to which site the Mohar evidently refers.

23. *Beithsheal*.—M. Chabas himself identifies this with the town of Bethshean, one of the separate cities of Ephraim (Josh. xvii. 11), an important site, with many Roman ruins, now known as Beisan.

24. *Keriathaal*.—This name strongly suggests the Hebrew Kariathel, "City of God." It may perhaps be the representative of Izra-el, or Jesreel, "the sown of God," or "field of God." The town of Jesreel would be passed by the Mohar in going to Megiddo.

25. *The fords of the Jordan, Jelden* (or *Jerden*).—M. Chabas proposes the identification of this river with the Jordan, but to this there is the objection that the Mohar's journey is directed away from the river, and that there is nothing to lead us to suppose he ever crossed it. In going from Tiberias to Beisan, or immediately after, he would, however, be obliged to cross one of the principal affluents of Jordan, now called *Wady Jalúd*, which, rising at the Well Harod (*Ain Jalúd*), brings a considerable stream down the broad valley from near Jesreel to the neighbourhood of Beisan. It is perhaps to this (the L and R being so difficult to distinguish) that the Mohar here refers.

26. *Mageddo*.—The "passage" to this town is no doubt the broad valley leading up to the plain of Esdraelon, in which Megiddo stood. The town is identified by M. Chabas himself.

The traveller is here warned of the precipitous character of the valleys, apparently those leading down to the maritime plain. He is directed to make a detour, and from this we may gather his general route. For, passing southwards to Engannim (Jenin), he would arrive on the road by which the Midianites, in the time of Joseph, descended

to Egypt, passing by Dothan (Gen. xxxvii. 17). Advancing along the plain of Rameh, he would arrive at a short but difficult defile called Wady Mussin, probably that in which his chariot is broken, and here emerging into the plain of Sharon, he would be on the main road to Joppa, and only twenty-five miles from it.

At Joppa he finds workmen capable of mending his chariot. It would appear that here he enters a country subject to the Egyptians, or at least containing places named after Egyptian kings.

## V.

The following list of eleven places is referred by M. Chabas to the neighbourhood of the Sinaitic peninsula. As, however, the last three on the list are identified by M. Chabas with Rehoboth, Raphia, and Gaza, it would seem more likely that the journey is here continued through Philistia from Joppa to the Egyptian frontier. The 5th Section runs as follows:—

PAGE LINE

- 27 . 2 Come let me tell all that happened to thee at the end of thy road.  
I begin
- 27 . 3 for thee at the dwelling of SESTSOU (RAMSES): hast thou not  
forced thy way therein. Hast thou not eaten fishes of . . . ?
- 27 . 4 Hast thou not bathed therein? O come, let us describe  
Atsion to thee: where is its fortress?
- 27 . 5 Come to the house of OUATI; to Sestson-em-paif-nakhtou-  
ousormara; to Sats . . . aal,\*
- 27 . 6 also to Aksakaba? I have pictured to you Ainini. Knowest thou  
not its customs? Nekhai,
- 27 . 7 and Rehobroth, hast thou not seen them since thy birth, O  
eminent Mohar? Raphia,
- 27 . 8 how about its entrenchment? It covers the space of an *our*  
going towards Gaza.

The topography of this section is perhaps more doubtful than of the remainder, but it is controlled by the starting-point and destination. The Mohar would seem to follow the road branching off to the left from the main line to Egypt and passing along the foot of the Judaean hills towards Rehoboth, in the Negeb or "Dry Land." Thence by the long water-course called in Scripture the River of Egypt, he returns to Raphia on the sea-coast without passing through Gaza. Here on the borders of Egypt his adventures terminate with his return to his native country.

28. *Dwelling of Sestsou.*—Failing the Semitic name of this place it seems impossible to identify this fortress, which was probably near Joppa, with any known site.

29. The name of the river is unfortunately lost, but we have the two valuable indications of its containing sufficient water to bathe in and

\* *Sestsou-em-paif-nakhtou Ousormara* is the name of a fortress built by Ramses II., in Syria or Palestina and different from Ouati. The name means: "Ramses II. in his victories."

also fish. These two points indicate pretty clearly the Nahr Rubín, the only real stream south of Jaffa—a winding, reedy river, which formed the boundary line of the tribe of Judah. Fish are caught in it near the mouth, and the road from Jaffa to Egypt crosses it. If the sequence of the narrative be taken as correct, there can be but little doubt as to this identification.

30. *Atsion*.—This name, applying apparently to a fortress, is compared by M. Chabas with the Hebrew (אַצִּיּוֹן) Etsion. It is mentioned in immediate connection with a temple and with another fortress. If the temple be sought at Ashdod, as proposed below, Atsion may be identified with Tell Yasín, an important point immediately south of Ashdod.

31. *The House of Ouati*.—M. Chabas himself shows that this refers, in all probability, to a temple dedicated to a goddess. The name Ouati resembles that of the well-known Oannes, a fish divinity. We are at once reminded of Ashdod, originally the centre of worship of the fish god Dagon and the fish goddess Derceto. The latter deity was in later times worshipped at Ascalon, but the Mohar's route would hardly seem to have brought him into the neighbourhood of that city.

32. *Ousormara*.—A town of Hazor, now *Yasur*, exists immediately east of Ashdod; another similar name, Asor, is noticed in the Onomasticon as that of a place situate east of Ascalon. It would appear to be represented by the present ruin of *Erzeh*.

33. *Sats . . . aal*, or *Saj . . . ar*.—In the mutilated condition of the MS. it is impossible to identify this place with certainty. A site called anciently Saphir, and now *Suafir*, is to be found in the neighbourhood of Ashdod, on the road which the Mohar is here supposed to have taken.

34. *Aksakaba*.—We have apparently several instances of reduplication in the names given by the Mohar, as *Kanana* for Kana, and *Rehobroth* for Rehoboth. *Harnemata* for Horem I have before supposed to be a similar case, and indeed the apparent accuracy of the Semitic nomenclature as given by the Mohar is surprising. Mistakes of a far graver kind than the mere confusion of syllables would be to be expected in such a document. There is therefore, perhaps, but little objection to the identification of Aksakaba with the important spring of 'Ain Kasába, which lies on the main road to Rehoboth from the neighbourhood of Ashdod.

35. *'Ainini* or *Ain Nini*.—A place called *'Ain Nini* exists farther north, at the edge of the Philistine plain. The district in which the preceding and following places are probably to be found does not, according to existing maps, contain any names of similar sound. The Ordnance Survey of this part has, however, still to be completed.

36. *Nekhai*.—Considering the continually occurring interchange of N and L, there is probably little objection to the identification of this place with the important ruined site called *Lekiyeh*, which stands just on the edge of the Philistine plain, and near the main road by which the Mohar is supposed to be travelling.

37. *Rehobroth*.—This M. Chabas himself identifies with the Rehoboth



of Isaac (Gen. xxxvi. 22), a site lately identified as existing some sixteen miles south of Beersheba at the head of the great *Wady Refah*—the boundary of Egypt and Palestine from the time of Joshua to the present day. The present name of the site of Rehoboth is *Er Ruheibeh*, and it lies on the same road pursued by the Mohar if visiting 'Ain Kasaba and Lekiyeh.

*Raphia*.—This site, an important town forming the south boundary of Palestine, and very often mentioned by Josephus, is identified by M. Chabas with the last place mentioned by the Mohar. From Rehoboth he would have followed the course of W. Refah, probably the "River of Egypt" (Josh. xv. 4). Thus he would not have passed through Gaza, which he mentions, however, as not far off. Raphia has been long identified with the modern frontier village of *Refah*.

## VI.

We have thus succeeded in tracing the Mohar on his travels throughout the entire length of Palestine on a theory which seems to have two great recommendations:—

1st. That the route lies in plains or broad valleys where a chariot could be driven (and where, according to the Bible and Josephus, chariots were used) except in the striking instance of a narrow valley specially noticed in the MS.

2nd. That the places occur in a regular order of succession, the only detour being that into the land of Takhis, when the section is headed with the suggestive passage, "I will speak to thee of towns *other than* the preceding." Although some of the identifications may be doubtful, there are, I would suggest, a sufficient number which can hardly be disputed, and which show the general scheme of the journey to be correctly understood. Thus, with the following properly fixed, namely, Tyre, Aksaph, Hamath, Takar-Aar, Rehob, Beithsheal, Mageddo, Joppa, Aksakaba, Rehobroth, and Raphia, the general course of the journey is clear. The majority of these are suggested by M. Chabas, but he only identifies five with any amount of certainty out of eleven. Again, Qodesh, Marlon, Tamena, and Tsidphoth, are sufficient to point out the position of the Land of Takhis. M. Chabas does not, however, identify any of these with decision.

## VII.

It remains to compare this topography with that of the books of Joshua and Judges. The following are the places apparently identical with Scriptural sites:—

1. Sidon	Great Sidon	Josh. xi. 8.
2. Sarepta	Zarephath	I Kings xvii. 9.
3. Tyre	Tyre	Josh. xix. 29.
4. Kanana	Kanah	Josh. xix. 28.
5. Aksaph	Achshaph (Royal city)	Josh. xix. 25.
6. Hamath	Hammath	Josh. xix. 35.
7. Maron	Maron (Royal city)	Josh. xi. 1.

8. Qodesh	Kadesh Naphtali (Royal city)	Josh. xii. 22.
9. Keriath Anab	Beth Anath	Josh. xix. 38.
10. Aduram	Edrein	Josh. xix. 37.
11. Khaouretsa	Harosheth	Judg. iv. 2.
12. Harnemata	Horem	Josh. xix. 38.
13. Beithsheal	Bethshean	Josh. xvii. 11.
14. Keriathaal	Jesreel	Josh. xix. 18.
15. Mageddo	Megiddo (Royal city)	Josh. xii. 21.
16. Joppa	Joppa	Josh. xix. 46.
17. Rehobroth	Rehoboth	Gen. xxvi. 22.
18. Gaza	Gaza (Royal city)	Josh. xv. 47.

It appears, therefore, that nearly half the places mentioned by the Mohar are places which were of sufficient importance to be mentioned in the topographical lists of the Book of Joshua, or to have played a part in the history of the deliverance by Barak. Megiddo, Kedesh, and Harosheth, which appear in the Biblical account of this deliverance, are also mentioned in the Papyrus, whilst Tabor, the Kishon, Meroz, and Taanach, which are not mentioned by the Mohar, are known to have lain out of his route. The omissions are thus as striking as the places noted.

A list of so many Biblical sites, noticed by a contemporary witness so entirely independent, cannot fail to be very interesting to Biblical students.

Dec. 27, 1875.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

#### TABLE OF PLACES.

Egyptian name.		Suggested identifications.
1. Djarakon.....	.....	El Mezraah, C.R.C.
2. Kanana.....	(i.) Kanah (Josh. xix. 28).....	Khirbet Kana, Ch.
3. Aksaph.....	(ii.) Achshaph (Josh. xii. 20)*... ..	El Yasif, C.R.C.
4. Mt. Ousor ...		
5. Mt. Ikama ...		
6. Hazor .....	.....	'Ain Hazzur, C.R.C.
7. Hamath .....	(iii.) Hammath (Josh. xix. 35)... ..	Hamnam Tubariyeh, Ch.
8. Takar-Aar ...	Tarichæa (Vita, Jos. i. 32)... ..	Kerak, Ch.
9. Jah . . . . .	Hukok (Josh. xix. 34)? ... ..	Yakûk, C.R.C.
10. Matamim.....		
11. Cofer - Marlon	(iv.) Maron (Josh. xi. 1)* .....	Márûn, C.R.C.
12. Tamena .....	.....	Tibnin, C.R.C.
13. Qodesh.....	(v.) Kedesh (Josh. xii. 22)* ... ..	Kedes, Ch.
14. Dapour.....	.....	Dibl, C.R.C.
15. Adjai .....	.....	'Ain Ata, C.R.C.
16. Harnemata ...	(vi.) Horem (Josh. xix. 38) ... ..	Hûrah, C.R.C.
17. Keriath Anab	(vii.) Beth Anath (Josh. xix. 38) .....	Hanûn, C.R.C.
18. Aduram .....	(viii.) Fîdre' (Josh. xix. 37).....	Aitherûn, C.R.C.
19. Tsidphoth ...	Tsephath (Talmud) .....	Safed, C.R.C.
20. Khaouretsa ...	(ix.) Harosheth (Judg. iv. 2) ... ..	

\* The star represents Royal cities.

21. Image of Sina .....		
22. Rohob .....	Roob (Onom).....	Sheikh Reháb, C.R.C.
23. Beithsheal ...	(x.) Bethshean (Josh. xvii. 11) .	Beisan, Ch.
24. Keriathaal ...	(xi.) Jezreel (Josh. xix. 18) .....	Zerin, C.R.C.
25. Fords of Jordan or Jelden.....		W. Jalud, C.R.C.
26. Mageddo .....	(xii.) Megiddo (Josh. xii. 21)*	Lejjún, Ch.
27. Joppa .....	(xiii.) Joppa (Josh. xix. 46) ...	Yafa, Ch.
28. Dwelling of Sestson .....		
29. River .....		Nahr Rubin, C.R.C.
30. Atsion .....		Tell Yasín, C.R.C.
31. Onsormara ...		Yasur, C.R.C.
32. Sats . . . aal... ..		
33. Aksakaba ...	‘Ain .....	Kasaba, C.R.C.
34. ‘Amini ...		
35. Nekhai .....		Lekiyeh, C.R.C.
36. Rehobroth ...	(xiv.) Rehoboth (Gen. xxvi. 22)	Rubeibeh, Ch.
37. Raphia .....	Raphia Josephus, Ant. xiii. 15. 4)	Rafah, Ch.
38. Gaza .....	(xv.) Gaza (Josh. xv. 47)*.....	Ghuzzeh, Ch.

\* The star represents Royal cities.

## PALESTINE BEFORE JOSHUA, FROM THE RECORDS OF EGYPTIAN CONQUEST.

### I.

A VERY important contribution to our knowledge of the topography of Palestine was made last autumn in the publication of the Geographical Lists of the Temple at Karnak by Auguste Mariette Bey.

The lists in question occur on the walls of the pylones of the temple lately excavated, and record the victories of King Thothmes III., in the countries of Upper Ruten, of Kush, and of Pun. The geographical names are inscribed in hieroglyphics on small tablets attached to the necks of figures representing captives from the various towns. The value of the list in the case of the Upper Ruten district is also greatly increased by the fact that it is thrice repeated on different parts of the building; thus Mariette Bey has been able to give variations unknown to M. Rougé in treating only of one list in his "Etude sur divers monuments du Regne de Thouthmés III.," published in the "Revue Archéologique," November, 1861, p. 346.

Other points which render these monuments of the highest value are at once apparent. In the hieroglyphic we have the original text as inscribed at that remote period by the hand probably of a contemporary historian, and unchanged by errors of the copyist or translator. By the separation of each name on a tablet hung to the captive's neck, we have a division made between each which obviates all chance of error in the cutting of one name into two, or the running of two names into one, which often causes so much confusion in the written Hebrew lists of the

Old Testament. The great antiquity of the list (for Thothmes III., according to the ordinary chronology, lived and fought before the conquest of Palestine) secures us the Ancient Canaanite nomenclature for comparison with that of the book of Joshua, and the great number of names in the list, 118 in all, makes the monument of real service for comparison with the Biblical topography. On the other hand, it must be remembered that the Egyptians were not a Semitic people, that their language, it would seem, was softer and less guttural than that of Canaan, and that the names, as represented in hieroglyphics, may in some cases therefore be more or less distorted, as they are at the present day, by English transliterators. Finally it is most natural to suppose that the list refers only to the part of Palestine actually conquered by Thothmes III., which may be to a great extent defined from other monuments.

It is only to a part of the lists that our attention will be given, the conquests in Kush and Pun having no relation to Palestine, and forming only about a third of the total number of names.

The title inscribed above the first copy of the list of Upper Ruten is thus translated by Mariette Bey.

“List of the princes of Upper Ruten whom his Majesty has shut into the miserable town of Megiddo, and from whom his Majesty has led living captives to the stronghold of Suhen at Thebes in his first victorious expedition, in obedience to the order of his father Ammon, who has guided him in the right way.” This inscription, followed beneath by 115 geographical names in five lines, is to be found on the pylon numbered VI. by Mariette Bey.

The second copy is to be found on pylon No. VII., being a reproduction of the first with a few omissions. Over a group of captives about to be sacrificed is a short title, “Taken from the chiefs of Ruten, and of all the unknown peoples, and of all the lands of Fenekhu.” The captives bearing descriptive tablets are preceded by a goddess having the following inscription:—

“Brought to thee (O Ammon) from all the unknown peoples, and from all the lands of Fenekhu gathered under thy sandals.” The captives who follow are also surmounted by a title forming the third *descriptive* legend.

“All the unknown lands of the coasts of Sati, which his Majesty has brought as living captives.”

On the walls of the same pylon is a third copy of the list, having four additional names, making 119 in all; the title is the same as that of the first copy on pylon VII., and the variations in the names are generally of little importance.

We have thus at the outset three distinct titles defining the position of these towns—viz., *Upper Ruten*, *Sati*, and *Fenekhu*. Further light may be obtained by the comparison of other Egyptian inscriptions.

The account of the great expedition of Thothmes III., in the 22nd year of his reign, including the victory of Megiddo and conquest of Upper Ruten, is to be found in another inscription at Karnak, on a wall,

near the cella erected by Philip II., or Aridæus. It is unfortunately fragmentary, but supplies much important topographical detail. It will be found translated by Dr. Birch in "Records of the Past." vol. ii. From this text it appears that Thothmes III. assembled his army "in the fortress of the land of Sharuana, commencing from Iuluta (or Iuruta)." He advanced against the rebel chiefs who were assembling at Megiddo, and arrived first at the fortress of Juhem. Various allies from Egypt and Naharaina (Mesopotamia—*Birch*), of the Khita (Chattai, or Northern Hittites), of the Kharu (Syrians), and Katu (also a Syrian tribe), accompanied the Egyptian army.

The advice of the generals appears to have been to advance by a road leading north by Jutta, or Geuta; This was, however, rejected by Thothmes, who preferred a route by "the land Aanaka" (probably the Anakim), leading by a difficult pass, and a fortress called Aaruna.

"I will go," he replies, "on this road of Aaruna if there is any going on it. Be ye on the roads of which ye speak."

The king proceeds accordingly to Aaruna, and a battle occurs in a valley in which the Egyptians are victorious, and immediately advance.

"It was the time of noon when his Majesty reached the south of Maketa, on the shores of the waters of Keneh."

On the following day the army is drawn out against Maketa, or Megiddo.

"The south horn . . . was at the coast of Keneh, the northern wing extending to the north-west of Maketa," joining perhaps the allies, who advanced apparently by the northern road. The conquest of Megiddo follows, and then a long enumeration of the spoils and captives taken.

Among the tributary tribes enumerated in this inscription, are the inhabitants of Katesh (Kadesh), the Kharu (Syrians), the Shasu (also mentioned in the "Travels of an Egyptian," and apparently a Bedouin tribe), those of Aranatu (possibly the Biblical Iron), of Kanana, a fortress, probably that mentioned in the list to be discussed, and identical with Kanah of Asher (Josh. xix. 28), and finally the Kefau and the Rutennu chiefs. It is evident, therefore, that our triplicate list containing the districts of Rutennu and Fenekhu, with the towns of Kanah, Megiddo, and Kadesh, refers to the conquests made in this expedition of the 22nd year of Thothmes III., and it is therefore important to notice all that is known of the districts of *Ruten*, *Sati*, and *Fenekhu*, and of the towns of *Iuluta*, *Geuta*, *Aaruna*, and *Keneh*, in order to obtain a general idea of the part of Palestine in which the names of the triplicate list are to be sought.

*Ruten*.—It is clearly shown by Mariette-Bey, that Ruten, or Luten, in the triplicate list where it forms the name of a town, is the Biblical Lod, now *Lyd*. Hence he argues the probability that the district of *Rutennu* was near this town.

In the so-called "Statistical Tablet of Thothmes III.," also found at Thebes, *Katesh* is mentioned as a city of Rutennu. In the account of the battle of Megiddo, three fortresses are noticed as in the same district

—namely, *Anaukasa*, *Yanuma*, and *Hurankalu*. The Kadesh conquered by Thothmes is undoubtedly Kadesh Naphtali. The other three names unfortunately do not approach near enough to any biblical names to admit of identification. *Yanuma* may, however, be the modern Yanin, which has strong claims to be considered identical with Han-Neiel, a boundary town of Asher (Josh. xix. 27).

Thus the Rutennu district includes apparently Upper Galilee, in which many of the towns taken by Thothmes lay, and it is possible that this is "Upper Ruten, or Luten," as distinguished from the country round Lydda, which may be supposed to be "Lower Ruten." It is perhaps worthy of remark that another *Lyd* or *Lod* exists in the plain of Esdraelon not far from Megiddo.

*Sati*.—Under this term Dr. Birch understands to be included "the eastern foreigners, or Arabians." The title occurs in the "Statistical Tablet of Thothmes III" in connection with Rutennu. In the account of the battle of Megiddo, Thothmes is mentioned as taking the title "Holder of the *plains* of Sati," but there is nothing to show the exact district to which this title referred.

*Fenekhu*.—There can be but little doubt that this name refers to the Phœnicians, and in the account of the battle of Megiddo the *Kefau* are also supposed to be Phœnician tributaries.

*Iuluta*.—This fortress is mentioned as in the land of Sharuana (no doubt the biblical Sharon), which seems to have been under Egyptian rule at the time of the Rutennu rebellion. Its position is not a matter of great importance. It may possibly be the *Ilatu* of the triplicate list which will be identified later on.

*Genta*.—This fortress Dr. Birch proposes to identify with Gath, but the fact of its being on a road north of that leading through Aaruna (not far from Megiddo) would seem to place it farther north. It may very well be identified with the strong ruined site of *Jett*, on the borders of the plain of Sharon, some fourteen miles from Megiddo, and on the straight road to that town.

*Juhem*.—The position of this fortress is very doubtful; it would seem to have been near the division of the two roads to Megiddo, in which case it may possibly be the same as the biblical Jokmeam (1 Chron. vi. 68), a city of Ephraim given to the Levites. Jokmeam is not, however, at present identified.

*Aaruna* is identified by some authors with Aijalon, a city of Dan, but to this there is the objection that it would seem clear from the account of the "Battle of Megiddo" that Aaruna was within a day's journey of Maketa.

In the topographical list of Sheshonk (the Shishak of the Old Testament, see Bible Dictionary, p. 1290) a town called Aarana occurs immediately before the name of Bileam. Bileam was a town near En Gannin (now Jenin), and has been identified by the late Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake with the present ruin of *Bel'ameh*, a position fitting with the order in which the same name occurs in our triplicate list.

Thus Aarana, which is very probably the Aaruna of Thothmes, is to

be sought in the neighbourhood of Jenin, and may be best identified with the strong and important village of 'Arrabeh, the change of *n* into *b* being of frequent occurrence in the Arabic survivals of Canaanite names. There is another site called 'Arāneh which would fit for Aarāna, but not for Aarūna.

Arrabeh stands on high ground west of Dothan, and south of the plain called Merj Arrabeh; it is close to the road by which the Midianites descended to Egypt from Dothan, and the gorge in which the first struggle took place would be that up which the road comes into the plain, the head of Wady Mussin.

*Keueh*.—This would answer to the Hebrew גנין, *Genneh*, and Arabic *Jenneh*, "a garden." It was situate south of Maketa, and a stream of water existed at it. It was also not far from Aaruna, nor from Maketa. For these reasons it may very well be identified with the biblical En Gannim, or "Fountain of Gardens."

The deductions from the above arguments are simple. The plain of Sharon did not revolt. The advance of the Egyptians was directed against Megiddo. No towns are mentioned, nor do any details occur in the account of the campaign which would lead us to suppose that the more difficult hill country of Samaria or Judea was attacked. There is no account of the crossing of Jordan, or anything to point to the conquest of the country east of that river. The names are therefore to be sought along the line of the Egyptian advance in Upper and Lower Galilee and Phœnicia, or in the more open country bordering these districts, as well as in the plains of Sati, by which we may understand some district to the north-east of Egypt, such as the biblical Negeb, or "south country," would represent.

Before proceeding to the detail of the names, a few remarks as to the changes to be expected may be noted:—

1. *Pe*, the Egyptian article, is often prefixed to the name of an important town, and must not be considered an integral part of the Semitic word.

2. *Mar* is sometimes prefixed to names of places of the second rank, although it is not certain that any instance occurs in these lists.

3. *Na* is constantly added by the Egyptian scribe. An instance of the occurrence of this with the article is found in the "Travels of an Egyptian," where *Pe-Kana-na* represents the biblical Kanah.

4. *L* and *R* are letters indistinguishable in the hieroglyphic character used.

5. *T*, equivalent to the Hebrew ט, often stands also for *D* (ד). This is because the Egyptian language has apparently no *D* sound.

6. The gutturals of the Semitic names are often confused. This is not distinctive of Egyptian transliteration. The confusion of the various gutturals was a constant reproach against the Galileans, and the substitution of one Arabic guttural for another in Hebrew, of which it is not the exact equivalent, is generally recognised in many accepted identifications.

7. *K* often stands for *G* and *J* in the Hebrew.

These seven points are generally known to students, and only inserted here for the sake of clearness.

The lists which are to be considered contain 119 names. Of these Mariette Bey proposes identifications for 83 in all, leaving 36 as unknown. He does not, however, fix the exact position of many of these, and he supposes the list to include places as far north as Beyrout, and east of Jordan in Moab and Ammon, as well as in the hill country of Judæa. He divides the names into six groups. (1) In the plain of Sharon. (2) In the Hauran, east of Galilee. (3) In Galilee, Phœnicia, and east of Jordan. (4) In Moab and Ammon. (5) In Benjamin and Judah. (6) In the plain of Sharon, and the Negeb or Beersheba country.

The order of these groups is not consecutive, nor is that of the towns in each group as identified by him. It may further be urged that the districts are not apparently for the most part those through which the Egyptians advanced before and after the battle of Megiddo. Considering also that so large a list of places could scarcely have been written down from memory, it would seem most natural to suppose, as I have before urged in the topographical list of the book of Joshua, that some sort of consecutive order is to be expected.

The following twenty-eight identifications, which seem well established by Mariette Bey or by M. Rougé, agree with the theory of a consecutive list, and occur within the districts to which it would seem proper to confine our search. They may, therefore, be taken as the framework into which other identifications are to be fitted.

No.	EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW.	
1.	Katesu.	Kadesh Naphtali.	1
2.	Maketa.	Megiddo.	2
16.	Hamut.	Hammath.	3
21.	Sarana.	Lasharon.	4
23.	Batna.	Beten.	5
26.	Kaana.	Kanah.	6
27.	Arana.	Iron.	7
31.	Lauza.	Laish.	8
32.	Hazara.	Hazor.	9
34.	Keneratu.	Chinnereth.	10
39.	Mashala.	Misheal.	11
42.	Taanak.	Taanach.	12
43.	Iblaamu.	Ibleam.	13
52.	Anuheru.	Anahareth.	14
62.	Iapu.	Joppa.	15
64.	Luten.	Lod.	16
65.	Aana.	Ono.	17
66.	Apuken.	Aphek.	18
67.	Suka.	Shochoh.	19
69.	Khabatza.	Chezib.	20
80.	Kerara.	Gerar.	21
86.	Ani.	Aiu (Rouge).	22
89.	Hiklaim.	Eglon.	23
94.	Makerput.	Beth Markaboth.	24
95.	Aina.	Anim.	25
96.	Keraman.	Carmel.	26
113.	An Kenamu.	En Gannim.	27
114.	Kebâu.	Gibeah.	28



Of these twenty-eight identifications, nineteen have been fixed by former travellers at existing towns, or ruins of towns. The identifications may be divided into two groups. (1) The northern group as far as No. 60, north of Joppa. (2) The south; the Shephelah and Negeb country. The number of names is sufficient to indicate very clearly the districts, and these may very probably be divided into (1) Ruten and Fenekhu on the north, (2) the plains of Sati in the south. It is in these districts answering to the Biblical, Galilee, Shephelah, and Negeb, that I propose to search for the remaining names.

## II.

### FIRST GROUP.

#### *Upper Ruten and Fenekhu.*

##### Section I.

The list commences with the names of the important towns forming the objective (to use a military term) of the campaign. Under the forms *Maketa* and *Ketesh* we recognise undoubtedly Megiddo and Kadesh Naphtali. No. 5 being apparently Beth Tappuah, and No. 16 Hammath, we have indications that the intervening names are to be sought to the south and east of Megiddo.

No. 3, *'Ai*.—This at once recalls the scriptural Ai, a royal city east of the Judæan watershed, with which Mariette Bey identifies it; but the names which follow lead us to search for the site along the course of the Egyptian march. It may possibly therefore be represented by the modern village of Kefr R'ai, an undoubtedly ancient site some four miles west of *'Arrabeh*, supposing the *r* to have become doubled so as to give an ordinary Arabic meaning to the word.

No. 4, *Kethu(na)*.—The *na* is supposed by Mariette Bey to be an addition, and he identifies this with the Philistine Gath; eight miles west of Kefr R'ai, we find, however, the important site called Jett, which I have noticed on a former page, as probably the Geuta against which Thothmes advanced. This northern Gath is not impossibly the *Gitta* of early Christian topography, the birthplace of Simon Magus.

No. 5, *'Ansù*.—For this site no suggestion has been offered, but in the district in which the former towns may be supposed to lie is a village called *'Anza*, some four miles east of Kefr R'ai, undoubtedly an ancient site, and close to the line of the Egyptian advance.

No. 6, *Tebuh*.—This represents the Hebrew Tappuah, and accordingly Mariette Bey identifies it with Beth Tappuah in Judah. We have, however, later on another similar name, *Tapunu* (No. 98) in connection with other names undoubtedly near to the Beth Tappuah of Judah. It seems, therefore, more probable that the present town is the Beth Tappuah of Ephraim identified by Robinson with the present 'Atûf, fifteen miles south of Jenin, being in a district open to and easily attainable by an army advancing towards the great plain.

No. 7, *Bamai*.—This name only occurs in the third copy of the list, and appears to be a variation or error in transcription of No. 8, which

is absent in the third copy. A town of this name is mentioned in the Talmud, but farther north.

No. 8, *Kamata*.—The direction in which this and the following names should be sought is apparently towards the east of the great plain. Here we find the village of *Kubatieh* in close proximity to Nos. 9 and 10. The change of *m* or *n* into *b* is very common, as in the case of Timnah, now *Tibneh*, &c.

No. 9, *Tuti(na)*.—The village of Umm el Tût, “Mother of the mulberry,” is within a few miles of Kubatieh. It is apparently an ancient site. Indeed the same might be said of any existing village in Palestine, as the choice of a new site is probably almost without example.

No. 10, *Raba(na)*.—The village of *Raba* will be found close to the last, east of Jenin, near the southern border of the great plain.

No. 11, *Keret Sennau*.—The direction in which we may now be supposed to advance towards the Sea of Galilee suggests the identification of this place with Beth-shan in the Jordan valley. The *s* in the Egyptian more properly represents the Hebrew *Samech*, but an undoubted example of a similar confusion of these two sounds will be found given by Mariette Bey in No. 21.

No. 12, *Marama* or *M'alma* lies probably in a part of the country not yet surveyed. The nearest site in name and position is *Aulan*.

No. 13, *Tamesku*.—Mariette Bey suggests Damascus, but this being some eighty miles away from Beisan, and sixty from Hammath, seems at too great a distance. The name may possibly be recovered later.

No. 14, *Atara*.—The proximity of Nos. 15 and 16 would lead us to identify this with the present *et Tireh*, a village overlooking the Jordan valley some ten miles north of Beisan.

No 15, *Abira*, close to the last, is the village of *El Bireh* overlooking the wady of the same name.

No. 16, *Hemat*, Mariette Bey himself identifies with Hammath of Naphtali, mentioned also, it will be remembered, in the “Travels of an Egyptian.” The site of this town is known to have been near Tiberias. By Josephus it appears to be called Emmaus, and he mentions hot springs. This makes it probably the present *Hümmâm Tubarîyeh*, south of the town, where the hot-water baths exist still. A place called Beth-mau also existed four stadia from Tiberias on the road to Sepphoris, and therefore north of the town. This would seem, however, to be identical with the Beth M'ain of the Talmud, and consequently with the ruin of Ibn Ma'an, beside the main road to Sepphoris. These two sites must not be confused.

No. 17, *Akidu*, is possibly the present *Kadis*, about two miles south of the last, unless it be an error for Rakkath, the ancient name of Tiberias down even to the fourth century.

No. 18, *Shem'anau*, may very probably be the present *Seb'ana*, about five miles north of Tiberias.

No. 19, *Bartu*, probably the ruins of *Ain el Bârideh* (“the cold spring”), two miles from Tiberias. This is generally supposed to be the Dalmanutha of the New Testament.

No. 20, *Madna*.—It will appear from the succeeding names that this town is to be sought in the *Ard el Hamma*, the plateau above the western cliffs of the Sea of Galilee, the title of which has possibly a connection with that of Hammath.

In this district two towns existed, the first being the *Domai* of the Jewish itineraries, and the present *ed-Dameh*, possibly the *Adami* of Naphtali; the second, *Adamah*, which seems undoubtedly the present ruin of *Admah* discovered by the survey party. (Josh. xix. 33, 36.)

*Madna*, by a very ordinary introversion, may represent either of these towns, but the latter perhaps best. Mariette Bey suggests the royal city *Madon* (Josh. xii. 19); but there is much reason to suppose that we should read *Maron* in accordance with the two Septuagint MSS.; the confusion of *d* and *r* in Phœnician or in square Hebrew being of constant occurrence.

No. 21, *Sarâna*.—This site Mariette Bey proposes to identify with the royal Canaanite capital of Sharon, which appears in the English version as *Lasharon* (Josh. xii. 18). The position of Sharon has never been fixed as yet, but it occurs in the list of Royal cities between *Aphek* (probably the northern *Aphek* near *Jezreel*, 1 Sam. xxix. 1, which may very well be the present *Fukia*), and *Maron* (in Upper Galilee). Jerome in the *Onomasticon* (S. V. *Saron*) informs us that "even to the present day the region between Mount Tabor and the Lake of Tiberias is called *Sarona*."

This indication points clearly to the identification of the Biblical *Sharou* with the present *Sirin*, a village on the borders of the *Ard el Hamma*; being situated immediately between the positions of Nos. 20 and 22, it fits well with the *Sarana* of the present lists.

22. *Tubi*.—This word, having the meaning of "good" in Hebrew, is the exact equivalent of the Arabic *Tu'yibeh*. A village of this name exists five miles south of *Sirin*.

The list so far has been traced in a simple consecutive order, commencing with towns on the line of advance to *Megiddo*, and enumerating all the most easterly places taken. It is remarkable that these sites all lie in open country easily assailable. The stronger towns on Mount *Gilboa*, including *Jezreel* itself, are not noticed. An explanation of this may be taken from the book of *Joshua*, referring to the conquest of Galilee. "But as for the cities that stood still in their strength, Israel burned none of them" (Josh. xi. 13).

## Section II.

The list would now appear to deal with the country conquered in advancing on *Kadesh*, as indicated by Mariette Bey's identification of Nos. 23, 26, 27 with towns of *Asher* and *Naphtali*, on the borders of *Fenekhu* or *Phœnicia*.

No. 23, *Batna*. Mariette Bey identifies with *Beten* a town of *Asher*. According to the "Onomasticon" this was called *Beth-beten* in the fourth century, and situate eight miles east of *Ptolemais*. This position fits well with the order in which *Beten* occurs in the lists. *Vandevælde*

suggests *El Banah* as the site, but the distance from Acca is nearly twelve Roman miles. The true site has probably yet to be found in surveying this district.

No. 24, *Amashna*, and No. 25, *Musakh*, lie in country as yet unsurveyed, and no suggestion can well be hazarded as to their identification. They should, however, be sought between Tyre and Acca.

No. 26, *Kaana*, is no doubt Kanah of Asher, as identified by Mariette Bey. This is apparently the Pa Kanana of the "Travels of an Egyptian."

No. 27, *Arana*.—Probably the Iron of Naphtali, occurring in the Biblical lists between Migdel el (Mujeidel) and En Hazor (Hazzur). Vandevelde identifies it with the present Yarûn, but this position is not altogether satisfactory, either as relating to the Biblical Iron or to the Egyptian Arana, and it may probably be recovered farther north in the course of the survey.

No. 28, *'Astalatu*, and No. 29, *Anaurpaa*, are still to be found in Upper Galilee; the former might possibly be the 'Ailshitha of the Talmud, which seems possibly to be the present *'Atshih*, but this identification is very doubtful.

No. 30, *Makata*, is to be sought near Laish (No. 31). This would point to its identity with the Biblical town of Beth Maachah, or Abel Beth Maachah (2 Sam. xx. 19), named with Dan and Kedesh. It is supposed to have been recovered by Robinson in the present *Abil el Kumh*, three miles west of Dan. The confusion of the *Ain* and *Aleph* in these lists is of frequent occurrence, hence the fact that the guttural appears in the Hebrew is perhaps not important.

No. 31, *Lauza* or *Rauza*, Mariette Bey identifies with the Biblical Laish, afterwards called Dan. The site of Dan is the present Tell el Kadi. Some remains of the name Lauza may perhaps be found in the ruin of *Luweizeh*, some five miles farther north.

No. 31, *Hatzara*, seems probably to be one of the Galilean Hazors. In spite of the statement of Josephus that the Royal city of that name overlooked the waters of Meron, no trace of the name has there been discovered. The identification of No. 32 makes it probable that the town to be understood in this case is the *En Hazor* of Naphtali, now *Hazzûr*.

No. 32, *Pa Hurah*, a town evidently of importance from the article prefixed, and mentioned also in the list of Rameses II. For this Mariette Bey suggests no identification, but it may very well be identified with the Biblical Horem of Naphtali, which Vandevelde identifies with the modern *Hurah*, a position fitting with that required for Pa Hurah.

No. 32, *Kenneratu*, seems evidently to be the Chinnereth of Naphtali, a town which gave its name to the Sea of Galilee. It is mentioned with Adamah (Khirbet Admah according to my proposed identification), and may therefore be sought in the plateau of the 'Ard el Hamma. This suggests its identity with the present *Beit Jenn* in that district. The name is supposed to mean "garden of plenty," but is of great antiquity, and probably of Canaanite origin. In the later times it was changed to "Gennesar" and "Gennesaret," as noticed in the

Talmud, *Sar* being a Chaldean word, meaning "Lord." It must, however, be observed that there is another *Beit Jenn*, or "house of the garden," much nearer to Hûrah, a Druse village, seeming to fulfil both the requisites of the Egyptian record. The name appears as *Kentu* and *Katu* in the second and third copies on Pylone No. VII.

At this point a certain amount of difficulty occurs in the lists; the names of Nos. 36, 37, 38 bear a close resemblance to the biblical Adamah, Kishion, and Shunem, with which Mariette Bey identifies them; but in this case we retrace our steps over a district already noticed, and a great break will occur between No. 38 and 39. The consecutive order is better preserved by the identifications here proposed.

No. 35, *Semana*, from its position in the lists, is possibly the Selamis of Josephus, identified with the present ruin of *Sellâmeh*.

No. 36, *Atamm* or *Adammim*.—This may probably be the present *ed Damân*, a considerable village, twelve miles west of the last, in the direction in which the list evidently proceeds.

No. 37, *Kasuna*, would in this case be identical with the ruined site called *Tell Keisan*, some two miles west of the last.

No. 38, *Shenama*, from its position should be sought north of the last, in the country not as yet surveyed. A place called *Abu Sinân* exists, however, according to Murray's map, in the required direction, about five miles north of No. 37.

No. 39, *Mashala*, Mariette Bey identifies with Misheal, a town of Asher, near to Achshaph. Its identification with an existing site has not yet been made in a satisfactory manner.

No. 40, *Aksep*, is identified by Mariette Bey with Achzib, but it approaches nearer to the name Achshaph, a town of Asher mentioned in the "Travels of an Egyptian." I have endeavoured to show that the context of the Biblical list makes the position of Achshaph most probably identical with that of the present *Yasif*, which is situate close to the probable position of No. 39, and only about four miles from No. 37.

The list brings us round, therefore, to the starting-point, No. 23, and enumerates in this second division the towns of Phœnicia and Upper Galilee.

It is evident that the towns in the plain of Esdraelon remain to be enumerated before proceeding to the south. In this direction, therefore, we must seek the names occurring between Nos. 40 and 60, guided by Mariette Bey's identifications of Nos. 42, 43, and 52. C. R. C.

(To be continued.)

Note.—For almost all the remaining seventy-nine places likely sites are found on the new Survey Sheets.

## NOTE ON VARIOUS JEWISH TRADITIONS AS TO THE PLACE WHERE MESSIAS SHOULD BE BORN.

No less than seventy-two Targums upon various passages of the Old Testament exist in which the name Messiah has been added in a sentence not to be found in the original. Two of these Targums have a geographical value as giving the origin of certain later traditions.

To the passage in Gen. xxxv. 21, in which Israel is mentioned as pitching his tent "beyond the tower of Eder," the Targum of Jonathan adds, "which is the place where shall be revealed the King Messiah in the end of days."

In a former report (*Quarterly Statement*, April 1875, p. 93) I have shown that Migdol Eder, or the "Tower of the Flock," was known in 700 A.D. as about 1,000 paces from Bethlehem, where the mediæval "Monastery of the Holy Shepherds" is still to be found represented by the present Keniset er Raw'at on the edge of the traditional shepherd's plain.

From a passage in the Mishna (*Shekalim*, vii. 4) we may also conclude that the same place was not far from Jerusalem, and in the original text of the Bible it is mentioned in connection with Jerusalem (*Micah* iv. 8) and with Bethlehem (*Gen.* xxxv. 21). There is a considerable ruin near the Keniset er Raw'at called *Khirbet Sir el Ghanem*, "The Ruin of the Sheep Fold." It is, however, not a mere ruined sheepfold, for it is noted as follows in our list of ruins for the Jerusalem plate of the Survey:—

"Walls arched, cisterns, vaults, and tombs, probably early Christian ruins."

This is very probably the site of the original Tower of Eder.

Another Rabbinical tradition seems to refer to the same neighbourhood. A place called Beth 'Arba, Birath 'Arba, or Birath Malcha, is noticed (Preface to *Midrash Ekha* and *Berachoth* ii. 3, *Tal. Jer.*, as quoted by Neuerbauer) as near Bethlehem, and as the place where Messiah should appear. At the farther end of the Shepherds' Plain, on the edge of the Desert of Judah, is a lofty hill-top called *Sh'aib el Rabâh*, which is not improbably the 'Arba of the Talmud (עֵרְבָא). Ancient ruins under the name *Khirbet Johdhum* exist at this place, and an old road from Jerusalem to the desert leads across the hill. The whole of the country round can be seen for a great distance from this summit, Bethlehem, four and a half miles to the west, being plainly visible.

These traditions it is interesting to compare with the passage in *Matt.* ii. 4, whence it appears that in the time of our Lord the Messiah was expected to appear at Bethlehem.

A second and entirely different tradition, also derived from a Targum, places the site of the birth of the expected Messiah not far to the north of Nazareth. This Targum I have quoted in a former report, being an addition to *Exod.* xii. 42.

"Moses cometh forth from the desert and Messiah goeth forth from Roma."

Roma is mentioned as though in Galilee by Sæwulf in 1102 A. D. Rabbi Jacob, of Paris, in 1258 A. D., visited the same place, and mentions the tomb of the patriarch Benjamin as existing there, as also a cavern. Rabbi Uri, of Biel, in 1564 A. D., speaks of the same place, and of the Cavern of Caisran (it is not certain whether this is a proper name or not), from which cavern Messiah was expected to appear. From these accounts we gather also that Roma was in the vicinity of Sepphoris (Seffürich), Caphar Menda (Kefr Menda), and Ailbon (Ailebün), and we are thus enabled to identify the traditional site with the present ruin of Rümeh, near the village of Rummáneh (Rimmon of Zebulon).

Visiting this spot in the summer of 1875, I found on the east side of the site of the village (destroyed some thirty years ago) a cavern of moderate dimensions, of which we made a plan, and a rude Jewish tomb with *kokim* cut in soft rock. From the character of the capitals of pillars and other indications, it seems not improbable that a synagogue once stood close to this sepulchre. Instances of synagogues built close to sepulchres are not wanting in Galilee. C. R. C.

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### THE SHAPIRA POTTERY.

By PROFESSOR SPRENGER, author of "The Life of Mohammed."

(Reprinted from the *Academy of March 13th*, by kind permission of the Editor.)

It is now a few years since the English press disposed of the Moabite antiquities, and most readers of the *Academy* have probably forgotten all about them. To refresh their memory we may be permitted to remind them that the stir caused by the sale of the stone of Mesa among the Arabs both in Jerusalem and in the Desert was immense. Everywhere search was made after antiquities; in the year 1872 almost every day brought some curious remains into the shop of Shapira in Jerusalem. They were of two kinds, both of which, though different from each other, had something in common with the stone that had fetched so much money. At first the discovery of stone monuments seems to have been frequent. They were not exclusively Moabitic, but resembled the Mesa stone inasmuch as they were all covered with inscriptions, one of them so covered even on both sides. Of architectural ornaments or statues not a fragment turned up. In the eyes of scholars of the rank of Herr Weser, the value of these inscriptions was very great. He writes respecting one of them in the *Journal of the German Asiat. Soc.*:—"This stone contains Psalm 117 in magnificent ancient Hebrew characters, similar to those on the stone of Mesa. Who can tell whether it is not the original from which the Psalm was copied in the Holy Writ?" Some more sober Hebraists discovered several incongruities in the writing, and finally honest Shapira himself came to the conviction that it might possibly be a forgery. It is not improbable that the archaeologists of Jerusalem did not go to the expense of having the original executed, yet it is clear from these two instances that monuments in stone did not pay. They now concen-

trated all their attention on a less expensive article, ancient pottery; bearing in mind that since the discovery at Mesa, "Moabitea" had become the rage in Europe, and that men of the stamp of Weser have more taste for inscriptions than for the plastic arts. At this time those single-minded Arabs were very accommodating, and it might have been in the power of M. Ganneau to be of incalculable service to archæology. This gentleman relates that he was asked what sort of inscriptions would be most acceptable. Now supposing he had informed them that in Nineveh a whole library on tablets of clay was discovered, they would have at once understood the hint, and we may be certain that by this time the Museum of Berlin would be in possession of the library of Balak. It appears from Dr. Socin's account, that the indefatigable Shapira formed in 1872 three collections of Moabite pottery, containing respectively 911, 473, and 410 specimens. The few drawings appended to the book before us enable the reader to form an opinion on the value of the contents of these collections without entering deeply into the text. Fig. 1 represents an idol with a cocked-hat, imperial, sleepy eyes, and listless features. Every unprejudiced person to whom we showed it took it at the first glance for a clumsily-made copy of a likeness of Napoleon III. Fig. 2 is a ball, surmounted by a shapeless head, and perfectly meaningless. The object of the artist in modelling it seems to have been to find room for a new sort of inscription which he had just devised. There are only twenty-four letters on the ball, but they are so queer that Schlottmann, who exercised his ingenuity on them, considered the inscription as bilingual, and therefore particularly important. This seems, indeed, to have been the intention of those who devised it and allotted to it so prominent a place. Fig. 5 is a clay pipe. Fig. 7 is a bust in stays, the like of which we see in shop windows in Europe. Figures 8 and 9 are legs with gaiters. From the descriptive part of the pamphlet we learn that the other specimens are no better than those delineated, and Prof. Kautzsch points to the fact that in the whole set a most deplorable want of invention is observable. To the inability of the artist to devise new figures it is due that he modelled from objects like the picture of Napoleon, which, as he had formerly been in the service of M. Ganneau, it is to be presumed he had sufficient opportunity of seeing.

Some of the pottery found its way to Stuttgart, other small lots may have been bought by tourists, but the honour of securing the lion's share was reserved for the Prussian Government. It bought 1,700 choice specimens for 22,000 thalers (£3,300). Of this sum two thousand thalers were contributed by the Emperor. In the meanwhile the late Mr. Drake and M. Ganneau succeeded in tracing the fabrication of the pottery to a man of the name of Seleem, and in pointing out the very oven in which it had been baked. The evidence which they brought forward is so conclusive that it would even satisfy an Irish jury if Seleem had been an Irish patriot. No doubt it also satisfied so clear-sighted a man as Dr. Falk, the Prussian Minister of Public Instruc-



tion, and convinced him that he had been duped. His share in the business consists simply in his having run after false prophets. There were in Berlin men like Wetzstein, who is better acquainted with Syria and the character of its inhabitants than any other man in Germany, and the late Prof. Rödiger, the soundest Biblical scholar of his days; but instead of consulting these the Minister applied for advice to Prof. Fleischer in Leipsic, whose literary pursuits never went beyond the subtleties of Arabic grammar, and to Prof. Schlottmann, an enthusiast, and followed them implicitly. Yet even this mistake, though serious in its results, is pardonable, for these two men enjoy great celebrity in Germany. The Minister might, therefore, without compromising himself, have taken such steps as circumstances demanded. He has as yet remained perfectly silent, and as he is a man of great energy we can ascribe his passiveness only to a desire to spare the aged monarch whose munificence has been so cruelly abused the annoyance which would be caused to him by increasing the publicity of the hoax. The German Consul in Jerusalem, assisted by Herr Weser, as soon as the revelations of Ganneau and Drake reached him, made a sham inquiry, in which the simplicity of honest Weser rendered the task assigned to Seleem and his associates very easy. The principal witness, with Oriental complacence, contradicted the statement which he had given to Mr. Drake in writing, and the defendants invited the consul and Weser to an innocent game of hide-and-seek in the fields of Moab, where they afforded Weser the opportunity of disinterring ancient pottery with his own hands. A report of the proceedings was published in the *Journal of the German Asiatic Society*, and therewith was done what could be done to hush up the matter. If the objects of sale had been rotten silks or wine that turned into vinegar the affair might have been consigned to oblivion, but suppositious antiquities exhibited in a public museum are as dangerous as base coins put into circulation; and it therefore now became the duty of scholars to take care *nequid detrimenti capiat respublica*. Prof. Kautzsch, a distinguished biblical archæologist, and Prof. Socin, the author of *Baedeker's Palestina und Syrien*, responded to the call, *caveant consules*, and published the pamphlet, or rather the book—for it consists of 191 pages—under review. It is profoundly learned and free from egotism and animosity against opponents to a fault, and Prof. Socin's illustrations of the character of the Shemites, as well as Prof. Kautzsch's essay on the religion of the Moabites, have a permanent value. But it appears to us that a little scurrility would have better served the purpose than elaborate argumentation.

It cannot be said that there is method in Seleem's forgeries; they are extremely odd and whimsical, and archæologists found it difficult to classify them, and to tell for what purpose each description may have been intended. Luckily they were not met with in ruins of cities, but almost anywhere in uninhabited places, at no great depth under ground, and this circumstance reminded Schlottmann of the words of Isaiah (ii. 20), "In that day a man shall cast his idols of silver and his idols of gold, which they made each one for himself to worship, to the moles and

to the bats," and he pronounces them to be Kanaanite *penates* cast away in the manner described by the prophet. Kautzsch remarks that the prophecy refers to the Israelites, and herein he is undoubtedly right; yet it is very likely that it will also be fulfilled in reference to the Moabite idols at Berlin. Kautzsch's own labours may be the cause of their being cast to the moles. At Vienna they are already in discredit. I learn from a private letter that Shapira has sent some specimens for sale to the Oriental Museum there, and that they find no purchaser. The antiquarians have discovered two peculiarities in the terra-cotta figures which give them a clue to their meaning. One is the absence of every kind of detail or ornament, with the exception of seven dots, no more and no less, and in various positions. There are seven dots round the cocked-hat; there are as many on the inexpressible utensil, also under the chin of the pipe-head, as well as on the gaiters, and equally on the moustache of fig. 6 of Kautzsch's illustration. Weser at once caught their meaning (whether by his own ingenuity or on a hint of Selem we do not know); he recognises in them a symbol of the seven planets, and expresses his conviction that the worship of the stars was not unknown among the Moabites. By this characteristic feature a considerable group, bearing on star-worship, is separated from the rest. Schlottmann points to the fact that the capital of the Moabites is called Areopolis by the Greeks, and that the coins struck there at the time of the Roman emperors bear the figure of Ares, armed with sword and spear, and shield, and he infers from it that Chemosh had, even at a more remote period, been considered as the god of war. Kautzsch reminds us that the Greeks were in the habit of giving to foreign proper names a Greek form, and that at the time when these coins were struck the Moabites had disappeared and the Nabateans had taken their place. He therefore derives Areopolis from Ar, the original name of the Moabite capital, and considers Mars on coins as natural a sequel of the name as the bear in the armorial bearings of Bern and Berlin. As the god of war was originally one of the planets, we may hope that the seven stars on the cocked-hat and the gaiters will enable Schlottmann to hold his position; the former evidently covers the head of Mars, and the latter are not gaiters, but his boots. But, speaking seriously, I think Kautzsch's premisses do not bear so sweeping a conclusion, and that Schlottmann is right in assuming that the gods of small communities generally bore a warlike character, and that in the Ares on coins there may be some recollection of Chemosh.

The other peculiarity which is of great use to the antiquarian is the artist's predilection for obscene subjects. What is more natural than to consider all figures of such a character as illustrations of the cult of Astarte? Schlottmann has taken great pains to show that this lady of doubtful reputation had as many votaries among the Moabites as among the Phœnicians, and he even succeeded in discovering an image of her, and the name which she bore, in Moab. He writes, August 18, 1872, in a postscript to his first report on Moabitic treasures, published in the *Journ. Germ. As. Soc.*, vol. xvi., p. 416:—"At the

same time I receive a copy of the size of the original of a naked female figure with a diadem in the form of a crescent on her head, and on the diadem there is written, in elegant letters: *el 'ammal*. This means, in the *status constructus*, Divinity of the people, or, what is more probable, Divinity of union, and is, in my opinion, equivalent to Astarte. It is, however, just possible that 'Unumath or 'Ammath is the proper name of the goddess." Subsequently he published an engraving of the "Moabitic Astarte" in Richm's *Handwörterbuch der bibl. Alterthumsk.*, and as the editor of this work professes to exclude every contribution containing controvertible assertions, this novelty was thereby at once raised to the rank of undoubted fact. Professor Kautzsch is visibly horrified at the thought that by these means the error is likely to be perpetuated in schools, and takes great pains to refute it, employing more particularly philological arguments. To me it appears that the inscription is perfectly clear and unimpeachable. When Saleem had succeeded in modelling the lady to his satisfaction, he called her, for the sake of fun, *the aunt*—this is the meaning of *el 'ammal* in Arabic. What I am struck with is, that he, in this instance, for once took the trouble to present to his decipherers a legible word, whereas in other instances, as appears from Kautzsch's analysis of the inscriptions, he put together any letters of the Moabitic alphabet at random, and employed in the poser mentioned above even fancy letters of his own. He first became acquainted with the Moabitic character by copying part of the inscription of Mesa before it was brought to Jerusalem.

I cannot conclude this notice without expressing my esteem for the erudition, ingenuity, zeal, and candour of Prof. Schlottmann. What he wants is the quality which Goethe recommends to every man as most essential—resignation. It is this quality which gives to Kautzsch the vantage ground over his friend and colleague. Both *savans* enter on any given question with the same ardour; but Schlottmann invariably jumps to a conclusion, while Kautzsch weighs not only the *pros* but also the *cons*, and whenever they are of equal force he has resignation enough to confess that his inquiries lead to no result.

NOTE.—On Thursday, March 16th, 1876, on the occasion of the Lower House of the Prussian Diet resuming consideration of the estimates of the Education Department, attention was drawn to the inefficient administration of the Royal museums, and, as an illustration, to the acquisition of the so-called Moabite antiquities. Professor Mommsen spoke strongly on the manner in which their genuineness had been advocated. The purchase was made on the recommendation of the German Oriental Society, and especially on that of Professor Fleischer. The administration of the museums is to be completely reorganised, and, we suppose, the collection destroyed.

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#### LETTER NO. III. FROM DR. TOBLER

SIR,—I have duly received your esteemed letter of the 11th, and the July number of the *Quarterly Statement*, and I am very satisfied with

your translation. I regret that my *Descriptioes Terre Sanctæ*, the continuation of the *Palestine Descriptions*, did not receive any detailed notice in the English papers. In the *Academy* they only appeared amongst the selected books; in the *Saturday Review*, in such a manner that the writer of the notice could not have properly read the contents; and in the *Athenæum*, to my knowledge, not at all. In the latter paper specially I should have been glad to see a notice. If only for the sake of the Englishman Willibald, my compilation ought to have some attraction for England. At any rate, I must not think of you, as, from what you wrote to me, you are overwhelmed with business.

As far as I know, the two monoliths in the Valley of Jehoshaphat, the northern or the grave of Absalom, and the southern or the grave of Zacharias, have hitherto not been properly investigated. It is true one meets with hindrances or difficulties there, because the Jews have buried their dead near the monument, and will not allow them to be disturbed. An attempt at one time to remove all the rubbish around the northern monolith ended with a wail from the Jews, and a prohibition from the authorities, which undoubtedly was not free from bribery. The monument probably dates back to the ancient Jewish time, and then no doubt the whole monument was open to the eyes of all the world; the present inhabitants do not like the famous things built by their ancestors to be seen. It is to be hoped that another attempt may prove successful. I have myself experienced how difficult it is deal with the Jews in the Valley of Jehoshaphat. In 1845 I made a plan of the so-called grave of Jehoshaphat, and carried off a prayer girdle, which I showed to a Jew. Soon afterwards the entrance was stopped up.

As to the southern monolith, it has no visible entrance or opening; therefore it would be necessary to make an opening in the present time. If hindrances were also to be put in the way of the investigations here, it is to be hoped that they would easily be overcome. There is a want of probability in the description of the Frenchman Cassas, who in his fancy sees the monument freed from rubbish, with a flight of twenty-nine steps leading up to it, and down below a square opening into the grave. See Munk's *Palestine*, plate 30.

At least it ought to be possible to cut an opening such as there are several in the northern monolith, so as to penetrate into the probable cave. If this is barbarous, it is all the more so to oppose the removal of the rubbish, and it was also barbarous to make openings in the other monument; and yet nobody would complain of there being such here, through which one could gain a view of the interior, though not deep enough, if, as is asserted, there is another eave beneath.

Jerusalem is not rich in antiquities of Jewish times, if we pass over the graves, important and worthy of notice as some of them are. All the more is it to be wished that existing ones should be brought to light in their integrity wherever it is feasible.

I had written just so far when the *Quarterly Statement* of July, 1875, reached me. I thank you for it. I now have two copies.

George Grove, Esq.

TITUS TOBLER.

THE

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 JAMES BATEMAN, Esq., F.R.S.  
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 SAMUEL BIRCH, Esq., LL.D.  
 REV. W. F. BIRCH  
 REV. H. M. BUTLER, D.D.  
 MARQUIS OF BUTE  
 ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY  
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 DEAN OF CHESTER  
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 ADMIRAL OMMANNEY  
 PROFESSOR OWEN, F.R.S.  
 SIR S. MORTON PETO, BT.  
 PROFESSOR E. H. PALMER  
 BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH

GENERAL COMMITTEE (*continued*)—

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REV. E. H. PLUMPTRE  
REV. J. L. PORTER, LL.D.  
REV. CHARLES PRITCHARD  
REV. PROF. PUSEY, D.D.  
SIR HENRY RAWLINSON, K.C.B., F.R.S.  
REV. PROFESSOR RAWLINSON  
HENRY REEVE, ESQ.  
MARQUIS OF RIPON  
BISHOP OF RIPON  
EARL RUSSELL  
DR. SANDRECZKY  
VISCOUNT SANDON  
M. DE SAULCY  
LORD HENRY J. M. D. SCOTT, M.P.  
EARL OF SHAFTESBURY  
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DUKE OF SUTHERLAND  
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WILLIAM TIPPING, ESQ., M.P.  
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W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., F.R.S.  
THE COUNT DE VOGÜÉ  
CAPTAIN WARREN, R.E.  
DEAN OF WESTMINSTER, F.R.S.  
DUKE OF WESTMINSTER.  
REV. GEORGE WILLIAMS, B.D.  
MAJOR WILSON, R.E., F.R.S.  
GEORGE WOOD, ESQ.  
BISHOP OF WINCHESTER

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

W. HEPWORTH DIXON, ESQ., *Chairman.*

CAPTAIN ANDERSON, R.E.  
SAMUEL BIRCH, ESQ., LL.D.  
J. D. CRACE, ESQ.  
F. A. EATON, ESQ.  
JAMES GLAISHER, ESQ., F.R.S.  
GEORGE GROVE, ESQ., D.C.L.  
SAMUEL GURNEY, ESQ.  
REV. F. W. HOLLAND.

H. A. HARPER, ESQ.  
WILLIAM LONGMAN, ESQ.  
WALTER MORRISON, ESQ.  
REV. CANON TRISTRAM.  
W. S. W. VAUX, ESQ., F.R.S.  
CAPTAIN WARREN, R.E.  
MAJOR WILSON, R.E., F.R.S.

*Bankers*—MESSRS. COUTTS AND CO., 59, Strand. THE UNION BANK OF LONDON, Charing Cross Branch, 66, Charing Cross.

*Treasurer*—WALTER MORRISON, ESQ.

*Hon. Secretaries*—REV. F. W. HOLLAND, and GEORGE GROVE, ESQ., D.C.L.

*Acting Secretary*—WALTER BESANT, ESQ. *Office*, 9, Pall Mall East.

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THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Report of the Executive Committee presented to the General Committee of the 27th gives, we believe, all possible information on the present operations and financial condition of the Society. It will be seen from the Report that there is every reason to be confident that the greatest work ever undertaken for the elucidation of the Bible will be brought to a successful termination. Every day brings out more clearly the invaluable nature of Lieutenant Conder's notes. The important papers which he has written for this *Quarterly Statement*, in addition to his work of preparing the memoirs, are all based upon the information collected on the field.

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It will also be seen in the Report of the General Committee meeting that considerable accessions have been made to the strength of their list. The new members of the Executive Committee are Mr. Samuel Gurney and Mr. H. A. Harper. The Chairman of the Executive Committee for the ensuing year is Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon. The honorary officers have been re-elected. The sub-committees—viz., the Survey Publication Committee, whose work is not yet finished; the General Publication Committee, and the Finance Committee, have also been re-elected.

The sum of £150 has been remitted to the Committee by H.B.M. Consul, General Eldridge, from the Turkish authorities, in part payment of the claims for damages and compensation advanced by Mr. Consul Moore at the trial of the Safed fanatics.

The amount received at the Central Office between March 28th and June 28th was £904 12s. 10d., and the amount in the banks on the latter day was £604 14s. 0d.

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The expenses during the stay at home are less than those when the party is in the field, but as Lieutenant Conder's staff now consists of seven officers and men, about £200 a month is still required for the necessary expenses. Subscribers will observe that the work of map drawing is imperative, and, if not done now, would have had to be done at the conclusion of the Survey, so that no time is lost. The Committee earnestly hope that the annual subscriptions will be paid as usual on application being made, if not before.

The following are the diocesan representatives of the Society :—

PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

Diocese of Exeter : Rev. Franklin Bellamy, St. Mary's Vicarage, Devonport.

Gloucester and Bristol : E. H. Stanley, Esq., 80, City Road, Bristol.

Archdeaconry of Hereford : Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

Archdeaconry of Salop : Rev. A. F. Forbes, Badger Rectory.

„ Lichfield : „ „

London : Rev. Henry Geary, 26B, North Audley Street.

Norwich : Rev. F. C. Long, Stowupland, Stowmarket.

Ely and Peterborough : Rev. A. F. Foster, Farndish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester : Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Archdeacons of Canterbury, Maidstone, and Surrey : Rev. R. J. Griffiths, 19, Trafalgar Road, Old Kent Road, S.E.

PROVINCE OF YORK.

York : Rev. J. De Courey Baldwin, Training College, York.

Archdeaconry of Craven : Rev. J. C. Henley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

IRELAND.

Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

The Rev. Horrocks Cocks, 17, Edwardes Square, London, S.W., has also kindly offered his services among Nonconformist churches.

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An Irish Association has been formed, with head-quarters at Dublin, with the following committee :

Chairman—Right Hon. W. Brooke.

Rev. G. W. Carroll, M.A.

Rev. M. C. Close, M.D.

Rev. G. Cowell, M.A.

Rev. G. Dalton, M.A.

A. D. M'Gusty, Esq.

R. R. Garsten, Esq.

Rev. A. Lawson, M.A.

Rev. T. A. Maker.

Rev. Professor Porter, LL.D.

Rev. R. T. Smith, B.D.

Rev. W. D. Stevenson, M.A.

Rev. H. West, M.A.

Hon. Secs. { Denis Crofton, Esq.  
Rev. G. J. Stokes, M.A.

Treasurer—The Munster Bank.

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A series of meetings are to be held in July by the Rev. R. J. Griffiths, B.A., LL.B., throughout the Principality of Wales. Mr. Griffiths will address his audiences both in Welsh and English. The dates and places are up to the present date fixed as follows :—

- July 11. Brecon.
- 12. Cardiff.
- 13. Carmarthen.
- 14. Tenby.
- 17. Aberystwyth.



- July 18. Oswestry.  
 — 19. Wrexham.  
 — 20. Rhyl and Denbigh.  
 — 21. Mold.  
 — 22. St. Asaph.—Sermon in Cathedral.  
 — 24. Llandudno.  
 — 25. Beaumaris.  
 — 26. Carnarvon.

Notices of these meetings will be sent to all the Welsh clergy and gentry. The subject has, with the exception of two or three lectures given by Mr. St. Clair, never hitherto been introduced in Wales.

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Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs is now ready, and can be bought at Mr. Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound. The following is the list of the selected views :—

1. The Valley of Sorek (1 Sam. vi. 12).
2. The Valley of Michmash (Judges xx. 31, and Isaiah x. 28).
3. Mount Moriah.
4. The Mosque El Aksa.
5. Elisha's Fountain (2 Kings ii. 22).
6. Bethlehem.
7. Interior of the Dome of the Rock.
8. The Baptism in Jordan.
9. Cana in Galilee.
10. Bethany.
11. The "Via Dolorosa."
12. The Traditional Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

All Lieut. Kitchener's views can be obtained at the same rate as the ordinary photographs of the Fund, of the agent, Mr. Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross. The complete list is on pp. 114--116.

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While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications by officers of the Fund, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.

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The Committee are always grateful for the return of old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

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Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Associations are requested to communicate with Mrs. Fim, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W.

## MEETING OF GENERAL COMMITTEE.

A MEETING of General Committee was held at 9, Pall Mall East, on Tuesday, June 27. The chair was taken by Mr. James Glaisher. Letters expressing regret at inability to attend were read from the Archbishop of York, the Rev. Joseph Barclay, Mr. W. Morrison, and Mr. S. Gurney.

The following report was then read:—

The Executive Committee, in resigning the trust committed to them in June, 1875, have to render to the General Committee an account of their stewardship during the twelve months which have elapsed since their appointment.

At the last meeting the Executive Committee of 1874-75 took occasion to express their deep thankfulness that the Survey had up to that time proceeded uninterruptedly and without check or hindrance on the part of the natives.

Three weeks after that meeting a savage and unprovoked attack was made upon the Survey party by certain Algerines and others near the town of Safed. The party, consisting in all of fifteen men, including the two officers of Royal Engineers in command and three non-commissioned officers, all received injuries of greater or less importance; property to the value of nearly £40 was destroyed or stolen; and Lieutenant Conder was obliged to break up the Survey and retire to Mount Carmel. Here the whole of the Englishmen, with the exception of Sergeant Armstrong, were laid up with fever, and it was decided that there was nothing for the present but to recall the expedition.

This was accordingly done after the case had been tried at Acre. The result of the trial was the infliction of a fine of £150 and imprisonment upon the ringleaders, who were easily identified. The whole amount of damages claimed by Mr. Consul Moore, who acted on this occasion, was £540. The amount at present received by the Committee is £146, being the sum of £150 less the amount due to exchange. There seems to be little doubt that the enforcement of the imprisonment and the levying of the fine have produced an excellent moral effect upon the whole country, which will probably be shown in the altered behaviour of the fanatics in the North of Palestine on the return of the party. Had it not been for this untoward accident the whole of the Survey would by this time be finished. As it is, no more field-work has been done than was reported at the last general meeting.

It must not, however, be supposed that the Survey is standing still because the-field work has been suspended. On the contrary, the work has gone on uninterruptedly since the return of the party. On their arrival in London a temporary office was taken for them near the Strand, where they proceeded to put in order some of the great mass of material brought home with them, and at the beginning of this year an office was taken at the Royal Albert Hall, where, their strength being raised

by four more men, so that the Survey party now consists of two officers and five non-commissioned officers, they are engaged in drawing the map and preparing the memoirs. The amount of valuable material brought home by Lieutenant Conder far surpasses the expectation of the Committee, and gives evidence of the untiring labour, zeal, and intelligence which this indefatigable officer has brought to his work. In this he has been most ably seconded by Lieutenant Kitchener, who has found time, in addition to his other work, to take fifty photographic views, some of sites never before photographed. The negatives are at home, and the list has been added to the others already published. The materials brought home by Lieutenant Conder consist of the map work proper, to which are added voluminous notes on every subject within the power of the officers in command to treat. No idea can be conveyed of the extent and value of this information until a sheet of the map, accompanied by a memoir, is ready for publication. Lieutenant Conder is now preparing memoirs from his notes under the following heads:—

*Section A.*—TOPOGRAPHY.—This includes minute details as to all springs, streams, valleys, hills, positions of villages, and other natural features; with special descriptions of interesting localities.

*Section B.*—ARCHAEOLOGY.—A description of every ruin in the sheet, with such illustrative plates, photographs, and sketches as may be necessary; the ruins to be arranged alphabetically; with all inscriptions found.

*Section C.*—NAME LISTS.—The modern names to be arranged alphabetically, and the lists to show the names in Arabic; in English character according to Robinson's system of transliteration; and the meanings of the Arabic words when they exist.

*Section D.*—PROPOSED BIBLICAL AND OTHER IDENTIFICATIONS, with such notes as may be necessary for the sake of argument or explanation.

*Section E.*—ETHNOLOGY.—Special legends or traditions attached to buildings, ruins, trees, &c.

*Section F.*—GEOLOGY.—Detailed notes on the geology of the country. These memoirs will further be subdivided according to the different sheets of the map, each sheet being provided with a special memoir touching on all these points separately.

There will be twenty-six sheets in all.

It will thus be seen that the Committee are now engaged upon the most important part of their work, the collection, summing up, subdivision, and publication of the vast materials now in their hands. The best way of dealing with these materials has occupied the attention of the Executive Committee at their fortnightly meetings, and also that of a Special Survey Publication Committee appointed to examine into the various points of difficulty occurring and to report progress.

As a result of these deliberations the Executive Committee now report that they have appointed Major Wilson, R.E., and Mr. Grove

as general editors of the work; that they have given them powers to recommend special sub-editors for different portions; and that they have named Captain Anderson, R.E., as sub-editor of the map. It has been thought desirable to exclude Jerusalem from the general scheme of these memoirs, and to reserve the topography of the city for a separate work.

The Committee have also made an arrangement with Mr. Stanford for the publication of the map. He will issue it in a double form. The first will be the reproduction of the Survey in the twenty-six sheets, on the scale as drawn of one mile to the inch. This will be lithographed in the best style. The second will be a smaller map, on the scale of three miles to the inch, which will be engraved in copper. The arrangement proposed is one which, while it relieves the Committee of the risk, expense, and uncertainty of publishing the map, appears to them a fair and proper agreement from a commercial point of view, and one which ought to yield a steady income to the Fund.

No arrangement has yet been made as regards the publication of the memoirs, the expense of which, including the large number of special plans and surveys, will be considerable. But as this part of the work cannot be satisfactorily finished, even for a single sheet, till after the completion of the Survey, the Committee recommend that the question be deferred for the present.

It is hoped to dispatch the party to finish the Survey at the end of the year. Out of the 6,000 square miles forming Western Palestine, the survey of 4,600 square miles has been completed with the surface exploration. Lieutenant Conder believes that the remaining 1,400 square miles may be completed with six months of field-work. Two months, at least, will be required for revision and examination of the whole work. One great advantage gained by the preparation of the work now in hand for publication before completing the remainder, is, that any deficiencies are carefully noted for correction on the spot when field-work is resumed.

The income of the Fund since the last annual meeting has been, up to June 17th, £4,464 19s. 6d., being the largest amount ever received by the Fund in twelve months. It is a mark of the stronger hold which the Society has obtained upon the mind of the public that this large income is mainly made up of annual subscriptions. Of the whole sum £2,378 has been expended in exploration proper—*i.e.*, in survey work; and the liabilities of the Society have been reduced by £750. A sum of £593 16s. 10d. is lying to the current account in the banks. The whole expense of continuing the work at present, and while the party are in England, amounts, including rent, salaries and pay, office, postage, &c., to about £200 a month.

The holding of Drawing-room Meetings, and the formation of Ladies' Associations, have been entrusted to the care of Mrs. Finn. The thanks of the Committee are specially due to those ladies who have most kindly given their drawing-rooms for this purpose.

The circulation of the *Quarterly Statement*, of which only 500 copies

were printed at first (in 1869), has now increased to 5,000. About 4,500 are sent out every quarter from the office to the subscribers, many to India and the colonies. The postage of these amounts to nearly £100 a year.

The special thanks of the Committee are due to Mr. Eldridge, Consul-General at Beyrout, and to Mr. Noel Temple Moore, the Consul at Jerusalem, for their energy and firmness in the matter of the Safed outbreak. Also to the Rev. W. F. Birch, of Manchester, who has succeeded in raising the sum of £500, which was the sum he at first asked for.

They have also to thank for special donations during the year, the Duke of Northumberland, the Grand Lodge of Freemasons, Miss Peache, Miss Wakeham, G. M. E., and W. L. F., for donations of £100 and 100 guineas. Miss Peache has *twice* during the last year forwarded to the secretary a cheque for £100. Among other large donors during the past twelve months—many of whom have given donations before—have been the Duke of Argyll, the Duke of Devonshire, the Duke of Northumberland, the Duke of Westminster, the Duke of Marlborough, the Earl of Chichester, Lord Blantyre, the Earl of Carnarvon, the Marquis of Ripon, the Earl of Shaftesbury, the Earl of Glasgow, Lord Clermont, Lord Lawrence, Lord Sandon, Earl Russell, Lord Alfred Churchill, the Bishop of Exeter, the Dean of Westminster, the Dean of Lichfield, Sir J. Copley, the Right Hon. Stephen Cave, Sir H. Gordon, Admiral Sir John Dalrymple Hay, Mr. Samuel Morley, M.P., Rev. Prof. Pusey, the Lodge of Antiquity, Mr. Longman, Mr. Bickerton Evans, Sir G. Baker, Mr. O. E. Coope, M.P., Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon, Mr. E. H. Lawrence, Mr. Freake, Mr. John MacGregor, Mr. Walter Morrison, Mr. John Bayly, Miss Bayly, Mrs. Maitland Spencer, Mr. J. Dimmock, Mr. James Fergusson, Mr. A. F. Govett, Mr. R. Hanbury, Rev. John Teague, Mr. Wingfield Digby, Mr. James Glaisher, Mr. Philip Sancton, Mr. Mackinnon, Mr. F. W. Gibbs, Rev. C. D. Ginsburg, Professor Donaldson, Captain Warren, Mr. G. S. Gibson, Mr. Gamlen, Mr. Alleson, Mr. John Murray, Mr. G. Wood, Mr. Noble, Mr. W. Watson, Rev. C. Watson, Mr. Henry Vaughan, Rev. F. W. Holland, Mr. Wyatt, Mr. Henry Wagner, Mrs. Cunliffe, Rev. H. Hall-Houghton, Mr. W. Underhill, Mr. S. Tomkins, Mr. Ormerod, &c. To these gentlemen, to the Local Secretaries, who have at great personal exertion kept up public interest in the work of the Society, and to the general body of subscribers, the Committee desire to express their most sincere thanks.

Their thanks are also due to the Secretary, Mr. Walter Besant, to whose unflagging energy and watchful care over the interests of the Fund this most satisfactory report is mainly owing.

(Signed)	W. Hepworth Dixon. <i>Chairman.</i>	J. Glaisher.
	C. W. Wilson.	C. Warren.
	F. W. Holland.	J. D. Crace.
	G. Grove.	W. Morrison.

The report was formally adopted.

The Committee then proceeded to the election of new members.

× The following, who had previously expressed their readiness to serve, were proposed, seconded, and unanimously elected :—

Lord Clermont,  
 Rev. W. F. Birch,  
 Mr. E. H. Lawrence, F.S.A.,  
 Dr. Samuel Manning.

The following were next proposed, seconded, and unanimously elected, subject to their own acceptance of the invitation :—

Duke of Marlborough,  
 Duke of Northumberland,  
 Earl of Chichester,  
 Admiral Sir John Ommanney,  
 Mr. R. B. Martin,  
 Mr. S. Tomkins,  
 Prof. Erasmus Wilson, F.R.S.,  
 Mr. William Simpson.

The Executive Committee for the next year were then elected, Professor Donaldson and Mr. Maudslay having resigned their seats. The following were elected :—

Captain Anderson, R.E.,  
 Mr. Samuel Birch, LL.D.,  
 Mr. J. D. Crace,  
 Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon,  
 Mr. F. A. Eaton,  
 Mr. James Glaisher,  
 Mr. S. Gurney,  
 Mr. H. A. Harper,  
 Mr. William Longman,  
 Rev. Canon Tristram,  
 Mr. W. S. W. Vaux,  
 Captain Warren, R.E.,  
 Major Wilson, R.E.

The honorary officers were re-elected.

A vote of thanks was passed to the Chairman, and the Committee adjourned.

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## NEW PHOTOGRAPHS.

Agent : Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross.

THE following is Lieut. Kitchener's complete list :—

1. Scene of the Return of the Ark.
2. Scene of the Attack on the Philistines' Camp by Jonathan and his Armour-bearer.

3. Mount Moriah, the Site of Solomon's Temple.
4. Site of Solomon's Palace.
5. Elisha's Fountain.
6. Bethlehem.
7. Interior of Dome of the Rock.
8. The Jordan.
9. Cana in Galilee.
10. Bethany.
11. Way of the Cross.
12. The Traditional Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
13. Jerusalem: View from Palestine Exploration Fund house on Zion.
14. Citadel at Jerusalem.
15. Abbey Church of St. Marie la Grande, Jerusalem.
16. West Window of ditto.
17. Cloisters of ditto.
18. General View north of Jerusalem.
19. Jeremiah's Grotto north of Jerusalem.
20. Dome of the Rock, interior.
21. Ditto, showing architectural details.
22. Sebil Keyat Bey, Haram Enclosure, Jerusalem.
23. Kubbet el Abd, near Jerusalem.
24. Site of Bethel (Bittir), near Jerusalem.
25. Boundary of Judah—Kustal in the distance.
26. Church of Santa Hannah, Beit Jibrin.
27. Cave at Beit Jibrin (Columbaria).
28. Fortifications at Beit Jibrin.
29. Details of Arcade at Beit Jibrin.
30. Adullam, showing the Caves.
31. Ditto, showing the Site of the City.
32. Ascalon: General View from East.
33. Ditto: View from East Wall.
34. Ditto: View on Sea-shore.
35. Ditto: Tomb Sheikh Mohammed el Messelli.
36. Ditto: Well (Bir el Kushleh).
37. Ashdod from the South.
38. West Door of Church of St. John, Gaza.
39. Interior of ditto (now used as a mosque).
40. Mosque in Jannia.
41. Scene at Well, Jannia.
42. Makedah (El Moghar) from the East.
43. Valley of Elah, looking west, near Shochoh: scene of battle between David and Goliath.
44. Ditto, looking East.
45. Shefa Amr: Village and Castle.
46. Ditto: Rock-cut Tomb.
47. Church of St. Anne and St. Joachim at Seffurieh.

48. Castle at Seffurieh.
49. Convent at Kasr-Hajlah (Beth Hogla).
50. Masada from North-West, showing the Roman Bank.
51. The Moabite Stone. Restored by M. Clermont-Ganneau.
52. The Vase of Bezetha. The vase found by M. Clermont-Ganneau in his excavations at Jerusalem; the most remarkable specimen yet discovered of Syrian art in the Herodian or post-Herodian period.

### LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

WE are able to announce the steady progress of our work in forming Ladies' Associations. This has been done by Mrs. Finn wherever friends have been found able to co-operate; first, by inviting people to their houses to hear a description of the exploration in Palestine; secondly, by the no less useful assistance rendered by those who have sufficient spare time to become local hon. secretaries. Ladies who are able to do this are especially entitled to our gratitude for the trouble they take in collecting contributions and diffusing information.

Some ladies have arranged to assemble their friends from time to time in order to read our reports, and whatever has been published on the subject of Jerusalem and the Holy Land.

Besides the General Ladies' Association, having its head-quarters in London, we have now Branch Associations in the following places:—

- Chichester, under the presidency of Mrs. Durnford: Hon. Secs., Mrs. H. Smith and Miss Durnford.
- Sydenham: Hon. Sec., Mrs. Standing.
- Edinburgh: Hon. Sec., Mrs. Main.
- Glasgow: Hon. Sec., Miss Watson.
- Weston-super-Mare: Hon. Sec., Mrs. Tomkins.
- Sherborne: Hon. Sec., Miss Wilks.
- Sparkford: Hon. Sec., Mrs. H. Bennett.
- Early, Reading: Hon. Sec., Mrs. Stephens.
- Oxford: Hon. Sec., Mrs. Turner.
- Taunton: Hon. Sec., Mrs. Wolf.
- Honiton: Hon. Sec., Charlotte Countess of Castle Stuart.
- Snaresbrook and Wanstead: Hon. Sec., Mrs. Norman.

Meetings have been held in many places since the date of our last report—namely, on March 28, at the house of Mrs. Gurney Hoare, Hampstead Heath; on March 29, at the Rev. E. and Mrs. Boger's, St. Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark; on April 15, at Mrs. Beresford's, 4, Gloucester Crescent, Hyde Park. This last meeting was but a small one. Mrs. Beresford and her friends, however, were so much interested by the information given them, that another meeting has since been arranged by Mrs. Beresford at her house—*i.e.*, on the 14th of this month, when some of those who had been present the first time



came again to hear more on the subject. It has been very pleasant to observe that a good many people have attended our ladies' meetings again and again, sometimes on four successive occasions; and this because of the intense interest aroused by the facts narrated about the work in the Holy Land. These persons, like a great many others, were so surprised and delighted to find that so much had been done, that they were willing to give themselves the trouble of repeated attendance, in the hope of each time gathering some fresh information on this important theme. And they were not disappointed; there was something fresh to be heard each time. So great a work as that which has been accomplished by our explorers, Wilson, Anderson, Warren, Conder, &c., cannot be described in an hour or two. There is abundant material for a succession of addresses upon this topic in its manifold branches and aspects.

At Bournemouth Miss Wingfield Digby had kindly arranged with her friends for meetings, and two were held there: one on April 18, at the house of Mrs. H. Abel Smith, at which the Rev. Dr. Edersheim made a short introductory address. Another meeting was held on April 20, at the house of Dr. and Mrs. Nankivell. Both were well attended.

In Somersetshire the interest awakened during Mrs. Finn's former visit was so great that she was asked to return and hold meetings in various fresh places. This was done. The Rev. F. B. Portman, who had been present at the meeting held in February at Sherborne Castle, arranged a meeting at the Rev. W. and Mrs. Lance's, Thurlbear, near Taunton. Sir Percy Douglas expressed, at the end of the proceedings, the great delight which he and others present felt in the being able to help forward so great a work. Another was held at the Vicarage of the Rev. W. R. Clark, vicar of Taunton, prebendary of Wells. The room was crowded, and several persons had to go away, being unable to find room. Mr. Clark opened the proceedings by a short address. Sir Percy Douglas and Mr. Pinchard both spoke before the conclusion of the meeting, and the former proposed that a Ladies' Association be at once formed, which was done. The office of hon. sec. was undertaken by Mrs. Wolff, widow of the Rev. Dr. Joseph Wolff, the well-known traveller and missionary in the East.

Early in May, Charlotte Countess of Castlestuart, who had been present at the meeting held in Kensington in January at the house of Mrs. De Bergue, had two meetings in her house at Honiton, and herself undertook the office of local hon. secretary.

Mr. and Mrs. Benthall, of Sherborne, had attended the meeting given by Mr. and Mrs. Wingfield Digby at Sherborne Castle in February, and they assembled their friends on May 5 to hear something of what had so much interested themselves. The Rev. W. H. Lyon, the vicar, Mrs. Lyon, Mrs. Wingfield Digby, and many others were present, and afterwards Miss Wilks accepted the office of hon. sec.

On May 9 a meeting was held at the Manor House, Bishop's Hull, Taunton, the residence of Colonel and Mrs. Rawlins, who had been

present at the meeting at Taunton Vicarage, and now in their turn assembled a party of friends to hear the account of the explorations.

Mrs. Ames, of 4, Cavendish Place, Bath, had a meeting at her house on the 11th May, at which the Rev. J. Methuen, local hon. sec., made a short introductory address.

The second meeting of the Chichester Ladies' Association was held on Wednesday, May 17, at Chichester. The Association was formed in September, 1874, under the auspices of the Bishop and Mrs. Durnford, who then had a very large meeting in the Palace in order to give their friends an opportunity of hearing about the nature and the progress of our work. The last meeting was also attended by the Bishop and Mrs. Durnford and by a large number of people, including several of the Cathedral clergy, and Mrs. H. Smith, the hon. sec.

The Bishop took the chair, and spoke with great feeling of the advantage which all, even children, possess in these days, in knowing so much about Palestine, that land where the great events recorded in Holy Scripture took place. His lordship mentioned the beauty of the mountains and the valleys of Palestine, the rich fertility of the soil where cultivated, as it was by the people of Israel; he spoke of the deep interest attaching to Olivet, to "those Holy Fields" which our Saviour Himself had trodden, to the land where He had dwelt as man. The Bishop alluded to the services in the Cathedral of that morning [the lessons had contained the account of Solomon's building of the Temple], and especially to the 137th Psalm, which had formed the anthem for afternoon service, and concluded by asking attention to the facts which would be related in connection with the exploration of the Holy Land and the site of the Temple, and of the wonderful confirmation which they afford to the truths of Holy Scripture. His lordship at the close of the proceedings summed up in a few words the object which had brought the assembly together, and commended the Society to the support of all present.

Two more meetings have grown out of the one held in January by the Rev. T. Cornthwaite at his house at Walthamstow, making four in all. One was given on May 18 by Mr. and Mrs. Carter, at the Limes, Walthamstow. The vicar of the parish, the Rev. E. T. Bullinger, presided, and opened the proceedings. The other was given by the Rev. W. and Mrs. Norman, at the Parsonage, Snaresbrook. This meeting, like almost all the others, was numerously attended, and at the close the Rev. G. S. Fitzgerald, rector of Wanstead, proposed the immediate formation of a Ladies' Association. Mrs. Norman kindly undertook to be the hon. secretary.

On Saturday, May 27, the Rev. B. W. Bucke (vicar of Holy Trinity, Lee, S.E.), and Mrs. Bucke, assembled their friends to hear about the exploration work. Mr. Martin opened the proceedings, and at the close the Rev. J. Bardsley made a most interesting speech. He confirmed what had been said on many points from his own personal observation when in Palestine, especially as to the need for losing no time in completing our work. Mr. Bardsley had lately been there a

second time, and was grieved to find that some of the rich carved remains which he had seen on his first visit were destroyed and gone, especially a beautiful lintel at Tell Hum, all gone now; it has been broken up by the natives for building-stone, and for being burnt into lime. Again, in the chambers of the tombs of the kings they had come upon an American who was carrying off fragments purposely broken off as mementoes of the beautiful sarcophagi.

Mr. Bardsley confirmed what had been said about the valuable confirmation of Holy Scripture given by the Survey, and the discoveries made by our Society. He illustrated his meaning by an anecdote. A cloth factor in Yorkshire had a piece of cloth stolen from him. After careful inquiry he came to the conclusion that a neighbour of his, also a dealer in cloth, had stolen it. He went and claimed the cloth, saying that he thought this must be his cloth. "Prove it," said the other. "I think I can," said the first. He had reflected that if the cloth were really his the holes in the selvedge would exactly fit the distances of the posts and nails in his field along which the cloth had been stretched. Those holes had of course been made by the nails at the time of stretching. The cloth was carried to the field and tried. Every hole fitted every nail, no more and no less, and the distances were exactly right. The proof was sufficient. The man confessed the theft. Now this is what the Society have been doing with the Bible and the Holy Land. They take the Bible to the Holy Land and everything fits. The incidental allusions, the places, manners, customs, products, climate, all correspond. The Bible fits the Land and the Land fits the Bible.

On June 1 a very large party met at the house of Lady Smith and Colonel Pinney to hear about the explorations. Colonel Pinney made a short address describing the present state of the work, especially referring to the fact that only one-third of the Survey remains to be completed, and that Lieutenant Conder and his brave companions will soon, it is hoped, be able to finish this part of the work. Lady Smith had held a meeting in January at her house, Somerton Erleigh, and out of that meeting many others have arisen, in Somersetshire, Dorsetshire, and London.

With this brief notice we conclude our account of the Ladies' Associations, and beg to offer hearty thanks to those ladies and gentlemen who have given us their kind and valuable assistance. The above will serve to explain to any one disposed to come forward and help us in this branch of our undertaking how this may be done, and we feel assured that those who have already been present at these ladies' meetings will gladly render us the further help we seek in the arrangement of other meetings wherever practicable.

Since the above was written Justice Sir Thos. D. and Lady Archibald have held a meeting at their house, on June 22nd, at 7, Porchester Gate, which was attended by a large number of persons.

Communications on this subject should be addressed to Mrs. Fium, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W.

## THE FERTILITY OF ANCIENT PALESTINE.

“For the Lord thy God bringeth thee into a good land; a land of brooks of water, of fountains and depths that spring out of valleys and hills;

“A land of wheat, and barley, and vines, and fig-trees, and pomegranates; a land of oil-olive, and honey” (Deut. viii. 7, 8).

THERE is probably no passage in the Bible which we recall more particularly, in speaking of the “ancient fertility” of Palestine, than the above. The question has over and over again been settled out of hand. It is stated that the cutting down of forests has caused a change of climate, and that decrease of rain has reacted on the land, making it barren. The present paper is intended, first, as an inquiry into what we know historically of the ancient condition of the country, of its ancient water-supply, cultivation, and seasons. Secondly, as a sort of abstract of the numerous observations made during the course of the Survey as to the decay of cultivation, and the disappearance of forests. It is only by going thus into detail that we can arrive finally at a good generalisation as to any change that may have occurred.

First of all, it may be remarked that no expression in the passage quoted is inapplicable to modern Palestine. The land is not said to be a beautiful or romantic one; the “lawns and forests,” which the Survey party were stated two years ago to have surveyed, are not noticed in the Bible; the palm-trees, which modern artists so freely introduce, are not noted; the good things of the earth only are enumerated; and it is said to be what it still is, or is at least capable of becoming, a *good* land.

The “brooks of water” (נהלי מים) are admitted by all scholars to be the present *Wadys*, filled in some cases by perennial streams, but generally dry in summer. The “fountains” (עינות) are the modern *Ayun*; the “depths” (תהומות), the deep blue pools which form the sources of many a stream throughout the country. The “valleys” (בקעה) or small plains, and the “hills,” are unchanged; wheat, barley, vines, olives, figs, and pomegranates are still the principal products of the soil; and the **DIBS** (דבש), translated “honey,” is the modern *Dibs*, a syrup prepared from the grape lees, which forms an important article of food among the peasantry.

There is probably no natural product of the country noticed in the Bible not to be found in modern Palestine. The question then arises, How far are we justified in supposing any great change to have occurred? It will be best to consider first the questions of climate and of water-supply, and then to take separately the various natural divisions of the country (all of which are noted in Scripture), and see how far a change in cultivation or in natural products is to be traced in each.

*Climate.*—The history of the Survey expedition will convince any reader of the *Quarterly Statements* that the climate of modern Palestine is extremely trying; yet the heat in summer is not very great, seldom

ranging above  $95^{\circ}$  in the shade; whilst in March, April, June, July, and August a west breeze blows nearly all day long. The dangers of the climate arise partly from the cold winds with hot sun in autumn, but principally from malaria due in great measure to want of proper drainage. When drainage has been accomplished, good water supplied for bad, and certain trees and plants (such as the sunflower and the blue gum or *Eucalyptus Globulus*) planted, a good deal has been done—as for instance by the German colonists—in rendering the climate of the plains less deadly in autumn. At *Beit Jibrin* is a stream called “the cursed water:” when this fails to dry up very early in spring fever is always expected to prevail, and in 1874 it is said to have carried off half the population of the village. No one seems to have seen that drainage might dispose of this water any year, and indeed my suggestion to that effect was met by the usual helpless fatalistic reply, “It comes from God.”

We have nevertheless traces in the Bible that the low country was always unhealthy. No famous city stood in the plains, all being close, either to the sea or to the hills, and the frequent notice of fever and of the blindness, caused no doubt by ophthalmia, show conditions similar to those of modern times.

*Water-supply.*—As regards the seasons also much speculation has been made, and the curious assumption that the “former and the latter rain” were distinct wet seasons has caused it to be supposed that the amount of rain is materially decreased, a supposition which has, however, no very proper foundation.

In Deut. xi. 11, Palestine is contrasted with Egypt as “a land of hills and valleys, and drinketh water of the rain of heaven;” and rain is promised “in his due season, the first rain and the latter rain” (ver. 14).

In the present time, rain in an ordinarily good year falls first at the autumnal equinox. During November frequent thunderstorms occur, and about Christmas the weather is generally stormy. In January the heaviest rains fall, and in February, sometimes, none at all; but the weather is never settled until after the vernal equinox and the early April showers are past. From May to September no rain falls excepting generally one heavy shower in June or July. The average rainfall can be computed from our meteorological returns. The amount differs greatly in different years. Thus, in the rainy season 1872-73, a continuous east wind prevailed, and scarce any rain fell until the end of February, whilst in 1873-74 not less than 40 inches of rain fell, and seven falls of snow occurred in Jerusalem. The average may be perhaps stated at about 25 inches, and in ordinary years is always sufficient, were it stored in the innumerable reservoirs which remain (requiring very little trouble to repair them), to prevent any danger of drought in summer. It has been remarked by a careful observer that, as a rule, the seasons occur in a cycle, becoming yearly wetter and wetter for a certain period, then growing drier and drier until a year of drought arrives.

We possess in the earliest of Talmudic writings—the Mishna, which was completed before 200 A.D.—notes on the seasons which, when compared, show that very much the same sort of climate then existed in Palestine.

Mishna Taanith, Ch. 1.

1. "From what time shall they begin the form of praise that the Almighty power is manifested in giving rain? Rabbi Eliezer said from the first day of the Feast of Tabernacles" . . . (the end of September, or about the autumnal equinox). Others place it a few days later.

2. Rain is not mentioned in prayer, but at the time of rain . . . . Until what time shall rain be sought? Until the Passover is finished. Rabbi Meir, however, makes the end of Nisan (March and April) the end, since it is said, "and He will cause to come down for you the rain, the former rain and the latter rain, in the first month" (Joel ii. 23).

3. In the third day of Marchesvan (October) shall they begin to pray urgently for rain. . . .

4. If the 17th day of Marchesvan (end of October) come without any rain having fallen, then shall they begin to celebrate three days of fasting. . . .

5. If the month Cisleu (November and December) begin and no rain have fallen, then there shall be three days of fast. . . .

6. If these prayers be not answered, then three more days of fasting. . . .

7. But if these days of fasting be not heard, then shall they leave off selling and buying, the building of houses, and the planting of trees, marrying and giving in marriage, and they shall leave off greeting one another . . . until the end of the month Nisan (March and April). For if no rain be given until then it is a manifest sign of the curse, since it is said, 'Is it not wheat harvest to-day' (1 Sam. xii. 17).

The above extracts show that the seasons at this time resembled those of the present time, and also that the Jews did not themselves consider the former and latter rain promised them to be separate rainy seasons.

Much that confirms this may be gathered from the Bible itself. We know that drought did occasionally occur for years in succession (1 Kings xvii. 1). The words used for the various hydrographic features are the same as those now in use, and no less than eight refer to various kinds of artificial receptacles for rain-water.

Not only does the geological structure of the country forbid us to suppose that parts now without springs were at a former period supplied by water now dried up, but the number of cisterns and reservoirs in dry districts all of undoubted antiquity would afford sufficient evidence that rain water was required at an early period in history.

The water-supply is a question of districts. No less than twelve perennial streams still exist in Palestine, and in some places, such as

the plains of Beisan (containing more than thirty good springs) and Nablus (boasting of seventy) there is no lack of water.

A glance at the various districts will show how perfect is the accordance between the facts of to-day and the biblical descriptions, but as far as climate is concerned we arrive at two conclusions :

1st. The seasons are unchanged :

2nd. The character of water-supply is unaltered, but as to the comparative amount of the rainfall we have unfortunately no data to go upon.

We may now take in succession the various natural districts, commencing from the south.

**THE NEGEB** (rendered in the A. V., "South-Land"). This district extends round Beersheba, and both in extent and in the meaning of the name, "dry land," is almost equivalent to the later district of *Daroma*. Its natural limit on the north is the step in the country immediately north of Ziph, where the soft porous chalk is superseded by the hard limestone. The "upper and lower springs" (Judges i. 15), as identified by us, spring from the hard formation in the north-west corner of the district, but in all other parts the water-supply is from cisterns, as the rain sinks down to the base bed, and no streams or springs occur.

The district is principally pastoral and rich in cattle now, as it was in the time of David. (1 Sam. xxv.) The wells of Beersheba depend for their supply now, as when they were first dug, on the fact that the rainfall of the district finds its way to the sea beneath the surface of the ground.

The only biblical expression, apparently not in accord with the idea of the unchanged character of the district, is the notice of the "Wood of Ziph," possibly explained by the discovery of *Khurbet Khoreisa*. (See *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1875, p. 44.)

**THE JESHIMON.** This district is the wilderness on the west of the Dead Sea, and the name itself, "Solitude," shows its character to be unchanged. Shut out from the western breeze by the high range of the watershed, and deprived of springs by the character of the soil, it is, and must always have been, a desert, where the "partridge" and the "wild goat" alone inhabited the dry and rugged rocks.

**THE SHEPHELAIH,** or "low ground," applying the word to the whole of the low ridge between the high watershed range and the plain, consists principally of soft limestone, and is the richest part of the country, abounding in olives and in corn, receiving the sea breeze and supplied with numerous springs, especially near the outcrop of the hard limestone. The "sycamores," which are noticed as distinctive of this district, still remain in many places. The "terebinths" of the valley of Elah (*i.e.*, terebinth) are still some of the finest in Palestine. The great number of ruined sites agrees with the large proportion of towns mentioned as having existed in the district, and the continual Philistine raids in spring time to "rob the threshing-floors" are accounted for by

the good character of the crops. The Shephelah is, and must always have been, one of the most productive districts in the country.

**THE HILLS.** This term is applied in the book of Joshua only to the higher watershed range, consisting of crystalline limestone, capped in parts with the softer chalky strata. At the junction of the two formations springs are always found; but where the porous stone prevails they are few and small. This is perhaps a part of the country which has altered most. We may divide it into three districts.

1st. The *Jebel Khülil* or Hebron Hills. The main product is the vine, which flourishes better at this altitude, and requires the soft autumn mists which sweep the hills (4,000 feet above sea level), to bring the grapes to full proportions. Hence, round Hebron, and again on the rugged slopes of Hermon and in the high Galilean hills, the vine flourishes still, but the numerous vineyard towers and rock-cut wine-presses show this cultivation to have materially decreased. A map showing the ancient cultivation of the vine might easily be made from the materials now afforded by the great Survey.

It is in this district that we first encounter the question of forests in the "Forest of Hareth," and the notes on this subject may be here summed up.

The Hebrew words translated *wood* or *forest* are three, as below:—

**CHORESH** (חֹרֶשׁ), "a wood." From a root apparently meaning "tangled." (Gesenius s.v.) The word occurs in the forms *Khoreisa*, *Harâsheh*, and *Hirshel*\* on our Survey sheets. The idea does not necessarily imply timber trees, but rather copse or underwood such as still exists, and is called *Hish* by the peasantry.

**JAAR** (יַעַר), possibly preserved in the name *Arnah*\* for the plural form. This word occurs in connection with Hareth (1 Sam. xxii. 5), and in the name Mount Jearim† (Josh. x. 10). The A.V. renders it "forest." The root has, however, only the meaning "luxuriant growth," and does not imply timber trees. It might be rendered "wilderness" according to the old use of the word. This may be compared with the more dense thickets of lentisk and dwarf-oak (with occasional scattered pines on the high ground), which clothe the western slopes of the hills.

That the amount of this kind of forest has materially decreased and is still decreasing there is no doubt. The main causes are the continual destruction of the trees for firewood, the stupidity of the peasantry in

\* *Khûrbet Hirshah* represents the Hebrew Charashim, which is translated in the A.V. "Valley of Craftsmen," but the root is the same.

† In Joshua xv. 10, we read, "Mount Jearim which is Chesallon." The ruin of *Arnah* is close to the side of the valley, two miles south-west of Chesallon (*Keshla*). If it represents the Hebrew יַעַרִים יְעָרִים, we have only to suppose the loss of Yod and a slight change to the Arabic adjective form. The word, however, has a meaning in Arabic—viz., a *vineyard*. Mount Jearim probably gave its name to Kirjath Jearim, but between the two lay Mount Seir, evidently the present *Bata es Sughir*, the Gheir standing for (עַ), and the position being what is required for the boundary line.



mutilating growing trees by cutting off the roots or burning off the branches, and the want of all laws for preservation of this valuable spontaneous growth. In the year 700 A.D., Arculphus mentions a pine forest, between Hebron and Jerusalem, in the very neighbourhood of Hareth (*Kharâs*\*) which has now entirely disappeared, leaving only traces in one or two stunted solitary trees.

ETZ (עץ), a "tree." The root has the meaning of "strength," and applies to timber trees (Josh. x. 26); but does not imply forest, as it is often used of solitary trees. The trees of Scripture, oak, terebinth, fir, sycamore, cedar, box, olive, fig, and acacia, are still the trees of the country. The timber forests of Sharon and Galilee will be noted later on. The solitary sacred trees now existing are more than once noted in the Old Testament.

The conclusions naturally arrived at in this question are:—

1st. The character of the wooded growth is unchanged.

2nd. The districts covered by "wood" have on the whole materially decreased.

2. The second Mountain District is that of the *Jebel Kuds* or Jerusalem Hills, including the mountain possessions of Benjamin.

The western slopes are throughout thickly covered with copse, but the watershed plateau is quite bare of timber trees. There is, however, a good deal of good corn land, of olive and fig gardens, and the proportion of springs is large. That the country was bare, and round Jerusalem ill supplied with water, at least as far back as the middle ages, we gather from the graphic account by William of Tyre, of the suffering experienced by the Crusaders whilst besieging Jerusalem in 1099 A.D. Very little is said in the Talmud of the fertility of Judæa, and, indeed, the praises bestowed on Galilee suggest the comparative fertility to be unchanged. The vines of Judæa were, however, better than those of Galilee, and the corn of Ophrah (*Taiyibeh*) was so famous that to "Carry corn to Ophrah" was a Jewish proverb equivalent to "Carrying coals to Newcastle." Michmash also was famous for its corn, and the olives of Tekua are mentioned. Not a single stump is found at Tekua itself at the present day, but the site was considered sufficiently valuable to be made church property in the twelfth century. The willows of Motza (*Beit Mizzeḥ*, near *Kolonia*) were brought to Jerusalem, and the site still possesses its stream surrounded with trees. The Talmud, however, states the seasons to have been later in the hills than in the Shephelah, which is naturally still the case.

The third mountain district is the *Jebel Nâblus*, or "Mount Ephraim." Parts of this district are the most rugged and desolate in Palestine, but it is well supplied with springs, and abounds in figs. The wood which once existed near Bethel has disappeared, but a trace of this may perhaps be found in the name *Bâtn Harrâsheh*.

SAMARIA.—The district north of Shechem receives little illustration

\* As proposed by me.

from either the Bible or the Talmud. Yet it is now the richest part of the country. The villages are well built of stone, the long olive groves flourish better than in Judæa, and the corn of *Wady Sh'air*, "the valley of barley," is abundant and good. Shechem itself, with its seventy springs, its gardens all down the long narrow valley, its murmur of water and profusion of fruits, is the natural capital of Palestine. There are signs also of greater former cultivation. The parable of the man who "planted a vineyard and set a hedge about it (of stone or of thorn), and digged (in the rock) a place for the wine fat, and built a tower" (dry-stone, for a watchman), Mark xii. 1, is continually illustrated in the midst of dense copse or wild hill desert, showing the decay of the ancient vine cultivation. The ancient terraces cut out of the soft limestone, or built up with retaining walls against the sides of the harder rocks, show an extent of corn cultivation, of vineyard and olive yard which has now perceptibly shrunk. On the north, as we approach the plain of Esdraelon, the villages are very large, and the peasantry are rich compared with those of other districts.

THE JORDAN VALLEY.—Here again we find an entirely different climate to consider. The Jordan valley is now a wilderness, the climate in autumn is deadly, and in summer the heat makes it uninhabitable.

Josephus specially notes the richness of its soil, and calls it a *θεῖον χεῖρον*, or region fit for the gods. Herod the Great planted in it palm trees, which required, however, irrigation by an aqueduct, still existing, as found by the Survey party; and as late as 700 A.D. groves of palm, now only represented (except at Beisan) by solitary individuals, are noticed by Arenolphus. The crop of rich herbage and gigantic thistles in spring attest the soil to be still unchanged. The change in climate is most probably due to the cause assigned by the late Mr. Drake (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1874, p. 75), in the decay of that elaborate system of irrigation by aqueducts, which dates back at least to Byzantine and Roman times, and which we have carefully laid down on the Survey sheets.

This fertile part of the Jordan valley, where semi-tropical plants are cultivated, and where in the middle ages the Crusaders built sugar-mills, still standing in ruins, where indigo and cotton, every species of vegetable, and even the vine, may be cultivated, does not include the immediate neighbourhood of the river, where the ground is too salt to produce anything, but the plain at the foot of the hills, watered by fresh streams from numerous beautiful springs. Hence Josephus in another passage describes Jordan as "flowing through a desert," which at first sight seems hardly in accord with his glowing description of the gardens of Jericho.

The river itself flows in a jungle of tamarisks, which, however, only exist in the immediate proximity of the water.

The Jordan valley must always be unsuited to Europeans, but could certainly be cultivated by natives or by the negroes, who constantly take refuge in it. The nomadic tribes retreat in summer to the lower slopes

of the surrounding hills, and pasture their flocks throughout the whole length of the plains.

It seems probable that this district was always separated from the cultivated hill district by a strip of desert, for the conditions of water supply and of exposure only to wind from the east, which now apply to the eastern slopes of the Judean and Samaritan watershed, must always have existed. Hence in this intervening district we find no biblical cities, and in it is included the "wilderness of Beth-aven" (Josh. xviii. 12), and perhaps the wilderness of Judæa, where John the Baptist was brought up (Luke i. 80). These slopes in spring furnish, however, pasturage for the flocks of the villages above.

Sugar was also grown at some time (probably the twelfth century) near *Beisân*, where the petrified stalks of the sugar-cane are still to be seen.

PHILISTIA.—Of the agricultural character of Philistia we hear little. The soil is very rich, and good crops are obtained near Gaza by merely scratching the ground. The olive groves here are as old certainly as the Mohammedan conquest, and according to tradition date back to the time of Alexander the Great. The gardens of Ascalon and Jaffa, where orange, lemon, and banana flourish, are famous. Yet in this district springs hardly ever occur, and artificial supply in ponds and cisterns must always have existed. The palm here grows in cultivation, but the only wild palms we have met in Palestine are those in the Jordan Valley east of Beisân. Many villages, such as *Deir el Belah* and *Mejdel* on the sand near the coast, have groves of tall date-palms, but the fruit is very little esteemed.

The great enemy to cultivation in these plains is the fine sand of the dunes along the coast, said to advance a yard a year,\* having south of Jaffa an average breadth of four miles, and slowly covering the gardens of Ascalon, where vines may be seen apparently growing in sand but really rooted in good soil beneath. Since the Christian era these dunes must have crept inland at least a mile, and in many cases more rapidly, but in 1,100 A.D. Ascalon already stood in the sand which now extends about one mile east of it, but is two miles and a half broad a little farther south. In the north this encroachment has been successfully checked by planting a belt of firs.

SHARON.—Probably no district has changed more than this plain stretching from Jaffa to Carmel. The ancient irrigatory system has been destroyed, and the passes cut through the solid wall of cliff near the sea for drainage are partly choked so that swamps have formed within. Cæsarea stood in the sand already in the fourth century, but now the dunes extend three and a half miles east of it. Farther north the wall of rock checks the sand, which forms a strip only half a mile wide.

Yet more, the disappearance of timber forest is here an indisputable fact. This forest of Sharon (or of "oaks," according to Reland's deriva-

*See Quarterly Statement, 1871, pp. 83, 84, "Captain Warren in Philistia."*

tion of the word) existed in the middle ages. The wood of Assur (or *Arsuf*) is noted in the chronicles of Richard I., and is still represented by open country scattered in some parts quite thickly with oaks of moderate size, but farther south "the forest of Sarou" is only represented by the stumps of trees thickly posted, from which numerous low bushes are sprouting. The forest has been cut down and the "Ingens Sylva" of Strabo is only represented towards the north end of the plain by open woodlands near the hill slopes of the Carmel range.

LOWER GALILEE contains four districts, which may be taken in succession, namely: 1st, the plain of Esdraclon; 2nd, the hill country of Zebulon; 3rd, the land of Gennesareth; 4th, the Carmel ranges.

First. The soil of the great plain is extremely rich, being partly composed of volcanic scoriae and basaltic *d'bris* derived from the numerous craters east and west of the plain. Its present name, *Merj Ibn 'Amir*, signifies "the meadow the son of cultivation," and the district is also called the *Beld el Hurithah*, or "ploughed land." The whole plain is watered by the numerous springs on the north-east and west, coming from the crystalline beds at the foot of the hills. The principal products are corn, cotton, tobacco, sesame, and millet, or *durrah*, maize, and lentils, horse lentils (*kursinnah*), with every kind of edible vegetable. The olive groves on the west are numerous, but on the east scarce any trees exist. The palm flourishes in the gardens of *Jenin*, and an occasional specimen exists at one or two of the villages. The northern half of this plain was bought some four years ago by a Greek called Sursuk, twenty-two villages and their land being obtained (how it is not exactly known) for the sum of £20,000. His serfs have considerably improved the cultivation under good management, and if the title be secure the property must be of immense value.

Second. The hills of Zebulon include the plateau of the *Butta'uf*, and show three kinds of country. First the barren white hills round Nazareth, with a formation porous and chalky, letting all the water sink through and producing a poor soil. Second, to the west of Nazareth low ranges covered more thickly than any other part of Palestine with oak woods, especially along the course of the great *Wady el Melch*. This is one of the most picturesque parts of the country; a clear shallow stream flowing over flat ledges of rock, an open corn valley, and on either side low hills densely covered with oak trees, in which innumerable doves and other birds have found a home. Third. The *Butta'uf*, a fine open plain of soil, even richer than Esdraclon, with the same products. There is a curious story in the Talmud respecting the country of Zebulon.

"Tradition says that Zebulon lamented only to have obtained, by lot, mountains and sea-shore, whilst Naphtali possessed vines and fertile fields. But if Kifron were Sepphoris, and therefore a town in the possessions of Zebulon, what reasons for complaint would there have been. The neighbourhood of Sepphoris (*Seff'urich*) is very fertile to a distance of sixteen square miles, and it flows with milk and honey." (Tal. Bab. Megilla 6 a, as quoted by Neubauer, Geog. Tal. p. 191.)

Notwithstanding the objection here raised, there is scarce a doubt that Sepphoris did lie in the land of Zebulun. Its reported fertility agrees with its present cultivation.

The Talmud divides Galilee into three districts; Upper Galilee above Caphar Hananiah (*Kefr 'Anan*), where no sycamores grew; Lower Galilee below (*i.e.*, south of) Caphar Hananiah, which produces sycamores; lastly, the country of Tiberias (*Mish. Sheviith IX. 2*).

The third Galilean district is the *Land of Gennesareth*, including not only the immediate neighbourhood of the lake, but also the *'Ard el Hümna*, or "hot country" (perhaps originally "Land of Hammath"). a rich district, in which now stands the modern *Beit Jem*, probably representing, as I have pointed out in a former paper, the ancient Chimereth, and the later Gennesareth. This country all belonged to the tribe of Naphtali, and its richness is specially noticed in the Talmud. "The Land of Naphtali is everywhere covered with fruitful fields and vines, the fruits of this land are famous for their sweetness." (*Tal. Bab. Megillah, 6 a.*)

Josephus also specially describes the country of Gennesareth: "Its soil is so fruitful that all sorts of trees can grow upon it, for the temperature of the air is so well mixed that it ages well with those several sorts, particularly walnuts." The passage is too long to be quoted in full (*cf. B. J. III. x., 7, 8*).

Beth Shan was included in this district,<sup>4</sup> and was so fertile in corn that the seed of a *saath* (2 gallons) produced 70 *Kor* (nearly 70 qrs.), according to R. Meir (*Tal. Bab. Ketuboth, 112 a*). Rabbi Simon ben Lakish said, "If Paradise is to be found in Palestine, its gate is at Beth Shan" (*cf. Midrash, Bereshith, Rabba, ch. 98*).

Much change has occurred in this district. The northern slopes of Tabor are still covered with oak thickets, where the fallow deer is to be found, but Arculphus, in 700 A.D., mentions dense forests as surrounding the Sea of Galilee. Again, if we take Reland's derivation for the name Sharon—*i.e.*, "oak," we have indications that the *'Ard el Hümna*, to which the title was applied in the fourth century, was once covered with forest. It is now almost entirely corn land, and the name only lingers in the ruin of *Sáróna* and the village called *Sírín*—*i.e.*, "thickets" or "thorns."<sup>†</sup>

The beautiful springs which exist in the district near Tiberias, the well-watered valley of the *Nahr Jalúl*, the wooded slopes of Tabor, and the rich corn land of the *'Ard el Hümna*, belong to a district still capable, by irrigation and cultivation, of becoming something approach-

\* "The territory of Beth Shan was called Chinnereth" (*Midrash Bereshith, Rabba, chap. 98*).

† The Samaritan Chronicle makes mention of an oak at Kirjath has Sirin, as late as the 16th century. When visiting the place in 1874, I cannot remember noticing any trees (*cf. Journal Asiatique, Dec., 69*). Kirjath has Sirin was not identified by Neubauer, but its being mentioned with Accho, seems to point to its being the modern *Sírín*.

ing the paradise which the Jews describe it as having been in the first centuries of the Christian era.

The fourth district of Southern Galilee is the range of Carmel, included in the possessions of Zebulon and Manasseh. This range divides off from the watershed south of the great plain, and runs north-west to the promontory on which the convent stands. The western slopes are very gradual, sinking into the plain of Sharon. The range includes three districts :

1st. That which culminates in the volcanic cone of *Sheikh Iskauder*, and which consists throughout of the crystalline limestone. It is now thickly clothed with copse of lentisk, dwarf oak, &c. (see *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1873, p. 10 and p. 29) the soil being partly basaltic. Here the roebuck finds a home, and many wild animals not existing in the open country. Here in the midst of the thickets we have also found ancient terraces and watchtowers, showing an *increase* of the wooded growth.

The 2nd district is called the *Belâl er Râhah*, or "breezy land," being an open wold of soft chalky soil, all arable and quite bare of trees. The springs are few and small. On the west is an open oak woodland, part of the Sharon Forest.

3rd and last, Carmel proper is again sharply divided from the last by a great feature—*Wâdy el Mâleh*—and the crystalline limestone again crops up. The expression in the Song of Songs, "the hair of thy head like Carmel," applied to Solomon's Egyptian bride, might be thought to refer to the sort of curly undergrowth which covers the whole mountain, and pours down the watercourses a stream of green vegetation. The "fruitful field" is now all rock and thicket, but the luxuriance of wild growth attests the natural fertility of the soil, and the country is coveted by the German colonists, whose possessions at the foot of the mountain lie in a far less fruitful territory. Ancient wine-presses are still to be found on the top of the ridge, but cultivation is now confined to the immediate neighbourhood of the two Druse villages of *'Esfia* and *el Dalieh*.

In this district, therefore, we find the reverse change to have taken place to that in Mount Ephraim, the wood having extended farther than it did in the time of Jewish prosperity and cultivation. The only indication of *timber* on Carmel is in the dwarf pines along the ridge.

Only two districts in Palestine remain to be noticed, and these still unsurveyed.

UPPER GALILEE is the most picturesque and probably the healthiest part of Palestine. The vine is still cultivated, as for instance at *Kefr Birîn*, whence the German colonists obtain grapes for the manufacture of a very fair kind of red wine. The woods of Baniâs, which are so often noticed by William of Tyre, are still in existence, as can be seen in the Fund Photographs. The country lay all within the possessions of Naphtali, and its fertility appears to have exceeded that of Judæa, though its wine was not considered by the Talmudists to be equal to

that of the Hebron hills, nor was it so abundant (Tal. Bab. *Nazir*, 31 b.)\*

PHœNICIA includes the land of Asher, the low hills of soft limestone, and the tract of sand along the coast. Here the palm flourishes more abundantly as it obtains water and sand, the two requisites for its proper growth. Thus at Haifa we find a long grove beside the Kishon, and at Acre, Tyre, and Sidon it also flourishes.

Dr. Tristram has long ago observed that the palm can never have grown in numbers in the hills where exposed to frost. In the plains and low ground only do we find such names as Kirjath Sannah and Tumrah (*i.e.*, "town of palms" and "place of dates"), and no passage in the Bible makes mention of palms in districts where they cannot grow at the present day.

The orange, lemon, and banana also grow best along the coast, the latter especially at Sidon. The Talmudists, commenting on the verse relating to Asher, "let him dip his foot in oil" (Deut. xxxiii. 24), say that the oil ran like a stream. (Siphri, *Deut.*) "It is easier to bring up a legion of olive trees in Galilee than a child in Palestine" (*Bereshith Rabba*, ch. 20). The oil of Gush Haleb (*el Jish*) was more abundant than that of any other part of Palestine (Tal. Bab. *Menachoth*, 85 b). That of Tekû'a, in Judæa, was, however, considered better in *quality* than any Galilean oil (Mishna *Menachoth*, viii. 3). The same passage places the Samaritan oil of Regueb (probably *Rûjib*) in the second category.

Olives also grew at Netopha (*Umm Toba*) near Tekû'a, whence the derivation of the word meaning "dropping" (Mish. *Pes*, vii. 1).

From these passages we infer Galilee to have been the most fruitful in oil. At the present day the finest groves exist in the Samaritan low hills, but the Talmud never admits the Samaritan country to have been as fertile as the land of Israel.

The Crusaders undertook the cultivation of sugar in the lowlands of Phœnicia. Thus William of Tyre mentions plantations in a plain well-watered and irrigated by aqueducts as existing near Scanderion (the modern *Iskanderûna*), south of Tyre, as late as 1124 A.D.

The whole of Palestine from Dan to Beersheba has thus been traversed, and the notes preceding are sufficiently minute to allow some sort of conclusion to be drawn. These deductions, which appear to me to be the natural outcome of the facts collected, may be briefly summed up as follows:—

1. The climate of Palestine is capable of great improvement by drainage, but has always been to a certain extent malarious in the plains. These, and especially the Jordan valley, will always be unfitted to European constitutions, but may be made salubrious for the indigenous population.

\* Major Wilson remarks: "In North Galilee some of the hill-tops are still covered with roots of old forest trees, and in 1865 much charcoal was being prepared there for the Damascus market."

2. The seasons in Palestine are unchanged, and there is no evidence of any very remarkable falling off in the amount of rain, though the data are not sufficient for a definite conclusion on the subject.

3. The spontaneous growth resembles in character that mentioned in the Bible. In some districts it has greatly decreased, in others it has spread; woods of timber trees have decreased in extent, but still exist in part of the districts formerly occupied by them.

4. Cultivation and drainage have both been neglected, and the richness of the soil makes it certain that very little labour would make an enormous change in the productiveness of the country.

5. The present water-supply answers exactly to that described in the Bible, in the Talmud, and in Josephus, and depends entirely on geological formation.

6. The north of Palestine is and has apparently always been more fruitful than the south.

7. The Judæan hills are unchanged in appearance, at least since the twelfth century, and were probably always the most barren-looking of all the districts. The deserts to the east and south appear also to be unchanged.

To sum up, the change in Palestine is one of *degree only and not of kind*. The curse of the country is bad government and oppression. Justice and security of person and property once established, Palestine would become once more a land of corn, vines, and olives, rivalling in fertility and in wealth its ancient condition, as deduced from careful study of such notices as remain to us in the Bible and in the later Jewish writings.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

## NOTES ON THE LANGUAGE OF THE NATIVE PEASANTRY IN PALESTINE.

IN the course of conversation with travellers in Palestine I have always found it considered an extraordinary fact that the names of so many ancient sites should remain unaltered to the present day, when the language has apparently been changed from the Canaanite, or the Hebrew, to the modern Arabic. The study of the immense number of topographical titles which we have now accumulated, and which is necessary for the preparation of the final name indexes of the Survey, gives very clearly the reason for this preservation of ancient names. It is well known to those familiar to the country that whatever else they may be, the Fellahin, or native peasantry of Palestine, are not Arabs; and if we judge from the names of the topographical features their language can scarcely be called Arabic.

It is not indeed merely that tradition has handed down, more or less imperfectly, the memory of a few ancient names, but that *the whole*



*Bible nomenclature still lives unchanged in the country.* I have had occasion to point out that in Bedouin districts the ancient nomenclature has disappeared. The nomadic tribes called *Beni 'Arab*, or "Sons of the Arab," are invariably mentioned among the settled population by that title, thus making it clear that the *Fellahin* do not consider themselves to be Arabs. The nomadic people call themselves *Bedawin*, but no doubt are descendants of the Arabs of Scripture (Neh. vi. 1). Their language presents marked differences from that of the settled population, and their *patois*, or rather *argot*, is a tongue unintelligible to the ordinary Arabic student.

The study of the *Fellah* language by a competent student would no doubt do much to set at rest the question of the origin of the race. We see clearly from the cases, few and far between, in the Bible, where a change in the name of a town is specially noted, that the Jews accepted the existing Canaanite nomenclature as a rule, and this conclusion is strengthened by the discovery that the Canaanite nomenclature of the lists of Thothmes the Third is identical with the later Jewish nomenclature of the Book of Joshua. The fact that the latter exists almost unchanged in the *Fellah* dialect tends to show that these people are of Canaanite origin, though no doubt a mixed race as now constituted. The following notes on that part of their language which has come under my notice may therefore perhaps be of use to students.

In his valuable work on Palestine Dean Stanley has collected the Hebrew words which refer to topographical features, and which are used in the Bible. In looking over the list I find that all those most commonly used in the Old Testament recur again and again in the nomenclature of the Survey. The following are the most interesting examples.

#### I. TOPOGRAPHIC TERMS.

1. BIKAH (בִּקְעָה), a plain, occurs in the diminutive form *Buke'a* (Josh. xi. 8).

2. SHARON (שָׂרֹן) occurs once under the form *Sarona*.

3. SHEPHELAH (שְׁפֵלָה), "low ground." This term was applied in the fourth century to the district round Beit Jibrin, and it is by no means proved that in the Bible it applies to any larger district, for all the towns mentioned in Josh. xv., as in the Shephelah, occur in this very neighbourhood. Besides the name *Siflah*, mentioned by Captain Warren and M. Ganneau as representing this term, we have in this district the name *'Allar es Siflah*, *Bîr es Siflah*, and *Bîr es Siflâni*.

4. ARABAH (עֲרָבָה), "desert" (Josh. iii. 11), remains unchanged in the modern *Arabah*.

5. CICCAR (כִּכָּר), "round," applied to the course of Jordan, is possibly represented by the modern *Kerkâr*, applied to the windings of the river (2 Sam. xviii. 23).

6. GELILOTH (גְּלִילוֹת), "mounds," is no doubt preserved in the name

*Jelil*, applied to a *Tell* east of Jordan, and to several places in Western Palestine (Josh. xiii. 2).

7. ABEL (אַבֵּל), "a meadow," occurs as *Abîl*, in the north of Palestine (2 Sam. xx. 14).

8. ROSH (רֹאשׁ), "headland," is common as *Râs* (1 Kings xviii. 42).

9. CATAPH (כַּתֶּף), "shoulder," occurs as *Katf* in the modern nomenclature (Josh. xv. 10).

10. GIBAH (גִּבְעָה), "hill," is common in all parts, applied to villages called *Jeb'a*.

11. OPHEL (עֵפֶל), "swell" (of ground), occurs in the name *'Afâleh*. The inspection of the lists of Thothmes seems to show that *el Fâleh*, and possibly the two places called *Tell el Fâl*, have the same derivation (1 Sam. v. 6). *Fâl* in Arabic means a bean.

12. SHEFI (שֶׁפִּי), "a bare place," possibly occurs as *Shâfi*, applied to a village (Numb. xxiii. 3).

13. TZUR (צִיּוֹר), "a rock," is common as *Sûr*, applied to rocks and villages on cliffs (Judg. vii. 25).

14. SHEN (שֵׁן), "crag," with the article, occurs possibly in the names *Beit Shenna* and *Khurbet Hasan* (1 Sam. xiv. 4).

15. CEPHIM (כְּפִיִּים). Plural, translated "rocks," occurs once in the name *Kuf Samasîn* (Job xxx. 6).

16. AROOTS (עֲרִיץ), a word of doubtful meaning, only found in Job xxx. 6; occurs possibly in *'Ain 'Arâs*, with the *sad*.

17. RAMAH (רָאמָה). "Height" appears as *Râmeh*, but has lost its original meaning, being now understood to mean "pool."

## II. HYDROGRAPHIC TERMS.

1. NAHAR (נָהָר), "a perennial stream," occurs unchanged as *Nahr*, with the same restricted meaning.

2. MABARAH (מַעְבְּרָה), "a ford," occurs once in the name *'Abârah*, which we identify with Beth Abara (Josh. ii. 7).

3. SHIHOR (שֶׁהוֹר), "the black river" (Josh. xix. 36); is no doubt the present *Wâdy Shaghâr*.

4. NAHAL (נָהַל), "torrent." The word has been superseded by the modern term *Wâdy*, but is no doubt to be found in its plural form in the name *Nehalîn*, applied to several places in or beside great torrents.\* The word *Wâdy* in general use is exactly equivalent to the Hebrew term, which is generally rendered "brook" in the English version.

5. PELEG (פֶּלֶג), "stream" (Judg. v. 15), is probably the origin of the name *Falâjeh*, applied to a village.

6. JAVAL (יָבַל), "a flood" (Jer. xvii. 8), is recoverable in the name *Yebâ*, applied to a ruin beside a perennial stream.

7. APHIK (אַפִּיק), Psa. xliii. 1, "strong," has become *Fik*.

8. AIN (עַיִן), "spring;" remains unchanged as *'Ain*.

\* *Nahl* in Arabic means a bee.—C. R. C.

9. MAIN (מַעַיִן), Josh. xv. 9, "a collection of springs," occurs in the names *M'ain* and *Bir M'ain*.

10. MOTZA (מוֹצָא), "springhead" (2 Kings ii. 21), occurs once as *Mizzeh*.

11. MAKOR (מִקְוֵה), "well spring," occurs unchanged, with the same meaning as *Mekâr* (2 Kings xix. 24).

12. GAL, plural GALLIM (גַּל), "fountain" (1 Sam. xxv. 44), occurs frequently in the word *Jellameh*, applied to villages.

13. MABOQA (מַבְּוֵעַ), "a gushing spring" (Isa. xxxv. 7), occurs in the name *'Ain Yambu'a*.

14. BER (בַּר), "well;" occurs in the late Aramaic form of *Bâr*.

15. BERCAH (בִּרְכָה), "tank," (2 Sam. ii. 13), is unchanged as *Birkeh*.

16. BOR (בוֹר), "pit" (Gen. xxxvii. 20); occurs as *Bâr*, and in the dual *Bârîn*.

17. GEB (גֵּב), "ditch" (2 Kings iii. 16); occurs as *Jub* more than once.

18. HAPHRAIM (הַפְּרַיִם), "two pits." This word is identical with the modern *Hüf'reh* (Josh. xix. 19).

19. BITZAH (בִּצְעָה), "a marsh," is common as *Büssah*.

### III. FORESTS.

1. CHORESH (חֹרֵשׁ), "thicket" (1 Sam. xxiii. 15); occurs as *Khorcisa* twice, also in *Kharas* and in *Hirshch*, all applied to ruins. The ordinary word answering to this term is *Hish*.

2. PARDES (פַּרְדֵּס), "plantation" (Neh. ii. 8), occurs at least twice in the word *Fureidîs*. The two words JAAR,\* "thick wood," and ETZ, "timber," do not appear to be now in existence.

### IV.—TOPOGRAPHICAL TERMS.

1. KIR. (קִיר) (1 Sam. xx. 25), "a wall," occurs in the name *Kîreh* applied to a ruin.

2. KIRJATH (קִרְיָה) "city," is unchanged, is *Kurieh*.

3. BIRAH (בִּירָה) "fortress," is common throughout the country, unchanged as *Bîreh* (Neh. i. 1).

4. TIRAH (טִירָה) "fenced city" (1 Chron. vi. 39), is also very common in the name *Tîreh*; both these last words have lost their significance in the language being closely akin in sound to the words *Bîr* a "well," and *Tîr* a "bird," with which the natives connect them.

5. ARMUN (אַרְמִיָן) "keep," (Psalm xlvi. 3), is probably to be found in the name *Râmân* applied to a village.

6. HATZOR (חֲצוֹר) (Josh. xv. 3). This term generally becomes *'Asûr*, but in some cases *Hazûr*. There were many Hazors or "enclosures" in all parts of Palestine.

\* I have noticed in another paper the possible preservation of the plural JEARIM in the modern name *'Armoûh*.

7. CAPHAR (כפר) is unchanged as *Kifr*. It means, properly, a "hamlet." (1 Sam. vi. 18.)

8. PERAZOTH (פרזות) "unwalled towns" (Deut. iii. 5). This is possibly recognisable in the name *Ferasîn*.

9. BETH (בית) is unchanged in *Beit*, "house."

This list is not complete, several other words might be added, including the names of towns which have a topographical meaning such as DANNAH, "low ground." This being a town of Judah (Josh. xv. 49) cannot be identified with the modern *Dennah* in the valley of Jezreel, but the position of *Dennah* agrees with the derivation of the Hebrew. The above instances are quite sufficient to show that the whole nomenclature of the country is almost entirely unchanged. The newly imported words, such as *Widdy* for instance, form a very small proportion, and in these cases the Hebrew word generally lingers although its meaning is lost. Out of the forty-six words given above only ten have certainly lost their original meaning among the peasantry, though several are unknown to the townspeople.

This enquiry may be carried a little further, for it seems probable that the nomenclature still contains traces of the ancient *Canaanite* tribes as follows:—

1. HIVITES. This name (חיי) always occurring in the singular is identical with the modern *Haiyeh* applied to many ruins, as was first remarked by Robinson.

2. HORITES. The troglodytes, or cave dwellers, descendants of Keturah, inhabiting the south of Palestine where caves are abundant. A trace of the name, perhaps, remains in the names *Hôra* and *Tell Hôra*. Jerome notices that *Beit Jibrin* (Elentheropolis) was originally inhabited by Horites, a tradition no doubt connected with the great caverns to be found there.

3. HITTITES. The northern Hittites lived beyond the bounds of Palestine proper, but the Talmud mentions a CAPHAR HITTIM or "village of the Hittites," which appears to be the modern *Hattîn*.

4. AMORITES, or "highlanders," called in the Egyptian records *Amour*: probably the name *'Amurieh*, which applies to several places in the hills, contains a trace of the name. It may, perhaps, be running a theory too far to suggest that the name *'Amr*, so common throughout the country, has the same derivation.

5. PERIZZITES, or "Rustics," *Pugani*, or, as the modern Arabic has it, *Kufîr*, have possibly left their name at *Ferasîn* in the district they are supposed to have occupied.

6. AMMONITES. Though properly a tribe belonging to the country beyond Jordan, a Caphar Ha-Ammonai existed in the territory of Benjamin. From its position in the list it is evidently the modern *Kefr Ana*. There are three villages of this name in Palestine.

7. PHENICIANS are commonly supposed to be intended in the various legends of the *Fenish* which exist at *Beit Jibrin*, *Kuratiyeh*, and *Soba*.

The object which I have always endeavoured to keep in view is the raising of the study of Biblical Topography to the dignity of a *science* governed by laws which cannot be questioned. Our discoveries have already shown *consecutive order* to be a law of the principal lists of the Old Testament, and have established the perfect accord between this order and that of the Egyptian records. It is no less necessary to study the laws which govern the survival of the Hebrew sounds, the violation of which will always cause any identification to be considered unsatisfactory by philologists. For this reason it may be useful to note here the changes which are generally known to have taken place, and which are recognised by such scholars as Gesenius. The order of the Hebrew alphabet will be the most convenient to follow. The difficulty of printing forbids the use of Arabic type.

TABLE OF CONVERSION OF HEBREW SOUNDS INTO ARABIC:—

א. This being a weak letter is often lost or represented by the Arabic article *el* as in the cases Adoraim = *Dura*, Eshtemoa = *es Semūa*. It is sometimes strengthened and becomes *'Ain* as in Ascalon = *'Askalōn*. The confusion of א and א was a Galilean vulgarism (cf. Tal. Bab. Erubin 53 b.)

The addition of an aleph to the beginning of a word is a common Fellah vulgarism, as *Ib'ik* for Bezek.

ב. This was confused with ב by the Galileans and used instead of ב by the Samaritans.

ג. Is generally the Arabic *Jim*, but in a few cases where pronounced hard in Hebrew it seems to have become *Qif* in Arabic, which is vulgarly pronounced as a hard G. Instance, *Gederoth* = Katrah (Warren).

ד. Is always unchanged, but sometimes an error of transcription is suspected to have placed ד for ד. It is always *Dāl* in Arabic and never *Dād*.

ה. Is the Arabic *Hé-té*. It is very often lost altogether, especially as an article, and in other cases is represented by *Yeh* as in Ha-Cain, now *Yekin*.

ו. Is *Wou* in Arabic, but *Yeh* is often added in the diminutive form, as *Shuweikeh* for Shochoh. It is sometimes lost, as in the case *Lebban* for Lebonah.

ז. Is generally *Zain* in Arabic, but often *Dhal*. The two sounds are not distinguished by the peasantry, who pronounce Dhal like Z.

ח. Is properly *Héh* in Arabic, but often *K'héh*, and very constantly *'Ain* takes its place. This confusion of ח and א is noticed in the Talmud (Tal. Bab. Erubin, 53 b.) as a Galilean vulgarism. The Samaritans confused ח and א.

ט. Is represented by both *Tā* and *Tzā* (pronounced *Dhā* in Palestine.) There is no well authenticated instance of any confusion with ט = *Té*.

י. Being a weak letter this is very often lost, especially at the begin-

ning of words, as in *Zerûn* for Jezreel. It is properly the Arabic *Yeh*, but one instance occurs where *Min* takes its place, namely, *'Attîr* for Jattir, an identification which has not been disputed as yet.

2. Is the Arabic *Çaf*, commonly pronounced *Çhîf* by the peasantry. The Galileans did not distinguish 2 and 3, but in modern language they are very distinct in sound.

3. The Arabic *Lâm*, but the peasantry confuse it with *Nun*, as in the well-known instances of *Beitin* for Bethel, *Zerûn* for Jezreel. As a termination it is generally lost, as *Yebna* for Jabneel.

4. The Arabic *Mîn*. In Hebrew it is often assimilated, disappearing, and the next letter being doubled. As a plural termination it is generally now represented by *Nân*. This change is also to be remarked in the Aramaic plurals, as כִּי־יָיִם כִּי־יָיִם. In some cases *Bé* seems to take its place, as in *Tibneh*=Timnah.

5. Arabic *Nûn*. It is often confused with *Min* in sound, and when it occurs as a termination is almost always lost, as in the well-known instance, *'Akîr* for Ekron.

6. Is always the Arabic *Sîn*. This is an important law to notice. The Ephraimites confused 2 and 3 (Judges xii. 6).

7. Is the Arabic *'Ain*, but a few instances occur in which it is softened to *Aleph*, as *Andâr* for Endor, and *Kîla* for Hebrew Kilah. It is often also represented by the *Ghain*, as in *Ghuzzeh*—Azzah. The confusion with 7 is noted above.

8. The Arabic *Pé*. No known instance of confusion with *Be* can be considered proved.

9. The Arabic *Sâd*, or *Dal*, as in the cases *'Aîsâr* for Hatzor, and *Beit Sur* for Bethzur, and in *'Ard* for the Hebrew ARTZ.

10. The Arabic *Çaf*. Pronounced like hard G and like J by the Bedouin (there is a difference from *Jîn*, which is like the French J, not the English J); by the townspeople and some of the peasantry it is dropped, being only represented by a sort of catch in the breath.

11. The Arabic *Ré*.

12. Is both *Sîn* and *Shîn* in Arabic, but most frequently the latter.

13. The Arabic *Té*, and more rarely *Thé*. It is not unfrequently lost altogether, as in *es Semûa'*—Eshtemoa, and *Eshat'a*—Eshtaol.

All these equivalents will be found in Gesenius, but the vulgar pronunciation of the letters often throws additional light on the connection. It will be seen that many sounds alike in English are widely separate in these languages, and that the amount of change which is really known to take place is smaller than has generally been supposed. Robinson's identifications have the advantage of following these laws much more closely than any except those of M. Ganneau, who is an accomplished philologist. Robinson's identifications are consequently, as a rule, more satisfactory than others. The weak letters liable to change are א ה ו ל נ ס, to which we may add the servile 2 and the ordinary confusion of 3 and 7. The number of identifications made during the survey, and obeying these laws, is large, and I consider that a few put

forward by me which do not obey them, will probably prove in the end unsatisfactory for other reasons.

Two points of interest with regard to the nomenclature may be noted in conclusion.

In the first place, it is remarkable that the ancient nomenclature sticks more closely to the ruined sites than to the natural features of the country. Thus, almost every great valley had a Scriptural name now lost; no trace of the valleys of Elah, Bezor, Kishon, Jiphthah-el, Achor, &c., &c., has been recovered, whilst the valley of Soreg has left its name in the ruin of *Surik*, that of *Aijalon*, in the village of *Yalo*, and that of Charashim in the ruin *Hirshah*. No mountain noted in Scripture has yet been found to retain its name, and very few wells. On the other hand, not only do the ruins retain unchanged their old names, but innumerable sites not mentioned in Scripture have titles not to be interpreted by reference to an Arabic dictionary, but identical with Hebrew words having a topographical meaning. This is what is naturally to be expected. The natural features of the country give a small percentage of the Biblical names often taken from neighbouring towns. The titles of the natural features in the modern nomenclature are for the most part descriptive, and of little value, whilst those of the ruins are almost invariably of importance.

The second point requiring special attention is the nomenclature of the *Mukams*, or sacred places. In his interesting paper on the "Arabs in Palestine," M. Canneau has drawn attention to these local deities, following in the steps of Robinson, who first recognised their importance.

The veneration paid to the local deities by the peasantry resembles that esteem in which local saints are held by the Italian *Contadini*, and is a sure relic of Polytheism. The mythology is, however, extremely complex, as not only original deities, but Jewish heroes and Christian saints have been received into the calendar of the *Welys*, or "friends" of God.

It is remarkable that in Samson's country we should find not only *Shamshân el Jebbar* and *Sheikh Samat* noted by M. Canneau, but *Sheikh Abu el Jahm*, "father of the lion," and *Umm el Hemâm*, "mother of the hero." The names of Paul, Ezekiel, Barachel, David, Moses, and many other Scripture worthies exist at the various *Kubbehs*, or chapels; but on the other hand later sainted characters can be detected, and sure traces of Christian origin are discernible in the name *Mukam Sidna Isa*, "Station of our Lord Jesus;" *Sandahauma*, Saint John; *Sandahawi*, Saint Eva; or *Jebiril*, Gabriel; all venerated by the Moslem inhabitants of the country. It would be no easy task to determine whether a tradition is of really ancient origin, or merely a reminiscence of monkish teaching, added to which the improvements made by the peasantry are often quite modern, as in the legend of the wire which connected the habitation of *Melik el Fenish* with the palace of his daughter, a story dating since the establishment of the electric telegraph.

The veneration in which these saints are held cannot be doubted. As in England the fairies were feared, so in Palestine the peasantry will not, if they can avoid it, speak of a *Wēly* by his full name; they prefer a complimentary nickname, such as “the good Sheikh of the raft” (*Haj* ‘*Aliân*), “the lady of childbirth,” “the famous Sheikh,” “the father of the Crescent,” “the strength of the faith,” &c., &c. These divinities have a local power extending to a greater or less radius; within this circle they are feared, and it is said a man would rather confess a murder than allow himself to be perjured in swearing on the tomb in the *Mukâm* of his village. Whether the complicated mass of tradition, the growth of so many centuries, and the product of three religions, can be disentangled or is worthy of minute investigation, I leave others to judge.

The general outcome of this inquiry is, it will be seen, the probability that the whole language of the native peasantry (following the indications given by topographical nomenclature) approaches much closer to the Aramaic, which Jerome tells us was in his time the common tongue of the country, and even to the Hebrew than it does to modern Arabic. The dialect of Palestine is not understood in Morocco, where the Arabic words are entirely different, nor even in Egypt, and many words in the Survey sheets are not to be found in any dictionary of Arabic, though easily traced in Buxtorf or Gesenius.

If such be the case there is nothing extraordinary in the fact that by far the larger majority of Scripture sites are capable of recovery, and the collection of these names becomes a greater service to the study of the Bible than any amount of excavation for ruins which scholars doubt ever to have existed—such as Ahab’s palace of ivory, or the temples of the Calves at Bethel.

CLAUDE R. CONDER.

## PALESTINE BEFORE JOSHUA.

By LIEUT. CONDER, R.E.

(Continued from *Quarterly Statement*, April 1876, p. 87.)

### GROUP I.

#### Section III.

THE third section refers to towns in the plain of Esdraclon and the ‘*Ard el Humma*. In seeking for the sites, we are guided by the identifications proposed by Mariette for Nos. 42, 43, 52, 57. The list proceeds as follows:—

41. *Kebatua(n)*.—As this follows sites near Acca it is to be sought north of the next. No doubt it is the Gabatha of Josephus, the modern *Jebâta*, on the north edge of the plain.

42. *Taanuk*, Mariette Bey identifies with the famous Taanach of the Bible (Josh. xii. 21), the present ruin of *Taanuk*.



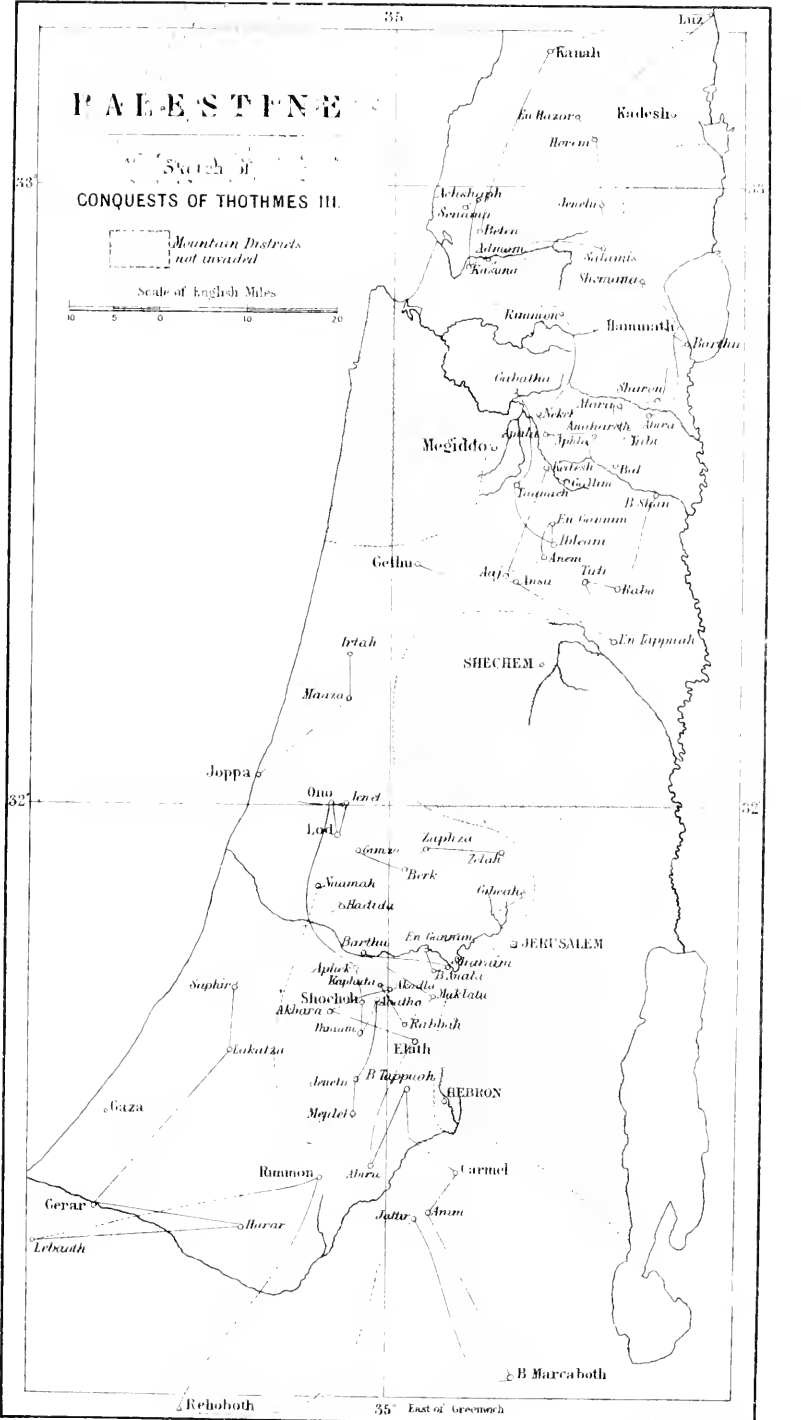
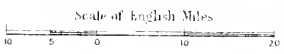
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# PALESTINE

## Sketch of CONQUESTS OF THOTHMES III.

Mountain Districts  
not invaded



Rehoboth

35° East of Greenwich

B Marcaboth

43. *Ibl'amu*.—Mariette Bey proposes the Biblical Ibleam (Josh. xvii. 11), which Mr. Drake finds at *Bel'ameh*, south of Jenin.

44. *Geneth Asuah*.—Following close upon the last may be translated "Garden of Palm," as the hieroglyphic may probably represent the Hebrew words (גַּנְתֵּהוּסוּחַ). It probably refers to *Jenûn*, the Biblical En Gannim (Josh. xix. 21), or "Spring of the Garden." Both a spring and a palm garden are to be found at Jenin.

45. *Latuu 'Araka*.—This long name is difficult to connect with any Hebrew word. A place called *el 'Araka* exists north of Jenin, but the identification is very doubtful.

46. *Aina*.—The neighbourhood suggests Anem, a town of Manasseh, which must have been near En Gannim, since the name stands instead of the latter in 1 Chron. vi. 73. For this I have already proposed the present ruin *el Ghanâm*, immediately south of Jenin, fitting the requirements of the Biblical site and of the present list. The Arabic *Ghein* is only a variation of the *'Ain*.

47. *'Aak* or *'Ajaj*, following next, suggests the ancient site of *'Ajja*, west of Jenin.

48. *Ias Ketes*, a second Kadesh. There was a town of Issachar called Kadesh (1 Chron. vi. 72). It is to be sought in the plain of Esdraelon, and is probably the ancient ruined site called *Tell Kedis*, or *Tell Abu Kedis*, near *el Lejjûn*. The list of the Royal cities (Josh. xii. 22) reads in consecutive order, if we accept this site instead of Kadesh Naphtali as the Royal Kadesh. Mariette Bey inclines to this identification, but does not fix upon it.

49. *Kiliimna* or *Jiliimna*, equivalent to the Hebrew *Gallim*, "heaps," or "fountains," is evidently *Jellameh*, immediately east of the last.

50. *Bar* or *Bal*.—Possibly from the indications afforded by Nos. 49 and 52, that this site is somewhere in the valley of Jezreel, we may identify it with *Khurbet Yebla*, an ancient site near *Wady el Bîreh*. The word means "stream," derived from the Hebrew (בַּר).

51. *Shemesalmah* is possibly to be found in the present *Tell esh Shemûn*, east of the last.

52. *Anuheru* is evidently the Biblical Anahareth (Josh. xix. 19), with which Mariette Bey identifies it. I have already proposed the modern *en N'aurah*, agreeing well with the requirements, both of the present narrative and of the Biblical lists.

53, 54. *'Aphla*, *'Aphla*.—These two places of identical name, equivalent to the Hebrew *Ophel*, or "swelling" ground, are evidently *'Afûleh* and *el Fûleh*, two ancient sites close together, and not far west of *en N'aurah*. These identifications form a most satisfactory proof that the preceding identifications are correct, and that the theory of consecutive groups is capable of being carried out.

55, 56. *Heshbu*, *Tusulat*, I have been unable to find, but the next in number indicates a district beyond the present extent of the Survey.

57. *Nekebu*.—Mariette Bey suggests the Nekeb of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 33). This fits well with the general idea of the district in which we now are. It is no doubt the present *Nakûb*, a site in the *'Ard el Humma*.

58. *Ashushen*.—Mariette Bey suggests *Jebel Shihân*, but this is an immense leap. Near to Nekeb there was a town, called Shihin in the Talmud (Tal. Jer. Taanith, iv. 8). It was also near to Rumah (Tosiphta Erubin, chap. iii.), now *Rânch*, which agrees in a remarkable way with the next identification. This site is not yet fixed. The place was known to Jerome under the name Seon, and is mentioned as existing under the form *Siin*, by Schwartz. It will no doubt be found in the course of the Survey somewhere east of Nazareth.\*

59. *Ranama*.—Probably for Rimmon. †Rimmon of Zebulon (*Rumwânêh*) (Josh. xix. 13), fits perfectly as to position.

## GROUP II. (probably the Plains of Sati.)

### Section I.

The identifications of Nos. 62, 64, 65, show the list to refer to the south of Palestine; the former sections including all the low country and part of the hills in the north.

60. *Irtah*.—No doubt is the modern *Irtah*, north of Jaffa.

61. *Ma'za*.—Possibly the ruin of *Magharzun*, between the last and the next.

62. *Iphu*.—Joppa—Mariette Bey.

63. *Kenul* or *Jenet*.—Possibly *Kefr Jennis*, near the next.

64. *Luten* or *Luden*.—Lydda—Mariette Bey.

65. *Aana*.—Ono (1 Chron. viii. 12)—Mariette Bey.

66. *Aphuken*.—Evidently one of the Apheks, and apparently near Shochoh. This would seem to fix it as the Aphek of 1 Sam. iv. 1, and probably as the present ruin called *Beled Afukah*, or *el Foka*, a little to the north of the next.

67. *Suka* Mariette Bey identifies with Shochoh, now *Shuweikeh*, in the low hills north-east of Beit Jibrin. The list has hitherto been proceeding directly south.

68. *Ihmam*.—Possibly the ruin called *el Hummâm*, south of the last.

69. *Habatza*.—Mariette Bey suggests Chezib, which would agree well as to position, but the ו and ז can hardly ever have been confused, or at least no known example exists. The hieroglyphic may also (according to the alphabet given by Mariette Bey) be read עבצ, or בטע, in which case it is perhaps the present ruin of 'Abbad, in the neighbourhood of the next.

70. *Jeneta*.—Probably the large ruin of *Jenneta*, south of Beit Jibrin.

71. *Mejdel* is in this case the important ruin of *Mejdeleh*, near the last; both are on the border of the Survey, hence the next is probably outside the part completed.

72. *Aphl(en)* is no doubt the Hebrew Jiphtah (Josh. xv. 43), a town

\* Jerome supposes Seon to be the Biblical Shihon (Josh. xix. 19), properly spelt Sion, but this is at present very doubtful; he places it "near Mount Tabor."

near Libnah, and from the consecutive order of the lists of Joshua, evidently in this very neighbourhood.

73, 74. *Shebtuna* and *Dia*—Unidentified as yet.

75. *Naun*.—Mariette Bey suggests *Na'umh* (Josh. xv. 41), identified by Capt. Warren with *Na'aneh*. This seems to fit with the succeeding.

76. *Hadideh*.—The Hadid of the Bible (now *Hadithah*) seems too far north. It is more probably the *Ha-Adithaim* of Judah (Josh. xv. 36), which is most probably the present ruin of *Hadul*, not far from *Na'aneh*.

77. *Hara*, or *Hala*.

78. *Isphar*.—Mariette Bey proposes the Saphir of the Onomasticon, now *Su'afir*. This agrees well, as the list will be found to treat next of sites in the extreme south.

79. *Lukatza*.—From position this might be *Umm Lâkis*. The name agrees much more closely than that of Lachish, with which Robinson identified this site.

## Section II.

Will be found to refer exclusively to the Negeb, or "South Country" of the Bible.

80. *Kerara*, or *Gerara*.—Evidently, from name and position on the lists, the Biblical Gerar (Gen. x. 19), with which Mariette Bey identifies it. This is the *Umm el Jerrar* of Vandeveld.

81. *Horar*. Aroer of Judah (*Ararah*) does not agree with the consecutive order which is preserved by the identification with *Tell Abu Har'eh*, east of the last.

82. *Rabau*, or *Labau*, probably is Lebaoth (Josh. xv. 19), a town which may possibly be the modern *Libben*, near Gerar.

83. *Namana*, 84, *Namana*, lie in country not as yet surveyed.

85. *Maraman*.—From the identification of the next, this seems evidently Rimmon of Simeon (Josh. xv. 32), now *Umm er Rûnamanin*.

86. *Ain*.—Identified by Rougé with 'Ain, a town of Simeon, close to En Rimmon (Josh. xv. 32). It has not yet been fixed.

87. *Rahabu*.—Evidently Rehoboth (Gen. xxvi. 22), now *Rûhribeh*, as Mariette Bey places it.

88. *Akara*, or *Akala*.

89. *Hiklaim*, or *Hikraim*.—The nearest Biblical name in this district is that of Jagur (Josh. xv. 21).

90. *Abala*.—Probably Baalah, a town of Judah in the Negeb (Josh. xv. 29).

91. *Atara*.—Adoraim seems too far north; it is more probably Jattir, *Attir* in the neighbourhood of the next (Josh. xv. 48).

92. *Abar*.—Possibly the present ruin of *Umm el Abhar*, as suggested by the regular progress of the list eastwards, to return as it will appear later, northwards, and east of all preceding names.

93. *Keneth* or *Jeneth*, in an unknown district, not as yet visited by any travellers.

94. *Makperhut* is identified by Mariette Bey with Beth Markaboth.

This is fixed by Vandeveldé at *Mirkib*, a site which fits the order of the Biblical list (Josh. xix. 5) very well.

95. *'Aina*.—Anim of Judah (Josh. xv. 50), given by Mariette Bey, fits perfectly with the next. The distances given in the Onomasticon would fix this at *el Ghâwein*, S.W. of the next site.

96. *Keramen*.—Carnel of Judah (Josh. xv. 55), as given by Mariette Bey, identified by Robinson with *Karmal*.

97. *Badia*.—Possibly *'Abdeh*, north-west of the last.

98. *Tappu(nu)*.—Evidently Beth Tappuah of Judah (Josh. xv. 53). It is curious that Mariette Bey should have missed this identification, which follows in perfect order.

99. *Abira*.—Possibly *el Bîrch*, a large ruin south-west of the last in the *Dhâkerigh* district.

100. *Hatu*.—Probably Elath, which occurs in the LXX version of Josh. xii. 16). It also is mentioned in the Talmud (מִשְׁנָה Mishna Maaser Sheni v. 2), as a day's journey south of Jerusalem, and is not improbably the present *Beit Aulâ*.

### Section III.

In this section Nos. 103, 113, are identified by Mariette Bey with places in the Shephelah, thus giving a clue to the list.

101. *Harkara* or *Harjara*.

102. *'Akbara*.—Probably *'Aukbâr*: in the other copies of the list it is *Akbanra* and *Akban*. This is because the eagle representing *ṣ* is only distinguished by its beak from the figure representing *ḥ*.

103. *Kaphuta*.—Mariette Bey suggests Kaphtheis of the Onomasticon. A ruin called *Kîâfu* exists east of *'Aukbâr*.

104. *Akadla*.—Possibly *'Aklidia*, close to the last.

105. *Rabbatu*, suggests the *Rebbo* of the Onomasticon, and *Rabbah* of Judah. There is an important ruin called *Rubba*, which is the *Rebbo* in question, and which fits well for *Rabbatu* (Josh. xv. 60).

106. *Malkata*.—Perhaps the ruin of *Malkatta*, north-east of the last.

107. *'Arneka*—*i.e.*, “the valley.” The form of the hieroglyphic with a very slight change would give *Arneka* or *Yermîk* in the immediate vicinity of the last.

108. *Zartha*.—Possibly from its position *Zoreah* (Josh. xv. 33), now *Surah*.

109. *Baratu* suggests the *Bera* of the Onomasticon, north of Eleutheropolis; for this I have proposed *Bîrch*, in a position suiting the present list and the distance in the Onomasticon.

110. *Beit Shara* suggests the Biblical plural form *Sharaim* (Josh. xv. 36), which is identified by M. C. Ganneau with *Saireh*.

111. *Beit Anata*.—Close to the latter ruin is another called *en Naiateh*.

112. *Harkatu*.

113. *An Kenamu*.—Evidently as identified by Mariette Bey, En

Gannim of Judah (Josh. xv. 34), identified by M. C. Ganneau as *Umm Jina*.

114. *Kebau*.—One of the numerous Gibeahs; the one which seems to fit best is that in Benjamin, [mentioned with Kirjath (Josh. xviii. 28). These two places I propose to find at *Jibia* and *Kuryet*.

115. *Tzella*.—Mariette Bey remarks this similarity to Zelah of Benjamin (Josh. xix. 28).

116. *Tzafza*.—Probably *Suffa*, probably near the last.\*

117. *Berk(ua)*.—Possibly *el Burj*, near the last.

118. *Ham*.—The tablet is here imperfect; it may stand for Hamath or Emmaus, *Amwas*.

119. *Ajmes*.—Spelt with  $\text{ד}$  is possibly the Hebrew Gimzo (2 Chron. xxviii. 18), which Robinson found in the modern *Jimzu*.

The two great groups may thus be carried in consecutive order in great circles, the second returning exactly to its starting point. Each group is apparently divided into three sections of almost exactly equal proportions, showing six well-defined natural divisions of country. All the towns occur in the open country or in the low hills easily overrun, and the more difficult mountain country is entirely omitted.

A glance at the map† will show how natural is the order in which these places occur. The only liberty which can be allowed in the change of the names consists in a certain confusion of the gutturals and of the *s* sounds, which is specially noted at the beginning of the paper.

The order seems not impossibly to be that in which the towns were captured, the campaign being thus marked out as in the campaign of Joshua in the south of Palestine.

The Conspectus attached shows only the more certain identifications, leaving out the more doubtful. A long gap will be found here and there, indicating parts of the country not yet surveyed. Of the 88 identified places, 48, or over half, are mentioned in the Bible, and as others are noted in the Talmud and early Christian writers, only 34, or a little over two-fifths, would be peculiar to these lists.

Of the identified places, 27 in all are due to Mariette Bey, one to M. Rougé, and the rest are suggested newly, without counting cases in which the modern site of the ancient towns was unknown to the Egyptian scholar. Had Mariette Bey been better supplied with books (which he regrets), many of these he would have found himself.

The Conspectus shows in parallel columns—1st, the Egyptian; 2nd, the Hebrew; 3rd, the modern Arabic names.

\* This place is not improbably the Zuph of 1 Sam. ix. 5.

† See the lithographed sketch map accompanying the paper.

## CONSPICUOUS OF THE LISTS AND IDENTIFICATIONS.

## FIRST GROUP (NORTH).

## Section I. (Towns in Samaria and Galilee.)

EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW.	ARABIC.
1. <i>Kadesu</i> ... ..	Kadesh Naphtali, Mariette	El Kedes.
2. <i>Mekedi</i> ... ..	Megiddo, Mariette	El Lejjün.
3. <i>Hai</i> .		
4. <i>Jethu(na)</i> ... ..	... ..	Jett, C. R. C.
5. <i>'Ansu</i> ... ..	... ..	'Anza, C. R. C.
6. <i>Tabuh</i> ... ..	En Tappuah, C. R. C.	'Atuf.
7,8. <i>Kamata</i> or <i>Bamai</i> .		
9. <i>Tuti(na)</i> ... ..	... ..	Umm Tütch, C. R. C.
10. <i>Raba(na)</i> ... ..	... ..	Räba, C. R. C.
11. <i>Kerit Seanan</i> .		
12. <i>Molma</i> .		
13. <i>Tamesku</i> ... ..		
14. <i>Atara</i> ... ..	... ..	Et Tireh, C. R. C.
15. <i>Abira</i> ... ..	... ..	El Bireh, C. R. C.
16. <i>Hamata</i> ... ..	Hamath, Mariette	El Hämâm.
17. <i>Akid</i> .		
18. <i>Shemana</i> .		
19. <i>Barthu</i> .		
20. <i>Maana</i> .		
21. <i>Sarana</i> .. ..	Lasharon, Mariette	Saröna, C. R. C.
22. <i>Tabi</i> ... ..	... ..	Et Taiyibeh, C. R. C.

## Section II. (Upper Galilee and Phoenicia.)

23. <i>Batna</i> ... ..	Beten, Mariette.	
24. <i>Amasha</i> .		
25. <i>Matzah</i> .		
26. <i>Koane</i> ... ..	Kanah, Mariette	Kanah.
27. <i>Arna</i> ... ..	Iron, Mariette.	
28. <i>Asharatu</i> .		
29. <i>Avavrophah</i> .		
30. <i>Makata</i> .		
31. <i>Lautza</i> ... ..	Luz ... ..	Luweizeh, C. R. C.
32. <i>Hatzara</i> ... ..	En Hazor, C. R. C.	Hazzür.
33. <i>Hurah</i> ... ..	Horem, C. R. C.	Hüräh.
34. <i>Jenaratu</i> ... ..	... ..	Beit Jenn.
35. <i>Samana</i> ... ..	<i>Salamis</i> , Josephus, C. R. C.	Sellâmeh.
36. <i>Adman</i> ... ..	... ..	Ed Damün, C. R. C.
37. <i>Kasuna</i> ... ..	... ..	Tell Keisün, C. R. C.
38. <i>Senama</i> .		
39. <i>Mashalo</i> ... ..	Misheal, Mariette	
40. <i>Akshaph</i> ... ..	Achshaph, C. R. C.	El Yasif, C. R. C.



## Section III. (Issachar and Naphtali Lowlands).

EGYPTIAN.	HEBREW.	ARABIC.
41. <i>Kebatua(a)</i> ... ..	<i>Qabatha</i> , Josephus, C. R. C.	Jebâta.
42. <i>Taanak</i> ... ..	Taanach, Mariette... ..	Ta'anuk.
43. <i>Iblamu</i> ... ..	Ibleam, Mariette ... ..	Bel'ameh.
44. <i>Jenet Asnah</i> ... ..	En Gaunim, C. R. C. ... ..	Jenn.
45. <i>Latau Araka</i> .		
46. <i>'Aina</i> ... ..	Anem, C. R. C. ... ..	El Ghanâm, C. R. C.
47. <i>Aaj</i> ... ..	... ..	'Aija, C. R. C.
48. <i>Ras Kedesh</i> ... ..	Kedesh, C. R. C. ... ..	Tell Abu Kedis, C. R. C.
49. <i>Jiliimna</i> ... ..	... ..	Jellameh, C. R. C.
50. <i>Bal</i> .		
51. <i>Shemesadnah</i> ... ..	... ..	
52. <i>Anuheru</i> ... ..	Anahareth, Mariette ... ..	En Na'ûrah, C. R. C.
53. <i>'Aphla</i> ... ..	... ..	'Afûleh, C. R. C.
54. <i>'Aphla</i> ... ..	... ..	El Fûleh, C. R. C.
55. <i>Heshbu</i> .		
56. <i>Tasulat</i> .		
57. <i>Nekshu</i> ... ..	Nekeb, Mariette ... ..	Nâkib, C. R. C.
58. <i>Ashush-hen</i> ... ..	<i>Shûsh</i> (Tal.), C. R. C....	
59. <i>Ranama</i> ... ..	Rimmon, C. R. C....	Rumâneh.

## SECOND GROUP (SOUTH).

## Section I. (Juda).

60. <i>Irtah</i> ... ..	... ..	Irtah, C. R. C.
61. <i>Mauza</i> .		
62. <i>Iphu</i> ... ..	Joppa, Mariette ... ..	Yâfa.
63. <i>Jenet</i> ... ..	... ..	Kefr Jennis, C. R. C.
64. <i>Luden</i> ... ..	Lod, Mariette ... ..	Ludd.
65. <i>Aana</i> ... ..	Ono, Mariette... ..	Kefr 'Ana.
66. <i>Aphuk(en)</i> ... ..	Aphek, Mariette ... ..	Belled Afoka, C. R. C.
67. <i>Suku</i> ... ..	Shochoh, Mariette... ..	Shuweikeh.
68. <i>Imam</i> .		
69. <i>'Abatha</i> .		
70. <i>Jenetu</i> ... ..	... ..	Jenneta, C. R. C.
71. <i>Mejde</i> ... ..	... ..	Mejdeleh, C. R. C.
72. <i>Aphl(en)</i> ... ..	Jiptah, C. R. C.	
73. <i>Shebtu(na)</i> .		
74. <i>Diâ</i> .		
75. <i>Naun</i> ... ..	Naamah, Mariette... ..	Na'aneh.
76. <i>Hadida</i> ... ..	Ha Adithim, C. R. C....	Hadid, C. R. C.
77. <i>Hara</i> ... ..		
78. <i>Isphar</i> ... ..	<i>Saphir</i> (Onom), Mariette	Suâfir.
79. <i>Lakatzu</i> .		

## Section II. (Negeb).

80.	<i>Jerara</i> ...	Gerar, Mariette	Umm el Jerrâr.
81.	<i>Harar</i> ...	...	Tell Abu Harirîn, C. R. C.
82.	<i>Lebau</i>	Lebaoth, C. R. C.	...
83.	<i>Nam'ana</i> .		
84.	<i>N'amana</i> .		
85.	<i>Maraman</i> ...	En Rimmon, C. R. C.	Umm el Rammamin.
86.	<i>'Ani</i> ...	Ain, Rougé.	
87.	<i>Rahëu</i> ...	Rehoboth, Mariette	Rûheibeh.
88.	<i>Akara</i> .		
89.	<i>Hikraim</i> .		
90.	<i>Abalu</i> ...	Baalah, C. R. C.	...
91.	<i>Atar'a</i> ...	Jattir(Josh.xv.48),C.R.C.	'Attir.
92.	<i>Abara</i> .		
93.	<i>Kenctu</i> .		
94.	<i>Makerphut</i> ...	Beth Marcaboth, Mariette	Mirkib.
95.	<i>'Ainu</i> ...	Anim, Mariette	El Ghûwein.
96.	<i>Karamen</i> ...	Carmel, Mariette	Kurmul.
97.	<i>Bedia</i> ...		
98.	<i>Taphu(nu)</i> ...	Beth Tappuah, C. R. C.	Tuffûh.
99.	<i>Aberu</i> .		
100.	<i>Ilatu</i> ...	Elath (LXX.), C. R. C.	

## Section III. (Shephelah).

101.	<i>Harjara</i> .		
102.	<i>'Akbâra</i> ...	...	'Aukbâr, C. R. C.
103.	<i>Kaphutu</i> ...	<i>Kaphthêis</i> , Mariette.	
104.	<i>Akadla</i> .		
105.	<i>Rabbath</i> ...	( <i>Rebbo</i> , Onom.), C. R. C.	Rubba, C. R. C.
106.	<i>Maklatu</i> .		
107.	<i>'Ameku</i> .		
108.	<i>Tzertha</i> .		
109.	<i>Bartlu</i> ...	<i>Beru</i> (Onom.), C. R. C.	Bîrch, C. R. C.
110.	<i>Bet Shara</i> ...	Sharain, C. R. C.	S'âreh.
111.	<i>Bet Anata</i> ...	...	En Niateh, C. R. C.
112.	<i>Harkata</i> .		
113.	<i>An Jenamu</i> ...	En Gannim, Mariette	Umm Jina.
114.	<i>Keb'au</i> ...	Gibeah, C. R. C.	Jibia, C. R. C.
115.	<i>Zella</i> .		
116.	<i>Tzafza</i> ...	...	Suffa, C. R. C.
117.	<i>Berk(na)</i> ...	...	El Burj, C. R. C.
118.	<i>Han</i> .		
119.	<i>Akmes</i> .		

N.B.—Twenty-one unidentified or doubtful places are in parts of the country not surveyed. Thus, finally, about five-sixths of the total number may probably be recovered.—C. R. C.

## NOTES FROM THE MEMOIR.

22nd May, 1876.

THE following thirty-two identifications are the result of preparing the name indexes to the sheets now in hand of the Survey of Palestine:—

*Ebenezer* and *Mizpeh* (1 Sam. iv. 1; and vii. 12).—In the Onomasticon (s. v. Abenezzer), the first of these places is stated to be near Beth Shemesh; this points evidently to *Deir Aban* as the early Christian site, a village three miles east of *'Ain Shemes* on the edge of the Philistine country. The name means “Convent of the Stone,” the second word EZER, “help,” having been lost. According to the same authority, and to Procopius of Gaza commenting on Jerome (s. v. *Maspha*), the Mizpeh of these passages was close to Kirjath Jearim, which was considered by the early Christian writers to be at *Kuryet el 'Anab* (an identification which is very doubtful). The fourth century Mizpeh is therefore probably *Khurbet Shāfa*, immediately south of *Kuryet el Anab*, a name having exactly the same meaning with Mizpeh—viz., “Place of View.”

There are several reasons for supposing these to be the true sites, as well as those recognised in the fourth century.

1st. The Philistines pitched in Aphek, the Israelites in Ebenezer (1 Sam. iv. 1). This Aphek is probably that of the lists of Thothmes III., near Shochoh, now called *Belled el Foka*, and in this case is only about four miles from Ebenezer, if at *Deir Aban*.

2nd. Josephus evidently connects the Mizpeh of this passage with Kirjath Jearim, near which the Onomasticon places it (Ant. viii. 6), stating the attack by the Philistines to have followed the assembly of Israel to rejoice over the ark which was at Gibeah (“the hill” in the English version, 1 Sam. vii. 1), a place identified by M. Ganneau at *Khurbet Jeb'a*, close to *Khurbet Shāfa* and to Kirjath Jearim (*Sôba*).\*

3rd. Two other sites are mentioned in this account—namely, Shen or Hashan (as it is spelt with the article), between which Mizpeh and Ebenezer stood. Some trace may be found of this place, perhaps in *Khurbet Hasan*, five miles north-west of *Deir Aban*, nearly equidistant with *Khurbet Shāfa*, 5½ miles north-east of the same.†

The second place is Beth Car, called Korraia by Josephus, “under” which the Philistines fled from Mizpeh. This may perhaps be recognised in the modern *Akur*, a village overhanging the great valley which comes down from *Jeb'a* and *Shāfa*, and passes beneath *Deir Aban*. It is not often that we meet so complicated a piece of topography as this, in which

\* This agrees with the Jewish tradition that the ark was kept at or near Mizpeh.

† The Talmud calls Shen Shenna, reminding us of *Khurbet Shenna*, but this is north of Amwas, and so out of question. 1¼ miles south of *Kh. Hasan* is *Khurbet el Haj Hasan*, a second ruin marked on the map. Close to *Deir Aban* itself there is also a ruined *Mukam* called *Sheikh Abu Hasan*.

no less than eight places have to be found in proper relative position; but they seem all to fit fairly, occurring on Sheet 17 of the map.

*Gibeah* and *Tinnah*, occurring in the lists of Josh. xv. 57, next to the Hallul group. Probably *Jeb'a* and *Khurbet Tibna* (a third place of the name newly found, just west of Jeb'a), west of the Hallul country.

*Gederah* and *Adithaim*.—Towns of Judah in the group of Shephelah, and near Shaaraim (Josh. xv. 35), probably the two ruins of *Jedireh* and *Hudâl*, near the north boundary line of the tribe of Judah.

† *Hezron* (Josh. xv. 25).—A town in the Negeb, probably *Kheshrum*, a place north of Beersheba.

*Ashan*.—A town near En Rimmon (1 Chron. vi. 59), probably 'Aseileh, a ruin on the border of the hills near *Umm er Rumamîn*, which is identified with En Rimmon.

*Sharuken*.—A town in the same direction, probably *Tell esh Sher'ah*, west of the ruin *Umm er Rumamîn* (Josh. xix. 6).

*Adami Nekeb*.—A town of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 33), is said to be more properly two towns near one another (Tal. Jer. Megil. 70 a). In the district referred to, the two sites of *el Danah*, and *Nakib*, exist near one another.

*Elalah*.—A town of Zebulon (Josh. xix. 15). Carmel belonged to Zebulon, according to Josephus, and on it we find the present *el Dâlich* in a position fitting the consecutive order of the list.

*Jabnel*.—A town of Naphtali (Josh. xix. 33), was called later, according to the Talmud (Tal. Jer. Megilla 70 a), Caphar Yama; probably the modern *Yâna*, in the required direction.

*Nebo Elam* and *Harim* (Neh. vii. 33).—Probably *Naba*, B. 'Alân and B. *Khciran*.

In addition I may notice three identifications which seem to fit very well the requirements of the narrative:—

*Neiel* (Josh. xix. 27), on the boundary between Asher and Zebulon, is probably *Fûmîn*, the ordinary changes of *Yeh* instead of the Hebrew article, and N for L. It is close to the position pointed out by Mr. Grove as probable.

*Shihor Libnath*.—The name of two separate valleys according to the LXX. (Josh. xix. 26.) The two valleys of *Shaghûr* and *el Belât* run into one another. These identifications agree with the last, and define the boundary for many miles. This would be an instance of the ordinary Galilean confusion of gutturals.

*Zebulon* (Josh. xix. 27), was called "City of Men," according to Josephus. The above identifications point to its being the modern *Sha'ab* or "nation," perhaps explaining Josephus's expression.

*Hannathon*.—The north-east boundary of Zebulon (Josh. xix. 14), probably the modern *Kefr 'Anan*, the *Caphar Hananiah* of the Talmud.

The following are early Christian sites newly fixed:—

*Mechanum* (the Mekonah of Neh. xi. 23, according to Reland) was situate eight miles from Eleutheropolis on the way to Jerusalem. This is evidently the present *Mekem'a*.

*Ashan*, fifteen miles from Jerusalem, is probably *Beit Shenna*, fifteen English miles west of the city.

*En Gamim*, near Bethel (Onom.), probably *'Ain Kania*, west of *Beitûn*.

*Janua*.—Three miles south of Legio (*Lejjun*), evidently the modern *Yamûn*.

*Rebbo*.—East of Eleutheropolis, the present *Rubba* in that direction.

*Sior* (Onom.), between Jerusalem and Eleutheropolis. The ruin of *S'aireh*, near the Roman road connecting the two.

No less than 400 places are noted in the Onomasticon, nearly all of which we may expect to recover. The Biblical and Early Christian lists in those parts, now surveyed, are filling up rapidly with identifications satisfactory as to position and obeying the laws of philological analogy. They are, as a rule, found in consulting Gesenius for the derivation of the names, which are not to be found in an Arabic dictionary.

C. R. C.

N.B.—I hope that the Scriptural Emmanus is also to be found on the sheet No. 17, but defer the question for a future paper, with several other sites of interest.

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## MASONRY TOMBS.

THE note by Dr. Chaplin published in last *Quarterly Statement*, p. 61, draws attention to the subject of masonry tombs.

These monuments are rare in Palestine, and none of them appear to reach the more remote antiquity of the rock-cut sepulchres. The most famous are described by Major Wilson (*Quarterly Statement*, No. 3, p. 69), being: 1st, at *Kedes*, where there are *kokim* which have been used for interments at a late period. 2nd, at *Tell Hum*, where there are two examples, one having 26 *kokim*, and being subterranean, with a door of basalt. The other has loculi, and is built of coursed basaltic rubble. 3rd, at *Malûl* a fine tomb with four *kokim*, and attached semi-pillars of Ionic order outside. 4th, *Teiasûr*, a tomb with three loculi and a domed roof. 5th, at *'Ain el B'aineh*, where a building stood over rock-cut tombs.

To these we may now add:—

6th. The Tomb at *el Medyeh*, excavated by M. C. Ganneau, with rock loculi and masonry above. The cross in the mosaïc pavement shows it to be Christian work.

7th. Two subterranean tombs built rudely in basalt, surmounted by domes having the crown flush with the level of the outer soil. They are closed with square doors of black basalt, and are found at *Beisûn*, as marked on the special Survey and described in the Memoir Sheet 9 of the Survey.

8th. The tomb at Jerusalem described by Dr. Chaplin, having *kokim*.

9th. Another very curious masonry tomb at Jerusalem, which I explored in Feb., 1874, I have not found described anywhere. It is on the slope of Zion, by a tree close to the point where the valley sweeps round south. It is built almost entirely of rubble masonry, but the entrance is rock-cut, and the rock shows in the roof at the farther end. In fact, in this case, as in Nos. 2, 7, and 8, the rock is merely faced with masonry.

There are four loculi, two each side, measuring 6 feet 6 inches in length. The total length of the central passage is 18 feet 2 inches, by 3 feet 4 inches in breadth. There is a recess 5 feet diameter inside the entrance on the left. There is also a fifth loculus at the end 6 feet 6 inches long, by 2 feet 6 inches broad. It is not in the axis of the passage, but in a line inclined to the right of this axis.

The loculi are lined with very hard cement, brown in colour, and containing many fragments of pottery and small pebbles. The arches of the passage and the *Arcofolia* are semicircular; the loculi are sunk lower than the level of the floor, and were covered in with flat slabs. The height of the main passage is about 7 feet.

10th. The tomb described and planned by me north of Jerusalem (*Quarterly Statement*, Jan., 1873, p. 22), though rock-cut, was surmounted by a building having a tessellated floor like No. 6.

These remarks confirm Dr. Chaplin's statement that No. 8 is a reconstruction of late period, as all noted seem late, and many of them apparently reconstructions.

C. R. C.

25th May, 1876.

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## THE ROEBUCK.

In the winter of 1872-73 we were stationed at Haifa, on the slope of Carmel. During this period the late Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake discovered that a species of deer, which appears to be called *Yahmûr* by the peasantry, existed in the thickets above us. A fine specimen was brought down by the Bedouin, and its skin, horns, and bones, carefully packed in salt, were sent by Mr. Drake to the Museum of Cambridge University, where the species was determined by Sir V. Brooke as being the *Cervus Capreolus*, or ordinary roebuck. The existence of this animal was suspected by Dr. Tristram, but the specimen in question was the first sent to England.

This animal gives its name to a valley in the wildest thickets of the Sheikh Iskander range, which forms a continuation of the Carmel ridge on the south-east. *Wady el Yahmûr* will be found marked on the Survey sheet, No. 8.

In preparing the name index of this sheet I noticed that the Arabic *Yahmûr* is the exact representative of the Hebrew *JAHMUR* (יהמור), which is translated "fallow deer" in the authorised version, and noted among the delicacies to be found at the table of Solomon (Deut. xiv. 5, and 1 Kings iv. 23). This identification of the Biblical ruminant

with one still existing in Palestine of identical name is, I believe, entirely new, and it is, as it happens, the only species which had remained entirely unidentified.

The four principal species of ruminants noted in the Bible are therefore as below :—

1. אַיָּל, *Ajal*, translated “Hart” in the A. V., *Cervus Dama*. The Arabic *Ayal*. It is also called *Rîm* in Arabic, a name identical with the Hebrew REEM (רֵיִם), translated “unicorn.” The Hebrew Reem has, however, been proved from Assyrian inscriptions to have been a species of wild ox, now extinct.
2. יַהֲמוֹר, *Jahmur*, *Cervus Capreolus*, translated “fallow deer” in the A. V. The Arabic *Yahmur*.
3. צִבִּי, *Tzebi*, probably *Gazella Arabica*. “Roebuck” in the A. V. Arabic, *Dhebi*.
4. דִּישׁוֹן, *Dishon*, probably *Gazella Dorcas*. “Pygarg” in the A. V. The white rump of the ordinary gazelle suits this translation, taken from the LXX. version.

The fallow deer was found in Palestine by Dr. Tristram, who observed it in the wooded country near Tabor. Thus, both the roebuck and the fallow deer noted in the English version are shown to be inhabitants of Palestine, although the names are misapplied. The hart is now apparently extinct, and is not mentioned in Scripture. The fallow deer gives its name to the valley of Ajalon and two towns called Aijalon. There is some reason to suppose that it might still be found not far from the former of these places.

25th May, 1876.

C. R. C.

## CONFERENCE AT THE SCIENTIFIC APPARATUS LOAN EXHIBITION.

THE following is the report of Lieutenant Conder's address at the Geographical Conferences of this exhibition :—

Lieutenant CONDER referred to the Palestine Fund being originated ten years ago, and spoke of his own work during the last four years. It was determined at the outset to have as far as possible a trigonometrical survey, and Lieutenant Conder gave a succinct account of the work from 1871, when Captain Stuart, R.E., was sent out with two non-commissioned officers of the Royal Engineers and one civilian. It was proposed to survey from Dan to Beersheba, 6,000 square miles. Out of that 4,600 square miles had been already accomplished, leaving only 1,400 square miles to be surveyed. Among the most important facts mentioned were that every native name they could obtain was preserved, and they had mapped at least one to every square mile. To do this special large maps had been prepared, as the existing maps were too small. They had arrived at the conclusion that the nomenclature was Caananitish rather than Jewish. A great help has been a record dis-

covered of 120 towns captured, of which there are three copies. The names of the towns are given in the order of their position in the country. They are names of the time between Abraham and Joshua. Three-fourths of the existing names have been traced to their origin. Two of the most important results of the work have been the fixing of the site of the Cave of Adullam and the site of our Lord's baptism. The Cave of Adullam is one of a series of caves which would accommodate 300 men. There are two kinds of caves, those of water-worn origin, damp, the abode of bats, and unhealthy, and small dry caves, still inhabited and showing traces of inhabitation at different periods. Among the Adullam caves is one larger than the others, used, probably, by David himself. The site of our Lord's baptism is recorded as being at a ford near Bethabara. They determined to trace all the fords of the Jordan, and on an average they found three fords to a mile. Nothing was found at all answering to their search, when near the end of the survey of the Jordan they found a ford called Abara—without the "Beth," which means a house. The position with regard to the villages where our Lord is recorded to have been just previously suits admirably. The concluding part of Lieutenant Conder's paper was given to a consideration of the present physical condition of Palestine as compared with the past. There are traces of terraces and indications of using the land to the utmost for corn and vine. Now cultivation is neglected; oaks that used to flourish have disappeared; still the changes are rather of degree than of kind. The reason for stopping work for the present was stated to be an attack from fanatics, from whose wounds Syrian fever set in. Cholera, too, existed in that part of the country which remained to be surveyed. The party was, in consequence, ordered home to recruit, to superintend the publication of the work already done, and it is hoped that by the end of the year work in Palestine may be resumed.

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#### LETTER TO THE ROYAL GEOGRAPHICAL SOCIETY.

The following letter has been sent to the President of the Royal Geographical Society:—

Royal Geographical Society, 1, Savile Row.

To the President of the Royal Geographical Society, &c., &c.

SIR,—We, the undersigned Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society, desire to bring before your notice the following facts connected with the early history of the Society.

In the year 1804, or thereabouts, there was formed in London a Society which took the name of the Palestine Association. Its objects were to promote the Exploration of the Holy Land, and to publish from time to time such information as the Committee could procure as to the state of the country, its geography, its people, its climate, and its history. The only volume which, so far as we have yet learned, the Society published, was a "Brief Account of the Countries adjoining the



Lake of Tiberias, the Jordan, and the Dead Sea," by M. Seetzen, Con-  
 ceiller d'Ambassade de S. M. L'Empereur de Russie (1810, Hatchard,  
 Piccadilly). This was a translation, accompanied by a map, of certain  
 papers sent to Sir Joseph Banks by some unnamed members of the  
 National Institute at Paris. The papers seem to have been rough notes  
 compiled by the traveller from day to day. The English volume is also  
 provided with a brief appendix. We believe that the Society also sent  
 out two travellers to conduct an expedition of exploration, who got no  
 further than Malta, being stopped by the dangerous condition of the  
 country.

It appears further that no meeting of the Council of that Society took  
 place between the years 1805 and 1834, and that no steps were taken to  
 continue the researches in Palestine after the year 1809. In 1834 it was  
 found that there was lying to the credit of the Society at the bank of  
 Messrs. Coutts and Co. the sum of £135 9s. 8d. It was resolved at a  
 meeting, held January 28, 1834, under the presidency of Mr. Bartle  
 Frere:—

1. That the above sum is not sufficient to enable the Association to  
 prosecute the objects of their institution without a further call  
 on the members.
2. That in consequence of the formation of the Royal Geographical  
 Society, which embraces in its views purposes of a similar  
 nature to those for which the Palestine Association was insti-  
 tuted, it is not desirable that such a call be now made.
3. That under the circumstances of the case the treasurer and secre-  
 tary be directed to take such steps as may be necessary for  
 making over the said sum of £135 9s. 8d. to the Royal Geo-  
 graphical Society, to form part of their general fund, and to be  
 employed as the Council of that Society may think fit for the  
 promotion of geographical discovery.
4. That all papers, books, &c., be at the same time handed over to  
 the Royal Geographical Society.

And at an adjourned meeting of March 4, 1834, it was resolved that  
 the above decisions of the Council be confirmed. And in consequence  
 the Palestine Association ceased to exist.

The Society thus dissolved in 1834 was instituted again in 1865. The  
 new Society, called the Palestine Exploration Fund, has been in exist-  
 ence for nearly eleven years. During that time it has acquired consider-  
 able funds, which have been administered in the promotion of knowledge  
 of the Holy Land by various expeditions. These have been as follows:—

1. That conducted by Major Wilson, R.E., F.R.G.S., and Captain  
 Anderson, R.E., F.R.G.S., in 1865-66.
2. That of 1867-1870, commanded by Captain Warren, R.E.,  
 F.R.G.S., in which the excavations at Jerusalem were exe-  
 cuted.
3. That of Professor Palmer, M.A., F.R.G.S. (1870-71), in which  
 the Desert of the Exodus was partially explored.

4. That of M. Clermont Ganneau (1873-74), which was mainly devoted to archaeological research.
5. That of the Survey of the whole of Western Palestine. This great work has been executed by Captain Stewart, R.E., Lieutenant Conder, R.E., Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E., F.R.G.S., and the late Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, F.R.G.S. Four-fifths of the work have been accomplished, and the map, so far, will be placed immediately in the hands of the engraver. It will be accompanied by plans of all the principal ruins, and by memoirs which are now being written. They will embody the whole of the information obtained by the Committee, and will render unnecessary, it is hoped, except for archaeological purposes, any further scientific examination of the country.

The cost of this Survey is about £3,000 a year. The Society publishes and issues for all its subscribers a quarterly record of its proceedings and results. Its whole expenses thus amount to about £4,000 a year. It is gratifying to find that so large an income has been received principally in guinea subscriptions for a work which at first would appear to address itself especially to geographers, scholars, and archaeologists.

We venture, therefore, to ask the Council of the Royal Geographical Society, through its President, to consider whether the sum placed in its hands on the failure of the old Palestine Association might not be justly and profitably transferred to the new and successful society, which is carrying out the work previously proposed, which through various circumstances had to be temporarily abandoned.

The letter has been signed by the following Fellows of the Royal Geographical Society, who are also interested in the work of the Fund, in the order as below :—

Mr. W. Hepworth Dixon,  
 Rev. F. W. Holland,  
 Captain Warren, R.E.,  
 Mr. James Bateman,  
 Mr. F. A. Eaton,  
 Major Wilson,

Lord Lawrence,  
 Lord Henry J. Scott,  
 Mr. John Murray,  
 Lord Alfred Churchill,  
 Mr. George Green,

members of the General Committee of the Fund; and by

Lord Ebury,  
 Mr. H. N. Courtney,  
 Col. Gawler,  
 Lieut. H. H. Kitchener,  
 Mr. Edward Stanford,  
 Mr. D. P. Cama,  
 Mr. F. E. Blackstone,

Lord Clermont,  
 Rt. Hon. Stephen Cave, M.P.,  
 Mr. George Bentley,  
 Mr. P. P. Bouverie,  
 Admiral Sir J. Drummond Hay,  
 Mr. Henry Wagner.

THE

PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND:

A SOCIETY FOR THE ACCURATE AND SYSTEMATIC INVESTIGATION OF THE ARCHEOLOGY, THE TOPOGRAPHY, THE GEOLOGY AND PHYSICAL GEOGRAPHY, THE MANNERS AND CUSTOMS, OF THE HOLY LAND. FOR BIBLICAL ILLUSTRATION.

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 EARL DUCIE  
 W. HEPWORTH DIXON, Esq.  
 PROFESSOR DONALDSON  
 LORD DUFFERIN  
 F. A. EATON, Esq.  
 S. JACKSON ELDRIDGE, Esq., *Beirut*  
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 REV. F. W. FARRAR, D.D.  
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THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE papers of Lieutenant Conder, which we publish this quarter, will be received as a proof that the work of preparing the memoirs is advancing steadily. The memoirs for one sheet are already completed, and are in the hands of the Executive Committee as already reported (meeting of General Committee, June, 1876). They contain the information acquired during the progress of the Survey, divided into the following sections:—

(a) TOPOGRAPHY.—Minute details as to all springs, streams, valleys, hills, position of villages, and other natural features; with special descriptions of interesting localities.

(b) ARCHEOLOGY.—A description of every ruin in the sheet, with illustrative plans and sketches. To this Section belong all inscriptions found in the area covered by the sheet.

(c) NAME LISTS.—The modern names in each sheet arranged alphabetically, showing them in Arabic and English character (transliterated according to Dr. Robinson's system), and the meaning of the names when they can be found.

(d) PROPOSED BIBLICAL AND OTHER IDENTIFICATIONS, with notes and explanatory arguments.

(e) ETHNOLOGY.—Special legends or traditions attached to ruins, buildings, trees, &c., in the sheet.

(f) GEOLOGY.—Detailed notes on the geological features of each sheet.

This order has been followed for the convenience of Lieutenant Conder, and to give the Committee a ready means of estimating the extent and value of their materials. Any suggestions from subscribers will be received and carefully considered by the Committee.

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Some of the papers recently published may be taken as illustrations of this division. The "Notes from the Memoir" (*Quarterly Statement*, July, 1876), belong to Section D. The new site proposed for Emmans in the present number comes from a study of Section C. The paper on the "Fertility of Palestine" is a special paper, which might belong to Section A. That on the Language of the Native Peasantry in Palestine would be classed under Section E.

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A copy of a vizierial letter, sent from Constantinople to Damascus, has been received from the Foreign Office. This contained an order that the whole of the fine asked for by the Consul Moore for damages in the Safed affair is to be paid to the Consul General at Beyrout. The amount was £340, of which the sum of £150 has been already paid. The claim of £200 for compensation does not seem to have been allowed.

A letter received from the Rev. Selah Merrill informs us that he is still working in and about the Jordan Valley. We reproduce, by permission of the proprietors of the *Athenaeum*, a report sent by him to that journal. The New York Committee have not yet issued their Report of Colonel Lane's expedition.

Captain Warren, R.E., is engaged upon a work in which he will give the history of his three years in Palestine, with the conclusions to which, in his opinion, the results of the Jerusalem excavations point. It will be published by Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, about the middle of October.

The Rev. R. J. Griffiths has made the lecturing tour through Wales, which was announced in the last *Quarterly Statement*. He lectured at Brecon, Cardiff, Carmarthen, Tenby, Aberystwyth, Oswestry, Rhyl, Mold, Ruthin, Wrexham, Llandudno, and Carnarvon. He also preached in the Cathedrals of Bangor and St. Asaph. The result of his exertions has been to introduce the work of the Society for the first time into Wales. What is wanted now is, that this newly raised interest may be followed up, and the Committee will be grateful to gentlemen who may be willing to act for them in any part of the Principality. Mr. W. Adams, of Cardiff, and Mr. Richard Mills, of Brecon, are Honorary Secretaries for those towns.

The Committee take this opportunity of returning their best thanks to the gentlemen who assisted Mr. Griffiths on a journey which was necessarily too rapid for him to stay at any place, and would have been unsuccessful but for their efforts.

The financial position of the Fund is as follows:—

Received from June 28th to September 28th the sum of £616 6s. 9d.  
Balance in the banks at the latter date, £344 18s. 5d.

The current expenses are about £200 a month to cover all liabilities. The party at the Royal Albert Hall consists of Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener, with five non-commissioned officers of Royal Engineers. It would be a great help to the work if the strength of the Survey office could be increased so that the whole work might be handed over to the engravers so far as is done when Lieutenant Conder again takes the field. In order to clear themselves from outstanding liabilities, and to have a sum in hand ready to meet the expenses of starting the Survey party again, the Committee ask for £1,500 between October 1st and December 31st.

The following is the list of the newly formed Committee of the Dublin Association. One or two of the names were incorrectly given in the last *Quarterly Statement*:—

Chairman—Right Hon. W. Brooke, Q.C., M.C.

Rev. G. W. Carroll, M.A.	Rev. A. Lawson, M.A.
Rev. M. C. Close, M.A.	Rev. T. A. Maher.
Rev. G. Cowell, M.A.	Rev. Professor Porter, LL.D.
Rev. G. Dalton, M.A.	Rev. R. T. Smith, B.D.
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R. R. Garstin, Esq., M.A., F.S.A.	Rev. H. West, M.A.

Hon. Secs. { Denis Crofton, Esq., B.A.  
Rev. G. J. Stokes, M.A.

Treasurer—The Munster Bank.

The first list of Dublin contributors has also been received. It is as follows:—

Right Hon. W. Brooke .....	£2	0	0
Hon. George F. Colley .....	1	0	0
Denis H. Kelly, Esq., D.L. ....	1	0	0

Rev. Henry West .....	£1	0	0
Rev. Maxwell Close .....	1	0	0
A. D. M'Gusty, Esq. ....	1	0	0
Denis Crofton, Esq. ....	0	10	6

The following are at present the Diocesan Representatives of the Society :—

PROVINCE OF CANTERBURY.

Diocese of Exeter : Rev. Franklin Bellamy, St. Mary's Vicarage, Devonport.

Archdeaconry of Hereford : Rev. J. S. Stooke-Vaughan, Wellington Heath Vicarage, Ledbury.

Archdeaconry of Salop : Rev. A. F. Forbes, Badger Rectory.

                  "          Lichfield :

London : Rev. Henry Geary, 16, Somerset Street, Portman Square.

Norwich : Rev. F. C. Long, Stowupland, Stowmarket.

Peterborough : Rev. A. F. Foster, Farnish Rectory, Wellingborough.

Worcester : Rev. F. W. Holland, Evesham (Member of General and Executive Committee, and one of the Hon. Secretaries to the Fund).

Archdeaconries of Canterbury, Maidstone, and Surrey : Rev. R. J. Griffiths, 19, Trafalgar Road, Old Kent Road, S.E.

PROVINCE OF YORK.

York : Rev. J. De Courey Baldwin, Training College, York.

Archdeaconry of Craven : Rev. J. C. Heuley, Kirkby Malham Vicarage.

IRELAND.

Rev. G. J. Stokes, Blackrock, Dublin.

The Rev. Horrocks Cocks, 19, Edwardes Square, Kensington, W., has also kindly offered his services among Nonconformist churches.

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications by officers of the Fund, the Committee beg it to be distinctly understood that they leave such proposals to be discussed on their own merits, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee do not sanction or adopt them.

Annual subscribers are earnestly requested to forward their subscriptions for the current year when due, at their *earliest convenience*, and without waiting for application. It is best to cross all cheques and post-office orders to Coutts and Co.

The Committee are always grateful for the return of old numbers of the *Quarterly Statement*, especially those which are advertised as out of print.

Ladies desirous of joining the Ladies' Associations are requested to communicate with Mrs. Finn, The Elms, Brook Green, London, W.

Cases for binding the *Quarterly Statement* are now ready, and can be had on application to Messrs. R. Bentley and Son, 8, New Burlington Street. They are in green or brown cloth, with the stamp of the Society, uniform in appearance with "Our Work in Palestine," price one shilling. They can be obtained for any year by subscribers who have complete sets.

Lieut. Kitchener's Guinea Book of Biblical Photographs is now ready, and can be bought at Mr. Stanford's establishment, 55, Charing Cross. It is recommended as a book for Christmas presents. It contains twelve views, with a short account of each. They are mounted on tinted boards, and handsomely bound. The following is the list of the selected views :—

1. The Valley of Sorek (1 Sam. vi. 12).
2. The Valley of Michmash (Judges xx. 31, and Isaiah x. 28).
3. Mount Moriah.
4. The Mosque El Aksa.
5. Elisha's Fountain (2 Kings ii. 22).
6. Bethlehem.
7. Interior of the Dome of the Rock.
8. The Baptism in Jordan.
9. Cana in Galilee.
10. Bethany.
11. The "Via Dolorosa."
12. The Traditional Church of the Holy Sepulchre.

All Lieut. Kitchener's views can be obtained at the same rate as the ordinary photographs of the Fund, of the agent, Mr. Edward Stanford, 55, Charing Cross.

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#### JACOB'S WELL.

ONE of the few sites in Palestine, the identity of which has never been assailed, is that of Jacob's Well. It is situated a mile and a-half east of Nablus, on the edge of the Plain of Mukhna, and at the eastern base of Mount Gerizim. Captain Anderson, who examined it in 1866, cleared out the mouth, and was lowered by a rope to the bottom. He found it 75 feet deep, of a circular form, with a diameter of 7 feet 6 inches, and lined throughout with rough masonry. The bottom of the well was perfectly dry (in May), but the presence of a small unbroken pitcher proved that water is sometimes found in it. Captain Anderson thinks, however, that the well—into which every visitor throws a stone—was formerly very much deeper. Besides the stones, the débris of a ruined church, built over the well in the fourth century, have fallen into it and helped to fill it up. An offer has been made by Dr. Nathaniel Rogers, of Exeter, one of the subscribers to the Fund, to contribute the sum of £50 towards the complete clearing out of this well, so rich in Scriptural associations. The Committee have accepted his offer, and propose to perform this work on the return of the Survey party. It is estimated that an additional £50 will be required for the labour, making £100 in all; and it will be expedient to have the work superintended by the English officers of the Fund. When cleared out, however, steps should be taken to prevent its being filled up again, and the Committee would like to surround the mouth of the well with some sort of memorial stone-work, the nature and design of which will be a matter for careful consideration. Should any subscribers desire to unite with Dr. Rogers in this interesting piece of work, their names will be gladly received by the Committee.

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#### NEW PHOTOGRAPHS.

THE following is Lieut. Kitchener's complete list:—

1. Scene of the Return of the Ark.
2. Scene of the Attack on the Philistines' Camp by Jonathan and his Armour-bearer.
3. Mount Moriah, the Site of Solomon's Temple.
4. Proposed Site of Solomon's Palace (Mosque El Aksa).
5. Elisha's Fountain.
6. Bethlehem.
7. Interior of Dome of the Rock.
8. The Jordan.
9. Cana of Galilee.



10. Bethany.
  11. Way of the Cross (The "Via Dolorosa").
  12. The Traditional Church of the Holy Sepulchre.
  13. Jerusalem: View from Palestine Exploration Fund house on Zion.
  14. Citadel at Jerusalem.
  15. Abbey Church of St. Marie la Grande, Jerusalem.
  16. West Window of ditto.
  17. Cloisters of ditto.
  18. General View north of Jerusalem.
  19. Jeremiah's Grotto north of Jerusalem.
  20. Dome of the Rock, interior.
  21. Ditto, showing architectural details.
  22. Sebil Keyat Bey, Haram Enclosure, Jerusalem.
  23. Kubbet el Abd, near Jerusalem.
  24. Site of Bether (Bittir), near Jerusalem.
  25. Boundary of Judah—Kustul in the distance.
  26. Church of Santa Hannah, Beit Jibrin.
  27. Cave at Beit Jibrin (Columbaria).
  28. Fortifications at Beit Jibrin.
  29. Details of Arcade at Beit Jibrin.
  30. Adullam, showing the Caves.
  31. Ditto, showing the Site of the City.
  32. Ascalon: General View from East.
  33. Ditto: View from East Wall.
  34. Ditto: View on Sea-shore.
  35. Ditto: Tomb of Sheikh Mohammed el Messelli.
  36. Ditto: Well (Bir el Kushleh).
  37. Ashdod from the South.
  38. West Door of Church of St. John, Gaza.
  39. Interior of ditto (now used as a mosque).
  40. Mosque in Jamnia.
  41. Scene at Well, Jamnia.
  42. Makkedah (El Moghar) from the East.
  43. Valley of Elah, looking west, near Shochoh: scene of battle between David and Goliath.
  44. Ditto, looking East.
  45. Shefa Amr: Village and Castle.
  46. Ditto: Rock-cut Tomb.
  47. Church of St. Anne and St. Joachim at Seffurieh.
  48. Castle at Seffurieh.
  49. Convent at Kusr-Hajlah (Beth Hogla).
  50. Masada from North-West, showing the Roman Bank.
- In addition to which the following have been taken for the Fund:—  
 The Moabite Stone. Restored by M. Clermont Ganneau.  
 The Vase of Bezetha. Found by M. Clermont Ganneau in his excavations at Jerusalem; the most remarkable specimen yet discovered of possibly Syrian art of the Herodian or post-Herodian period.

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### LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

MEETINGS have been held since our last Report in the following places, through the kind activity of various friends, who have exerted themselves in furtherance of our work.

On June 22 Justice Sir T. D. and Lady Archibald assembled their friends at 7, Porchester Gate.

Mr. Denny spoke of the great interest he felt in the subject, he himself having been in the Holy Land. A description of the work hitherto accomplished in Palestine was then given, and also of the map of Palestine now in course of construction.

On July 7 a meeting was held at Mrs. Whitehead's, at Harrow, and on July 19 Mrs. Pierce Butler arranged a meeting, with the kind assistance of the Rev. W. C. Wheeler, who spoke and commended the subject to the friends present as one of practical importance as well as of sacred interest.

This last meeting led to another on August 3 at the house of the Dowager Lady Herschel, Collingwood Hawkhurst, Kent. Mr. A. Herschel explained the object of the meeting and bade the friends present welcome. After the various points of interest connected with the Exploration in Palestine had been described, the Rev. H. A. Jeffreys spoke, summing up the topics which had been touched upon.

On August 15, Clara Lady Rayleigh gathered a large party at her house, "Tofts," Chelmsford. Mr. R. Strutt and Col. Lovibond, R.E., both spoke. The latter expressed his special interest in the work carried on by his brother officers of the Royal Engineers in Palestine. The Rev. G. B. Hamilton, local secretary at Chelmsford, also spoke, and obtained the names of several ladies who were willing to join in forming a Ladies' Association. The list was headed by the hostess, Clara, Lady Rayleigh.

On August 24 a meeting was held at Nursling Rectory, Southampton, by the Rev. H. C. and Mrs. Hawtreys, and the interest shown was so great that two other meetings were offered by friends present to be held in the course of some weeks.

We trust that all those who have helped us in arranging the meetings thus briefly described above will accept our best thanks. There can be no doubt that these meetings do tend to increase the pleasure felt in studying Holy Scripture, that many a little illustration is gained which helps the reader to understand the sacred volume better, and that, therefore, those friends who aid us by attending the meetings and contributing to our Fund, do obtain in return something, not merely of pleasant amusement, but of knowledge, which has real value and importance in so far as it bears upon the elucidation of the Bible.

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## ON THE MOUNTAIN OF THE SCAPE-GOAT.

THERE is no ceremony of the law of Moses which possesses greater interest to scholars than that on the day of Atonement when the "scape-goat" (as the Authorised Version has rendered it) was sent out into the wilderness.

It is not my object to enter into the question of the true meaning of the term "the *goat for 'Azazel*," which represents the Hebrew text (Levit. xvi. 8), or to enquire whether this word is properly to be connected with the demon of that name who was supposed to inhabit deserted and ruined places, and to have been a fallen angel teaching many arts to mankind. (Book of Enoch, chap. viii.) The name is still applied (according to Gesenius) by some Arab tribes to an evil genius,

but it is sufficient here to take the words of Josephus that the goat was "sent out of their coasts to the desert for an expiation and a supplication for the sins of the whole multitude" (*Antiq.* iii. 10. 3).

According to the original law the scape-goat was set free and went away into the wilderness, but we learn from the Talmud that on one occasion a scape-goat found its way back to Jerusalem, and this was considered so ominous that an innovation was made, and the goat was effectually prevented from taking so unusual a course by being precipitated from the top of a lofty mountain.

The tract *Yoma* of the Mishna, devoted to the ceremonies of the great Day of Atonement, gives a full account of the ceremony as performed at the later period. The high priest stood in the temple court with the two goats "for Jehovah" and "for Azazel" before him. To the horns of the latter he bound a tongue-shaped scarlet cloth to distinguish it, and the lots were then cast, it being considered of good omen if the lot for Jehovah fell in the right hand.

The reason of the red cloth was, according to Maimonides, to distinguish the goat, but the doctors of the Gemara, ever anxious to put an unnatural meaning to every act, quoted the passage, "though your sins be as scarlet they shall be white as snow" (Isaiah l. 18), and asserted that the atonement was not acceptable to God unless the scarlet cloth turned white, which it ceased to do forty years before the destruction of Jerusalem.

The goat, when chosen, was sent out with a special messenger to a place called *Tzook*, and passed on the road another place called *Beth Hidooodoo*. The passage in the Mishna runs as follows:—

*Yoma*, chap. vi. :

(4) "And the nobles of Jerusalem went with him to the first tabernacle, for there were ten tabernacles between Jerusalem and *Tzook*, and ninety stadia (*Rits*), and seven and an half stadia were one mile" (*Mil*).

(5) "At every tabernacle they said to him, Behold food, behold waters (*Mim*), and they went with him from one tabernacle to the next, except at the last, for they did not go with him to *Tzook*, but stood afar off and watched what he did.

(6) "What did he do? He divided the scarlet tongue and placed half upon the rock and tied half between the horns of it (the goat), and he pushed it (the goat) backwards, and it rolled and fell down, and or ever it was half down the mountain every bone of it was broken. And he went and sat under the last tabernacle till the evening. . . .

(8) "And they said to the high priest, 'The goat has reached the desert.' And how did they know that he had reached the desert? They made watch-towers on the road, and waved cloths, and knew that the goat had reached the desert. Rabbi Jehuda said, 'Was not this the great sign; from Jerusalem to the entrance of the desert (*Beth Hidooodoo*) was three miles? They went one mile and returned, and counted for one mile, and they knew that the goat had reached the desert.' The foreign legend. Rabbi Ismail said, Was not this the sign, they tied the red

tongue to the gates of the temple, and when the goat had reached the desert it became white, since it is said, 'Though your sins be as scarlet they shall be white as snow'?"

We may here examine the three topographical terms here used.

*The Desert.*—Midbar, "wilderness." The word has, according to Dean Stanley, the idea of a wide open space without pasture. It is applied in the Bible (Josh. xv. 61) to a district including the northern shores of the Dead Sea, and extending at least to Engedi, and, on the west, apparently to the vicinity of Bethlehem. The distance from Jerusalem to the entrance was three miles, and *Tzook* in this desert was twelve Jewish miles from the capital, and probably on some important road.

*Tzook* comes from a root meaning "narrow," and equivalent, according to Gesenius, to the Arabic *Dāk* spelt with *Dād*. According to Bartenora the term applies to any prominent and lofty mountain, but it is generally taken to be a proper name, and in this view Maimonides, commenting on the passage, agrees.\* A precipitous mountain, probably a narrow ridge but lofty, and easily seen from a distance, with a road leading to it from Jerusalem, is required evidently at a distance of twelve Jewish miles from the capital, somewhere in the direction of the eastern desert.

*Beth Hidoodoo.*—The word stands Beth Hiron in the Jerusalem Talmud, which appears to be a corruption. In the Targum of Jonathan on Lev. xvi. the same no doubt is intended by *Beth Hidoori*, spelt with the *He*. Buxtorf translates the word, as does Surenhusius, "the entrance to the desert." The root has, however, the meaning "to be sharp," and the word *Hidoodim* means "wrinkles." This term would apply well to the knife-like ridges of the desert east of Jerusalem.

The circumstances of the case may not perhaps allow of very certain identification, as it is doubtful whether either word is to be taken as a proper name; but there are indications which may perhaps point to the exact spot.

The ancient road from Jerusalem to the desert, and to the curious ruin of Mird (Mons Mardes), is now traced throughout. At the distance of some six English miles from Jerusalem it reaches a long, narrow ridge, running north and south, having extremely steep sides and deep gorges running northwards, separated on the west by the Wady of *ed Dekākin*, and on the east overlooking the *Bukei'a*, or table-land above the Dead Sea. This ridge culminates in the high point called el Müntār, about half a mile farther east, and is bounded on the north by the precipitous

\* In another passage (Mishna Baba Metzia vii. 10) the word also occurs in the plural, *li rasi tzookin*, and in this case also Maimonides takes the word to apply as a proper name to *Tzook*, the Scape-goat Mountain. It is worthy of notice that the Arabic name *Sūk*, under the feminine form *Sūkīyeh*, applies to a narrow ridge, *Dhahret Sūkīyeh*; a valley, *Wādy Sūkīyeh*; and a well, *Bir Sūkīyeh*, in the same desert four miles east of *Neby Yūkin*. The distance from Jerusalem prevents identification with *Tzook*, but the origin of the name is probably the same.

valley of *Mukelik*, above which, a little farther north, is the peak called *el Haddicilân*.

The name *Hidoodoo*, which, as we have seen above, means sharp or knife-edged, is applied to two points in the same district, under the Arabic equivalent form *Haddulîyeh*, having an identical meaning, and the term *Haddicilân* is not improbably a corruption of the Hebrew *Hadûdim*. Thus the Beth Hidoodoo would be the entrance to the district of sharp ridges which is peculiar to this part of Palestine.

It is remarkable also that there are a series of wells, at the average distance of three quarters of a mile apart, all along the ancient road to this ridge; and, finally, it is still more interesting to find one of these, the first upon the ridge itself, bearing the name *Sûk*.

This name has been collected by Mr. Drake as written with *Sîn*, in which case it may be rendered "well of the market," though why a well in the middle of the desert should be so called is not apparent. The *Sîn* and *Sâd* are, however, so closely allied that they are not unfrequently confused, and some words (such as *Sunt*, the acacia) may be written with either. Curiously enough, this is the case with all words from the root *Sâk*, including *Sûk*. (See *Freytag Lex.*) Spelt with the *Sad* the Arabic is the exact equivalent of the Hebrew *Tzook*, for the last letter is a *Kof*, representing the Hebrew *Koph*.

The antiquity of these wells is certainly considerable. Many of them are reservoirs hewn in the rock with great care and labour. They exist in a part of the country quite uncultivated, and are evidently intended for travellers along the road, which also shows marks of antiquity, being hewn in the face of the cliff in parts. The exact length of the Hebrew mile it is not easy to determine, but the *Rîs* as determined from Maimonides appears to have been 125 yards, which would give six and a half English miles as the total distance from Jerusalem to *Tzook*. This brings us to the summit of *El Mûntâr*, and the *Bir es Sûk* may be supposed to mark the site of the last tabernacle.

These indications seem to point to the ridge of *el Mûntâr* as representing the *Tzook* of the Talmud, and the exact point whence the scape-goat was rolled down into the valley beneath.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

7th August, 1876.

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## NOTES FROM THE MEMOIR.

THE following points of interest have come out in preparing the nomenclature of Sheets 16 and 18 since the publication of the July *Quarterly Statement*.

1. *Joshua's Altar on Ebal*.—The site is very possibly represented by the modern sacred site called *'Amâl el Dîn*, "monument of the faith," on the top of Ebal. This discovery is specially interesting, because the tradition cannot well be either Christian or Samaritan, but is preserved

by the Moslem peasantry. I hope to collect further information on the subject on our return to Palestine.

2. *Gomorrhah*.—The general opinion of scholars is in favour of the cities of the plain having been situate at the northern end of the Dead Sea. There is a point, however, which has never been, as far as I am aware, fully brought out. The cities, which seem to have been comparatively important places, must have been supplied with water. The immediate neighbourhood of the north shores of the sea is quite destitute of springs, only one small salt spring having been found near the *Rujm el Bahr*.

There is, however, one good spring a little farther south, namely, the 'Ain *Feshkhah*, where a city might have been situate on the shore of the lake. A little farther north is De Sauley's proposed site for Gomorrhah, *Khürbet Kumrân*, a name which has no connection with the Hebrew *Anrah*, meaning "depression," and suggesting a site on the shores of the lake, but is probably derived from the root *Kumr*, meaning "to be white or dusky," and possibly connected with the white cliffs on which it stands. It is worthy of note, however, that the name 'Amrîyeh, which is the proper equivalent of the Hebrew, applies to a *Tûbk*, or "table-land," and to a large valley close to the *Râs Feshkhah*. This is the nearest approach to the name Gomorrhah (or more properly, as in Gen. x. 19, Amorah) yet discovered in this direction.

3. *The Early Christian Ebal and Gerizim* were situate, as I have pointed out in the paper on Samaritan topography, near Jericho. I have proposed the two conical summits north and south of the gorge of Wady Kelt. The northern has traces of ruins upon it, and is called by the curious title *Nusb 'Awishîreh*, of the meaning of which there is no doubt. *Nusb* means anything standing erect, a cairn, a column, a milestone, or a crag; the other word is the plural of 'Ashîreh, "a tribe," and the whole may consequently be translated "the monument of the tribes." A tradition on the subject may very easily be collected, as the Abu Nuseir Arabs who inhabit this district are remarkably intelligent; but at first sight one naturally connects the title with the early Christian tradition as to Ebal and Gerizim, which are described as two peaks close together. (See *Q. S.* April, 1874, p. 74).\*

4. *Archi* and *Ataroth* (Joshua xvi. 2).—Important places on the boundary of Benjamin. The first is no doubt represented by the name 'Arîk, applied to a village called 'Ain 'Arîk, in exactly the required position. Ataroth is defined apparently in Josh. xviii. 13: "Ataroth-Adar, near the hill that lieth on the south side of the nether Beth-Horon." This is the position of the present village of *et Tirh*. These two identifications, if accepted, are of great value in fixing the tribe boundaries.

5. *The towns of Dan*.—The following is the list of the cities of Dan, with the old identifications accepted before the Survey, and all apparently satisfactory:

\* The name *Beit Bint el Jebeil* collected for this point by De Sauley, also recalls the Gebal of Jerome.

- |                           |                     |
|---------------------------|---------------------|
| 1. Zorah . . . . .        | Surah, Robiason.    |
| 2. Eshtaol . . . . .      | Eshu'a, Vandevælde. |
| 3. Ir Shemesh . . . . .   | 'Ain Shems, Rob.    |
| 4. Shaalabim . . . . .    | Selbit, Vand.       |
| 5. Ajalon . . . . .       | Yalo, Rob.          |
| 6. Jethlah . . . . .      |                     |
| 7. Elon . . . . .         |                     |
| 8. Timnathah . . . . .    | Tibneh, Rob.        |
| 9. Ekron . . . . .        | 'Akir, Rob.         |
| 10. Eltekeh . . . . .     |                     |
| 11. Gibbethon . . . . .   |                     |
| 12. Baalath . . . . .     |                     |
| 13. Jehud . . . . .       | el Yehudiyeh, Vand. |
| 14. Bene Berak . . . . .  | Ibn Ibrak, Vand.    |
| 15. Gath Rimmon . . . . . |                     |
| 16. Mejarkon and Rakkon   |                     |
| 17. Japho . . . . .       | Yafa.               |

Of those missing, Mr. Drake supplied an identification, supposing Elon to be the same as Elon Beth Hanan, and the present *Beit 'Awan*, in a position fitting the consecutive order of the list. To this I may add five proposals, which are all, I believe, new.

*Jethlah*, between Ajalon and Elon, is probably *Beit Tul*. This supposes only the loss of the weak letter *Yod*, and is in the required direction.

*Eltekeh*, a place which was near the plains, and of some importance, as we gather from the inscription of Sennacherib, in which it is mentioned with Timnah, Banai-Barka, Hazor (*Yuzur*), and Beth Dagon, all towns of the tribe of Dan. (Records of the Past, vol. i.) The most probable site seems to be *Beit Likieh*, at the edge of the hills, north-east of Latrun. This supposes the loss of the weak letter *Teth*, of which there are several examples. Neubauer supposes this to be the Kefr Likitia of the Talmud. (Midrash *Ekha*, ii. 3.)

*Gibbethon* may possibly be the present *Gibbiah*, or *Kibbiah*, between the sites of Eltekeh and Baalath, the final *on* being lost, as in the cases of Ajalon, Ekron, &c., &c.

*Baalath* might possibly be the large ruin of *Balata*, in the low hills south of the great *Wady Deir Ballut*, which seems to have formed the boundary of Dan.\*

\* *Gibbethon* is mentioned in the Talmud as the opposite boundary (perhaps the southern) to Antipatris, in a district including Beth Shemesh (Midrash *Ekha*, II. 2, Neubauer's Geog. Tal. p. 72). *Baalath* is also made in the Talmud a frontier town of Dan and Judah (Tal. Jer. *Sukhed*. i. 2). This is, perhaps, best explained by placing Baalath of Dan at *B'altin*, as proposed by Neubauer. In this case Gath Rimmon (*i.e.*, "high Gath") may be the Philistine Gath, as Jerome and Eusebius supposed it to be, as it is not otherwise mentioned in the book of Joshua. It is evident that the boundary given to Judah in Josh. xv. 10 is not the final boundary after the tribe of Dan was given its lot, because Zerah, Eshtaol, and Ekron, here given to Judah (vv. 33, 45), were afterwards given to Dan. Josephus gives Jammia and Gath to the tribe of Dan (Ant. v. 1. 22), seeming to make the *Nahr Sukereir* the boundary, as Reland also has drawn it

*Rakkon* appears to have been not far from Jaffa; the name is very probably connected with *Rakkath*, meaning "shore," and may, perhaps, be recoverable in the name *Tell er Rekkeit*, applying to a high point, now covered by an accumulation of blown sand, and situate close to the mouth of the river 'Aujeh, to which the title Mejarkon, "yellow water," would very properly be applied.

These identifications agree with the idea of consecutive order, and are all well within the territory of the tribe, leaving only Gath Rimmon to be sought.

6. *Towns of Benjamin*.—Besides the two border towns already noted, we find a Gederah of Benjamin (1 Chron. xii. 4), probably the present *Jedireh*, north-west of Jerusalem, and a town called Irpeel, somewhere in the north-west part of the territory of Benjamin, which is not improbably the modern *Rafat*, a name closer in reality than in appearance to the Hebrew (Josh. xviii. 27.)

7. The *Onomasticon* furnishes two more identifications, namely, *Gedrus*, "a very large town at the tenth mile from Diospolis (Lydda) to those going from Eleutheropolis." This is evidently *Jedireh*, a large ruin with early Christian remains exactly ten Roman miles from Lydda on the road to Beit Jibrin (Eleutheropolis). It may be remarked in passing that the name Eleutheropolis has possibly left a trace in that of the ruin of *el Atr*, close to Beit Jibrin. The *Onomasticon* wrongly identifies this *Gedrus* with the *Gedor* of the Bible (Josh. xv. 38), the present *Jedur*, but the site may very probably represent Gederah of Judah (Josh. xv. 36), as pointed out by Mr. Grove, in which case the identification is of much importance as regards the boundaries of the tribe.

*Gallaa*, a town mentioned in the *Onomasticon* as in the neighbourhood of Ekron, is probably the modern *Jilia* in that direction. Jerome does not appear to have visited it, but identifies it with Gallim (Isa. x. 30), in which the *Onomasticon* is again wrong, as Gallim was north of Jerusalem.

8. "*The Valley of Vision*," GEHAZION.—The prophecy seems to apply to a town (Isa. xxii. 2) "a joyous city." A large ruin called *Jokhdhân* exists south of Jerusalem, situate on a high point whence all the surrounding country is visible. The word is the proper equivalent of the Hebrew term.

9. *Talmudical Cities*.—Three towns are mentioned together in the Talmud as being in the district of Daroma (Tal. Bab. Gittin, 57a), Caphar Bish, Caphar Shiholim, Caphar Dikrin. The first was so called ("Evil city") because of its inhospitality, and the latter "because every

(leaving a good many towns of Judah beyond the boundary). *Sukereir* is the nearest approach to the Shieron on the boundary which I have been able to find on the map. The LXX reads Shoehoh, which would also agree with the line of Wady es Sunt indicated by the Talmud. Shieron and Sukereir come from equivalent roots, meaning "to drink," and therefore applicable to water. There is a *Khûrbet Sukereir* near the river. The wording of the Hebrew (Josh. xv. 11) also may be thought to agree with this line, but the question is one of much difficulty.



wife in that city brought forth a man child" (*Dikra*). This last has been identified by Neubauer with the modern *Dhikerin* near T. es Sâfi. In the same district are the ruins of *Beshsheh* and *Sheikh Khalid*, which may represent the other two places, as they are all in the district of Upper Daroma.

10. *Suffa*.—There are some curious facts about this place which may perhaps point to its being Ramathaim Zophim. (1) The word is the proper equivalent of Zuph (plural Zophim). (2) It is situate within the boundaries of Mount Ephraim, and (3) is close to Beth Horon, which was given to the Kohathite Levites "with its suburbs." Samuel belonged to this family and was the descendant of a certain man named Zuph. (4) Between Gibeah of Saul and Ramathaim Zophim lay Sechu, possibly the present *Surweih* in the required position. (5) At Suffa is a sacred place called *Shehâb el Din*, "the hero of the faith," which might represent the tomb of Samuel, transferred at quite a late historical period to Neby Samwil.

Whether this can have any connection with the Zuph of Saul's famous journey is another and very difficult subject.

Another place, called *Umm Sûffa*, equivalent to the Hebrew Mizpeh, exists farther north on the road from Samaria to Jerusalem. This would be a very suitable position for the Mizpeh of Jeremiah (chap. xii.), which is not necessarily the Mizpeh of the book of Samuel, as the name was a common one and applied to at least four distinct places.

11. *Daroma*.—This title was considered equivalent to the Hebrew *Negeb* by the early Christians, and applied to the "south land," or "sunny land" (as the name signifies), south of Hebron and *Beit Jibrin*. It was also in Crusading times the name of a town (Darum) south of Gaza. The Talmud, however, mentions two districts of the name, "Upper and Lower Daroma," or "Great and Little Daroma" (*Tal. Jer. Mo'ıl Katon*, iii. 5) (Cf. Neubauer *Geog. Tal.* p. 63). The plain of Daroma extended to Lydda on the north, and the three towns mentioned above (No. 9) stood in Daroma (which agrees with the identifications proposed). There is an uncultivated district extending from near Ramleh to Ekron and Jamnia, which is called *Wâdy Deirân*. The word comes from the root *Deren*, meaning "dry" (the district having no springs). Thus this is exactly equivalent to Daroma or Negeb ("dry country"), and no doubt represents the "Upper Daroma" of the Talmud.

12. *El Kenîseh*.—This name is applied by the peasantry to the present mosque at Yebnah, of which we have a plan. The word means either a *church* or a *synagogue*, and is of Aramaic origin. The building at Yebnah is about the same date as the white mosque at Ramleh, and its plan forbids us to suppose it was ever a church. It is not improbable that it stands on the site of the old synagogue of Jamnia, which must have existed at the time that this town was the seat of the Sanhedrim after the destruction of Bether. There may, however, have been a church there when Yebna was a Crusading fortress.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

## EMMAUS.

THE interest taken in all sites connected with New Testament history always surpasses that regarding the scenery of events recorded in the Old. I have often been asked the question, "But what have you done to illustrate the Gospels?" And the references to places mentioned by the Evangelists do indeed bear but a small proportion to the space devoted to sites of far less interest. But the reason is simple: the number of places noticed in the four gospels is extremely small. Whilst the Old Testament contains the names of between 500 and 600 towns of Western Palestine, the following list of twenty-two almost, I believe, if not entirely, exhausts the topography of the New Testament:—

1 Ænon.	'Ainûn, C. R. Conder.
2 Antipatris.	Râs el 'Ain.
3 Bethabara.	'Abâra, C. R. C.
4 Bethany.	el 'Aziriyeh.
5 Bethsaida.	et Tell, Robinson.
6 Bethlehem.	Beit Lahm.
7 Cæsarea (Pal.).	Kaisârieh.
8 Cæsarea Philippi.	Banias.
9 Cana.	
10 Capernaum.	
11 Chorazin.	Kerâzeh.
12 Emmaus.	Khamasa, C. R. C.
13 Ephraim.	et Taiyibeh, Rob.
14 Jerusalem.	el Kuds.
15 Nain.	Nein.
16 Nazareth.	en Nasrah.
17 Salem.	Salim.
18 Shechem.	Nablus.
19 Sychar.	'Askar.
20 Sidon.	Saida.
21 Tiberias.	Tubarîyeh.
22 Tyre.	Sûr.

Thus it will be seen that there was comparatively little room for discovery as regards New Testament history, with three important exceptions. 1st, Ænon, the name of which, though occurring on Vandeveld's map, seems to have escaped notice before my paper on the subject in the *Quarterly Statement*. 2nd, Bethabara, in searching for which students have been guided by early Christian tradition, the name never having been recovered until the Survey party obtained it as applying to one, and one only, out of some seventy fords of the Jordan, nearly all of which were previously unknown. 3rd, Emmaus, for which I have now a site to suggest which appears to have been previously quite unknown.

The name Emmaus is apparently a later corruption of the ancient Hebrew form Hammath, derived from the existence of a thermal spring. Thus Hammath of Naphtali was called later Emmaus, and the connection between the two names is noticed by Josephus. "Now Emmaus, if it be interpreted, may be rendered 'a warm bath,' useful for healing" (B. J. iv. 1. 3, and Ant. xviii. 2. 3). And again, Emmaus Nicopolis, the

modern 'Amwās, was celebrated for its healing spring in early Christian times, and the memory of this is probably preserved in the name *Bîr et Tâaîn*, or "Well of the Plague," still applying to a well in the village.

Thus in modern Arabic the name Hammath, or Ammaus, might occur under various forms, according as it preserved the original Hebrew guttural represented by the Arabic *He* or *Khe*, or transformed it to the 'Ain, and according as it preserved the Hebrew terminal or reproduced the later final letter. The forms thus obtained would be *Hammata*, or even *Hammam* ("a hot bath" in Arabic), *Khamata*, *Hamasa*, *Khamasa*, 'Amâta, or 'Amwās, of which it will be seen the form *Khamasa* is not the most corrupt, as compared with the original.

So much, then, as regards the name; it remains to inquire whether other requisites are also fulfilled.

The only indications of position furnished us are as regards distance from Jerusalem. Thus we read (Luke xxiv. 13), "And, behold, two of them went that same day to a village called Emmaus, which was from Jerusalem about threescore furlongs." The more general account in St. Mark's gospel giving only, "as they walked and went into the country." (Mark xvi. 12.)

Josephus appears clearly to intend the same place in his account of the sale of Judæa (B. J., vii. 6, § 6), by the orders of Vespasian.

"However, he assigned a place for eight hundred men only, whom he dismissed from his army, which he gave them for their habitation; it is called Emmaus, and is distant from Jerusalem threescore furlongs."

The distance of the ruin of Khamasa from Jerusalem is about eight miles, which is sufficiently close to the seven and a half miles which are represented by the sixty stadia to satisfy the expression "about threescore furlongs." It is close beside one of the ancient Roman roads leading from the capital to the plain near Beit Jibrin.

There is, further, no doubt that the site is ancient. The ruin exists close to the modern village of *Wady Fâkin*, and on the ledges immediately west of the houses there are still to be found the remains of Jewish rock-cut sepulchres, whilst on the east, beside the spring, is the ruin of a little church called *Khûrbet 'Ain el Kenîsch*, "ruin of the fountain of the church." The meaning of the name seems to be lost, and, as far as I am able to discover, there is no Arabic root whence it would naturally be derived, nor has the word any known signification.\* It was, indeed, in endeavouring to discover whether the name had a Hebrew origin that I found the connection which probably existed with the forms Emmaus and Hammath, and thus was naturally led to inquire whether the distance agreed with that of the New Testament Emmaus.

\* There is an Arabic root, *Khams*, whence are derived *Khamsch*, "five," and *Khamîs*, "fifth." And another, *Khams* with the *Sud*, whence comes *Khamsch*, "a flat place between hills with soft soil" (*Freytag*). From this latter root are probably derived the names of several ruins called *Khamîs*. The present word differs, however, from any of these, being pronounced *Khāmāsa*, and written with the *Sin*.

The notes taken on the spot descriptive of the site were made in ignorance of its identity, and are similar to those which are collected of every ruined site irrespective of its historical importance.

The extreme prominence of the situation of the Maccabean town Emmaus Nicopolis caused it immediately to be assumed, in the 4th century, as identical with the New Testament site, without reference to its distance from Jerusalem, which is about twenty miles, or 160 stadia. Some of the later MSS. of the New Testament do indeed read 160 instead of 60 furlongs, and on the strength of these readings Dr. Robinson has endeavoured to support the early Christian view; but the best authorities read sixty, and Mr. Grove has clearly pointed out that the narrative of the events renders it highly improbable that the longer distance should be correct, as the disciples leaving Emmaus after sunset arrived in Jerusalem to find the eleven still gathered together. The time required for a distance of eight miles would be about three hours, but the distance from Jerusalem to Emmaus Nicopolis and back would be considerably over the ordinary day's journey of a modern native of Palestine, requiring at least sixteen hours. (See "Bible Dictionary," article "Emmaus.")

In the 14th century the site of Emmaus was changed, and fixed at the village of *Kubeibeh*, seven miles from Jerusalem towards the N.W. The origin of this late tradition is unknown, but a fine church of 12th or 13th century architecture has lately been uncovered in the grounds where a new monastery and hospice for travellers are being erected. This spot I visited, and took measurements of the church, in May, 1875. A plan was also made by M. Le Comte rather before that time.

It remains to give some description of the site now proposed as representing the Scriptural Emmaus, which is so hidden away in a corner that nothing short of systematic survey would have ensured its recovery.

Descending towards the great plain by the fine Roman road which passes by Solomon's Pool and runs along a narrow ridge south of Beit 'Atab, before arriving at the ruined village of Hubin, the traveller obtains a peep at a narrow valley well watered and filled with shady gardens of orange and lemon. On the west slope stands the village of *Wād Fūkīn*, and the hill rises behind it bare and rocky, pierced by ancient sepulchres now used as storehouses. A low spur extends between this valley and a small tributary on the east; upon this slope lie the ruins of *Khamasa*. In the tributary valley is a low precipice of rock, and under this a spring of clear water and a little pool. Just below the spring are the remains of a little church standing close to the rocky ledge. This is called *Khūrbet 'Ain el Kenūsch*, "ruin of the fountain of the church." A little lower down the valley are other ruins called *Khūrbet Kudeis*, probably meaning "ruin of the sacred place," or "sanctuary" (in the diminutive form).

The church or chapel measures 33ft. in length by 18ft. in breadth (interior), having an apse at the east end 12ft. diameter. It is not well oriented, bearing 66° Mg. in the direction of its length. The walls are

standing to the height of some six or eight feet, but no arches remain. The masonry throughout is very rough, and somewhat resembles that of another small church a few miles farther north, at a place called *el Kabā*, where the arches are pointed. The ashlar is only rudely squared, and averages about one and a half to two feet in length of the stones. Upon one stone a rude boss was observed. There were no masons' marks visible, and indeed in this style they do not appear ever to occur. The interior of the apse, which was domed, was covered with a hard cement. These indications seem to point to the chapel having been built in the 12th or 13th century, as it resembles in general character the church of St. Jeremiah at Abu Ghósh. Two rude caves exist some some fifty yards west of the chapel, in the side of the precipice. The ruins of *Khamasa* consist of scattered stones and of the remains of a rectangular building measuring 24ft. by 34ft. The masonry in this is similar to that of the church.

The existence of these mediæval ruins is interesting. The site evidently has been regarded as sacred in Christian times, but, as far as our present information goes, it cannot have been ever the *traditional* Emmaus, for down to the 14th century all geographers placed the Scriptural site at *'Amwās* (Emmaus Nicopolis), and since that period tradition has pointed to Kubeibeh, seven miles from Jerusalem, where the remains of a splendid Crusading church still exist. It is possible that some tradition might be obtained on the spot, but of this we heard nothing at the time, and as the identification did not then present itself to my mind, I contented myself with sketching and planning the ruins.

The proximity to the main Roman road and the choice character of the immediately surrounding territory render this a very probable site for the home of the disbanded Roman soldiery. The name and distance agree, as shown, with the requirements of the case, and as no other site has been found by us bearing any title approaching to that of Emmaus, the identification is evidently the most satisfactory yet proposed for this interesting place.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

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## THE ROCK ETAM.

Judges xv.

15th July, 1876.

WHILST surveying the district called *el 'Akub*, "the ridges," lying west of the Judæan watershed, we spent some time in hunting for this famous site in the neighbourhood of Zorah and Eshtaol, and in the midst of Samson's native country. It occurred to Sergeant Black and to myself that the nearest approach to the name was in the modern *Beit 'Atab*, supposing a change from the final M to B, of which we have several instances, such as *Tibneh* for Timnah, &c. (See *Quarterly Statement*, 1874, p. 18.)

A further confirmation of this identification I pointed out later (*Quarterly Statement*, 1875, p. 12), in the fact of the existence at this site of a cavern of peculiar character, answering to the "cleft in the rock Etam," mistranslated "top of the rock Etam" in the Authorised Version.

I have just met with a further indication in the same connection. In preparing the nomenclature of the sheet (No. 17) on which the place occurs, I was led to search for the meaning of the name *Bir el Hasûta*, which is given to this curious cave. It has not, as far as I can find, any meaning in Arabic, but it corresponds with the Hebrew word, חֲסוּתָהּ (*Hasutah*) which is translated "a place of refuge." Thus the name seems to indicate that this place has been used from a very early time as a lurking or hiding place, as we gather it to have been in the time of Samson.

*Beit 'Atâb* is a modern village, though there are traces of antiquity about it, including a rock-cut tomb. It seems probable that in the time of Samson no town existed here, as it would in such a case most probably have been mentioned with the fourteen Shephelah towns in its neighbourhood. Etam has been confounded with the Etam of Solomon, which was situate farther east, probably near the pools of Solomon. This name has been recovered in the modern *'Ain 'Atân*, to the east of the pools.

*Beit 'Atâb* stands, as has been previously explained, on a rocky knoll, answering well to the meaning of the Hebrew word translated "rock," quite bare of trees and consisting almost entirely of hard, barren limestone. This peculiar summit stands up from a plateau on the east, where is a good olive grove and a spring, by which we encamped. On the west the ground falls rapidly, and thus, though not really at a great elevation as compared with the surrounding hills, *Beit 'Atâb* is very conspicuous on all sides.

The cavern is in all some 250 feet long, running in a S.S.W. direction. Its average height is about five to eight feet, and its width about eighteen feet. The west end of the tunnel is supposed to be about the centre of the modern village, but is now closed, as is another entrance about half way along. The east end leads to a vertical shaft six feet by five feet and ten feet deep, in the sides of which are niches, as if for lamps. It is from this shaft that the cavern has been called *Bir*, or "well." The shaft is about sixty yards from the spring which supplies the village with water, and which is called *'Ain Haud*. The whole cave is rudely hewn in the rock.

The site so chosen is close to Zorah and Eshtaol, and on the border of the mountain country of Judah. The site of Ramoth Lehi is to be sought in the same district, possibly at the present *'Ain Maktush*, near Kesla.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lt. R.E.

NOTE.—There was another site of the name Etam (*Chron.* iv. 32), which is probably the ruin called *'Aitân* to be found on the Survey Sheet

near En Rimmon (*Umm er Rūmmāmīn*), in connection with which it is mentioned. Vandeveldé has confused this site with that of the Rock Etam, and places Lehi at the modern *Lekīyeh*, which does not contain the Hebrew guttural Cheth.

## LETTER FROM REV. SELAH MERRILL.

(Reprinted, by kind permission, from the *Athenæum*.)

Beirut, Syria, June 28, 1876.

My last expedition east of the Jordan occupied eighty-one days, ending with the 5th of May, and I devoted more than half this time to the valley and foot-hills lying immediately east of the river, and between the Lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea. Between the Lake of Tiberias and the Jabbok the region is one of great fertility, and not the unproductive desert that it is usually represented to be. The Yarmuk, on the north, is a large river; and the Jabbok, on the south, is a river of respectable size. Between these no less than eleven living streams, more than half of which can be called large ones, flow down from the hills to water the plain. Canals carry the water from these streams in all directions, and irrigate the vast wheat-fields which are the pride of the valley. The valley is from three or four miles to about six miles in width. In the valley itself there are no ruins; but it is an interesting fact that there is a ruin in every case just at the point where these streams leave the foot of the hills. On my map I have marked thirteen such ruins, several of which appear to have been places of wealth and importance. These towns were practically in the valley, but in many cases just off from the great thoroughfare leading from north to south, and so situated that, while they had a good head of water in the fountain or stream behind them, they had spread out before them the fertile plain, with its marvellously winding river, beyond which the western hills rose in grandeur. The region, however, on the east side of the river, from the Jabbok south as far as Wady Nimrin, is of an entirely different character, being desolate and barren, owing to the fact that there are no fountains or streams flowing down upon it from the hills. From the Wady Nimrin to the Dead Sea the plain is fertile again, since Wadies Shaib, Kefrein, and Hesban send down an abundant supply of water.

I made diligent search in the region of Wady Yabis for the site of Jabesh Gilead. I examined every ruin and all the prominent hill-tops, and am confident that the name "Jabesh" is not preserved except in the name of the wady itself. Robinson passed hastily through this section, and had his attention called to a ruin bearing the name of Ed Deir, situated on the south side of Wady Yabis, where there are some important remains; but he did not visit the place, and probably was not aware that it is perched upon an eminence very difficult of access,

and quite off from the road leading from Pella to Gerash, on which Eusebius states that Jabesh Gilead stood, at a distance of six Roman miles from Pella. I am quite sure that Robinson would have seen the impropriety of suggesting this as the site of Jabesh Gilead, if he had visited the place itself. On the road leading over the hills from Pella to Gerash, at a distance of one hour and forty minutes from Pella, are the remains of a large and very ancient town, bearing the name of Miryamin. This is the only important ruin in that immediate section, and the distance corresponds well with that given by Eusebius. In Saul's time (1 Sam. xi.) there was a great battle at Jabesh Gilead, in which the Ammonites were beaten; and about Miryamin there is abundance of room for an army to operate, which is not true of Ed Deir. Miryamin commands a view of Jebel esh Sheikh, Safed, Tabor, Khaukab, all the northern part of the Lake of Tiberias, and a great deal of the Jordan valley and the hills of Ephraim and Judah beyond; while in the east Kulot er Rubud presents an imposing appearance. A number of angles were taken from Ed Deir and Miryamin, and also from every other important ruin or point visited.

I am surprised that Robinson's map should place Kurkama on the north of Wady Yabis, while his text states that it is on the south side. He did not, however, visit the place. Murray's map also places it on the north. At the mouth of Wady Yabis there are ruins called Mazabil. These are on the south side. Following the road from here in a south-easterly direction, we first climb some hills, and then come out on to a large plateau, in the centre of which, a little less than one hour from Mazabil, are the ruins of Kurkama. The situation is a fine one, with broad fields about it, and the ruins indicate that this place was once a large and important city or town. I do not know what ancient name "Kurkama" may be a corruption of; but a Karkor is missing, near which the remnant of the Midianite host, under Zebah and Zalmunna, was encamped when it was overtaken by Gideon (Judges viii.); and it would seem to have been near the Succoth region, which lies immediately north of the Jabbok, for the men of Succoth were afraid to give food to Gideon's men, lest they should bring upon themselves the vengeance of the Midianites, in case the Hebrew captain was unsuccessful against them.

Gideon went up by the route which certain desert tribes lying to the eastward usually took, but it is not stated how far he went. The distance, however, does not appear to have been great, since it is stated that, after the battle, he got back to Succoth before sunrise, which he could not have done had Karkor lain very far to the east. It is possible, of course, that these two names have no connexion, and the statements just made are to be regarded as suggestions merely.

In connexion with Miryamin, I should say that on the road leading to Pella squared stones and columns are scattered for some distance, which would indicate, perhaps, that Jabesh Gilead, after its decline, furnished building materials to Pella, its prosperous rival at the foot of



the hills below. Pella, called at present Fah'l, and not "Fahil," is beautifully situated on the Jirm el Moz (pronounce o like o in rose), and has an abundant supply of water. In Kiepert's map, "1875," I notice that Pella is placed on the second stream north of the Moz; and the same is true of the map in Baedeker's new Handbook. The hills about Pella are full of tombs, some of which have only recently been opened by the Arabs living near. In these I found a couple of Christian inscriptions in Greek. In the hill just back of the town, and at a point which overhangs the wady and fountain, there are the remains of a church, and in front of the city there are the remains of what appeared to have been another church of immense size.

Some distance north of Fah'l I found a fine natural bridge spanning a deep wady. The bridge is from twenty to thirty feet wide, eighty to one hundred feet high, about seventy yards long, and the great arch is twenty-five to thirty feet in height, at the highest point. The wady runs from east to west, and the banks are very steep, and the bridge forms a striking object. West of the bridge; and at the bottom of the wady, there is a large hot sulphur spring, of 103 degs. temperature. The spring is on the north side of the wady, and about it are foundations of large squared stones, of which several tiers remain in position, and also some broken columns. Robinson and Ritter do not mention this hot spring, nor is it noticed in the valuable and scientific work of Lartet. And in the books at my command here I do not find that either the bridge or the winns have been noticed at all. Neubauer refers to a passage in the Jerusalem Talmud where the words "Hamtha of Fah'l" occur in connexion with the travels of a certain Rabbi Zeira, which he is inclined to identify with Pella, although he does not seem to be aware of the existence of any hot spring. At the mouth of Wady Zerka there was formerly one or more large hot springs, and an old man of the Arabs, whom we found there, told us that, when he was a boy, the springs were large and the water so hot that he could hardly bear to bathe in it; but in Ibrahim Pasha's time a large canal, which still exists, was dug just above the springs to carry water from the river to the plain, and since that time the springs have been worthless. The place is now a marsh, and the water merely tepid. There is a tel near by which retains the name, Tel el Hamma,—and also the level plain just above there is called Ard el Hamma. The words "el Hamma" point to the fact of hot springs. Five or six miles south of the Jabbok, near the road leading from Es Salt to Damia and Aablûs, there is a large salt spring, which, however, dries up in summer. At Tel el Hâmmâm, on the Shittim plain, there is another hot spring, and the ruins about the tel show that the place has been occupied by a town of considerable size. This tel is about three miles north-west of Tel er Rama, which is identified with Libias, Julias, and Beth Haram. I examined the hot sulphur springs at Callirrhoe, and brought away water for analysis. We have the direct testimony of Josephus that Herod the Great visited these springs during his last illness. There

are no ruins of any kind at Callirrhoe to show that it was ever a place of resort, and, besides, these springs are very difficult of access; and it has always been a matter of wonder to me how a person in Herod's condition, suffering as he was, and near to death, could possibly make the journey to Callirrhoe, which, in the very best times, must have been fatiguing even to people in health. And I have found a statement, although I cannot now give my authority for it, but think it is from Ptolemy, to the effect that the springs at Callirrhoe were often confounded with those at Libias, or Livias. While it seems impossible that Herod should have been removed to Callirrhoe, it is very reasonable that he should have visited Livias (the spring, as I have said, is at Tel el Hammam), which is in the plain opposite Jericho, and a little less than three hours distant from the Jordan, and which was doubtless a very pleasant resort for invalids. I made a careful examination of the hot springs at el Hamma, or, as they are generally called, the hot springs of Gadara. This, I judge, was the finest resort in Syria. The little plain on the banks of the Yarmuk, where they are found, is about a mile long by three-fourths of a mile wide, and two-thirds of this space is covered with ruins. The building material was the hard black basalt. One of the attractions of the place was a beautiful theatre, of which I made a plan, as I did of the whole valley. The books report the number of springs here as high as eight or ten; but there are only four, and a very large one three miles up the valley to the east, at M'Khaibeh, making in all five. The largest of the el Hamma springs is sixty yards in length by twenty in breadth, and the average depth is about six feet. The temperature is 103 degs. The hottest spring is 115 degs. Two of these springs combine and flow in one channel to the river, while the largest spring just mentioned flows to the river in a channel of its own. The amount of water flowing in these two channels combined, I estimate to be equal to one stream twenty-one feet wide and twenty inches deep, with a rapid current. The temperature of the large spring at M'Khaibeh is 112 degs., and the volume of water flowing from it is equal to that from the three springs at el Hamma combined. Three mills are run by water at over 100 degs. temperature; and, while the millers have to endure the terrible smell of sulphur, they can, on the other hand, congratulate themselves that their wheels will not be blocked by ice in the winter. M'Khaibeh, which I have just mentioned, is a tropical paradise. I counted there as many as eighteen different tropical trees and shrubs, and above the tangled mass of trees and vines and vegetation there rise at least two hundred graceful palms, the whole forming a splendid sight to look down upon from the neighbouring hills, such as can be found nowhere else in Syria. Special attention was paid to the singular mixture of basaltic and limestone formations in the valley of the Yarmuk (which the Arabs call Maradira, and not "Mandhûr"), but I cannot speak of those at present. Gadara is at the top of the mountains south of the hot springs, and about three miles distant from them. Its situation is commanding, and the spectators

from the upper seats of the westernmost of its two theatres could enjoy one of the finest prospects in Palestine. Five great fortresses were in sight, besides the whole country, rich in cities and villages, from Hermon almost to Jericho; and at their very feet the Sea of Galilee, covered, as it then was, with vessels, and surrounded with life. The splendid view from this point is worthy of being described with great minuteness of detail. What remains of Gadara shows that it was a place of elegance and wealth. Josephus speaks of the villas about it; and at one place, three miles a little south of east from the city, near a large cistern, I dug down and found a beautiful tessellated pavement. Four miles east of Gadara, on the road leading to Capitolias (now Beit or Ras), was a temple, and the foundations and some portions of the columns which remain show that it was a structure of more than ordinary size and magnificence. Between this temple and the city itself the way was lined with tombs. In prosperous times this city of the dead, with its elegant and costly sepulchres, must have been one of the attractions of the place, as well as its temples and theatres, and wonderful prospect, and its hot baths at the foot of the mountain below it. Here at Gadara, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jews had a flourishing school, and the Rabbis used to visit the springs, and walk for recreation along the shaded banks of the river. The far-famed springs at Tiberias are insignificant in size in comparison with those at el Hamma, and it seems a pity that the delightful waters of the latter should flow on for ever without being enjoyed by those who would appreciate and be benefited by them. It may be well to give a list of the hot sulphur springs in the Jordan valley. They are at Tiberias, at Gadara, at Wady Hammet, Abu Dhableh, north of Pella, at the mouth of Wady Zerka (not the mouth of the river itself, for the mouth of the river is fully eight miles from the mouth of the wady), at Tel el Hammam, near Livias, in the Shittim plain, and at Callirrhoe. The latter, indeed, is not in the Jordan valley, but it is appropriately mentioned in connexion with the series on the east side of the river. Those at Tiberias and Callirrhoe are the hottest, while those at Callirrhoe and Gadara send forth the greatest volume of water.

SELAH MERRILL.

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### THE SHAPE OF THE MOABITE STONE.

THE Rev. F. A. Klein writing to the *Athenæum* (Aug. 12, 1876) on the finding and destruction of this monument, insists that the stone was rounded at the lower end. The restoration by M. Clermont Ganneau (*i.e.*, the photographer of the Fund), from his own squeeze, shows it square. Mr. Klein says, however:—

“I have seen it repeated again and again in the *Athenæum*, and books and pamphlets, probably on the authority of the statements in the *Athenæum*, that the Moabite Stone was *square* at the lower end, and not oblong, though I had plainly stated that it was *not so*.

“I would, therefore, for the information of those who are anxious to know the *truth* on the subject, positively declare that the Moabite Stone was *rounded off at the lower end* in exactly the same manner as at the upper end. I could not possibly be deceived on the subject, as I saw the stone in the daytime, with both my eyes open, and drew a sketch of it, not after some weeks from recollection, but at the time and on the spot, as I still have it in my sketch-book. An exact copy of it was published in the *Illustrated London News*. As regards the measure, I could not give it with the greatest exactness, as I took it by the span, and subsequently ascertained it approximately in feet and inches.

“If the ‘restored Moabite Stone’ presents a square form at the bottom, this is no proof that my sketch is incorrect, but simply that there is some mistake in the restoration of the monument; and there is not the least doubt that, if properly restored, it will have an oblong shape at the lower end exactly in the same manner as at the upper end. I am sure that scholars who take an interest in this most valuable monument of antiquity will be glad to get as many reliable particulars about the same as possible, and, besides, it seems that the question of round or square shape may in some manner affect the inscription (at least, the two or three lower lines) itself, and thus has become of some importance.”

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### SAMARITAN TOPOGRAPHY.

1. THE SAMARITAN BOOK OF JOSHUA.
2. THE SAMARITAN CHRONICLE.

A MINUTE inspection of the topography of the Book of Joshua, and of the Old Testament generally, leads to the striking discovery that the information concerning that part of Palestine occupied by Ephraim and the half tribe of Manasseh is extremely fragmentary as compared with that relating to other portions of the country.

A few words will be sufficient to make this clear.

(1) In the first place, we have no account of the conquest of this part of the land. The first eight chapters of the book record the taking of Jericho, and of the eastern hills as far as Bethel, and Ai near Bethel; the building of an altar on Ebal follows immediately in the Hebrew text (Josh. viii. 30), without explanation as to the history of the conquest of this part of the land.

In the Septuagint version, however, the order is here different, and the first verses of the next chapter (Josh. ix. 1, 2) precede the account of the ceremonies at Shechem. Thus the destruction of Ai is in this order followed by the general description: “When all the kings which were on this side Jordan, in the hills, and in the Shephelah, and in all the coasts of the great sea over against Lebanon . . . heard, They gathered themselves together to fight with Joshua and with Israel with one accord.” The erection of the altar on Ebal then follows.

Even in this order the account is extremely short and general as compared with the detailed history of the campaigns which follow; the first in the south, including the siege and taking of seven cities, and the next in the north, recording the invasion of Galilee and the defeat of the league of six kings of Northern Palestine.

The Book of Joshua itself contains no indication that Mount Ebal was near Shechem, but in Deut. xi. 30 we find the two mountains defined as being "in the champaign (*Arabah*, generally rendered "desert") over against Gilgal, beside the plains of Moreh." The plain or oak of Moreh, famous in the history of Abraham, is connected with Shechem in the expression, "Unto the place of Shechem, unto the plains of Moreh" (Gen. xi. 6). Josephus, in a more definite manner, places the two mountains at Shechem (Ant. iv. 8. 44), defining the situation of the altar as "not far from the city of Shechem, which is between the two mountains, that of Gerizim, situate on the right hand, and that of Ebal on the left."

Thus there is no reasonable doubt as to the position of these mountains; yet in the fourth century we find Jerome writing (Onom. s.v. Gebal):—

"A mountain in the promised land where, by order of Moses, an altar was built. There are near (juxta) Jericho two mountains close together looking towards one another, one of which is called Gerizim, the other Ebal. Nevertheless, the Samaritans say that these two mountains were near Neapolis (Shechem), but they err enormously (*sed vehementer errant*), for they are some distance apart, nor could the voices of those blessing and cursing be heard, which is said to have been the case in Scripture."

And again, under the head Golgol, Jerome makes a note: "Near which the mountains Garizin and Gebal are recorded to have been situate. But Galgal is a place near Jericho. Therefore the Samaritans err who desire to point out the mountains of Garizin and Gebal near Neapolis, when Scripture bears witness that they were near Galgal."

It is probable that the two points referred to by Jerome are the prominent peaks now called *Táweil el 'Akabeh* and *Nuseib 'Aweisháreh* (*i.e.*, "the monument of the tribes"), either side of the road from Jericho to Jerusalem along Wády Kelt. It appears, however, that this was merely a hearsay report, probably obtained by Jerome from Jews who had not forgotten their old animosity to their Samaritan rivals.

(2) To return to the subject more directly under consideration, the next point of importance to notice is that out of the list of thirty-one royal cities (Josh. xii.) only one can be identified with certainty as being in Samaria, namely, Tirzah, the last of the list. The first sixteen are all in Judah and Benjamin. No. 17, Tappuah, as following Makkedah, is probably one of the two towns of that name situate in Judah. No. 18, Hephher, is unknown, but may perhaps be the Hephher of the Talmud, in Galilee. No. 19, Aphek, is either in Judah or in Galilee.

No. 20, Lasharon, seems identified as being the modern *Sârôna*, in the 'Ard el Hümma, or Lower Galilee, and the subsequent names to No. 30 inclusive are in Galilee, or close to the shore, within the confines of Judæa.

Thus only one remains, namely, Tirzah, or Thirsa. According to the LXX. version, and according to the later Talmudic writers, the Thirza of the Bible was not in Samaria, but was a place called Tir'an (probably the modern Tor'an, in Galilee. (See Midrash Shir-hash-Shirim, vi.) The Targum also on 1 Kings xiv. 17 reads Tir'aita for Tirzah. It can scarce be doubted that something is wanting in this list of royal towns when we consider that Samaria, roughly speaking, occupied about a third of the area of Palestine, and contained towns such as Shechem (which is mentioned in the Book of Joshua as a city of refuge), Thebez, Arumah, En Tappuah, and Zereda, which we should naturally expect to have been equal in importance to those of Judæa or Galilee.

(3) Proceeding to the account of the tribe boundaries, we find the definition of that of Manasseh entirely omitted. The south boundary of Ephraim is the north limit of Benjamin, and can be very distinctly traced, though every name has not as yet been recovered. The division between Ephraim and Manasseh is defined by only three points, namely, the brook Kanah (*W. Kanah*), Asher-ham-michmethah (*'Asîreh*, C.R.C.), and Tanath Shiloh (the ruin of *T'ana* according to Vandevelde). The north boundary of Manasseh is entirely unknown, though we may gather from the possessions of Issachar and Zebulon that it was almost identical with the north boundary of Samaria. There is a striking contrast between this very deficient account and the extremely detailed description of the boundaries of Judah and Benjamin, and of the northern tribes.

(4) We further find that there is no list of the cities of Ephraim or of Manasseh, and an apparent lacuna occurs in Josh. xvii. 9, "these cities of Ephraim are among the cities of Manasseh," which has no apparent connection with the context, and refers to no extant list. One city of Ephraim—En Tappuah (now *'Atuf*, according to Robinson) is, however, given in another verse. The LXX. version has a curious reading of *τερεμνος*, instead of "these cities," due to the very cramped form of the Hebrew text. The separate cities of Manasseh, Bethshean, Ibleam, Dor, Endor, Taanach, Megiddo, are enumerated, and it is worthy of note that none of these are in Samaria, except possibly Dor. There is, however, a *Dûra* in Lower Galilee, which may be the place intended, for these towns are enumerated as "three countries." The LXX. gives three names—Bethshan, Dor, and Megiddo.

This entire absence of any list of Samaritan towns contrasts in a striking manner with the enumeration of 150 cities in Judæa, and of about eighty in Galilee.

(5) One other curious point remains to notice. In Joshua xxi. we have the list of Levitical cities, and again in 1 Chron. vi. we have the list, taken apparently from a more ancient document. The comparison

is instructive. In the tribe of Judah were nine of these towns; the names in the two lists agree with one exception, and that perhaps easily explained. One town also is omitted in the list in Chronicles. In Benjamin were three cities, one omitted in the less perfect record. In Dan the lists also agree, but are imperfect. In Asher were four, the lists agreeing with one slight difference. In Naphtali also the lists have but slight variations, but in the tribes of Manasseh, Ephraim, and Issachar the variations are greater, as will be seen below.

## Josh. xxi.

Shechem (in Samaria).  
 Gezer (in Judæa).  
 Kibzaim (in Samaria).  
 Bethhoron (in Judæa).  
 Taanach (in Galilee).  
 \*Gath Rimmon (in Judæa).  
 Kishon.  
 Daberah (in Galilee).  
 Jarmuth.  
 En Gannim (in Galilee).

## 1 Chron. vi.

Shechem (in Samaria).  
 Gezer (in Judæa).  
 Jokmean.  
 Bethhoron (in Judæa).  
 Aner (in Samaria).  
 Bileam (in Samaria).  
 Kedesh (in Galilee).  
 Daberah (in Galilee).  
 Ramoth (in Samaria).  
 Anem (in Samaria).

It is evident from the above comparison that a considerable confusion, not accounted for by mere errors of transcription, occurs in reference to Samaritan towns.

(6) The territory of the tribe of Dan extended, according to the statement of Josephus, over the whole plain of Sharon (*Antiq. v. 1. 22*) to Dor—*Tantûra*. If this statement be accepted, it is very remarkable that the whole of the towns of Dan may be identified with places south of the River *'Auja*, and therefore within the boundaries of Judæa. The total of the number of the towns of Dan is not, however, given in the Book of Joshua.

The points thus remarked may be briefly summed up :

- 1st. We have in the Book of Joshua no account of the conquest of Samaria.
- 2nd. We have, apparently, no list of the royal Samaritan cities.
- 3rd. We have no description of the boundaries of the two great Samaritan tribes similar to those of the northern and southern tribes.
- 4th. We have no list of the Samaritan cities.
- 5th. A considerable discrepancy exists between the names of Levitical towns in the two parallel lists of Chronicles and of Joshua in that part of the country belonging to Samaria.
- 6th. The towns of Dan lying in Samaria must be considered to be omitted if we accept the boundaries assigned by Josephus to the tribe.

The outcome of these facts seems to me, when taken with the wonderful consistency and perfection of the topography of Judæa and

\* In each list the town is enumerated as belonging to Manasseh. Gath Rimmon belonged, however, to Dan.

Galilee contained in the Book of Joshua, to be that *the book as we now have it is incomplete in the portion referring to Samaria.*

It will be found also that in the Old Testament, taken as a whole, there are only about forty Samaritan places noted out of some 500 or 600 places in Western Palestine.

The Jewish hatred of the Samaritans rose by the early Christian period to so great a pitch that the Mishnic doctors avoided even mentioning the name of Samaria. Thus in the Talmud altogether only some half-dozen Samaritan towns are noticed. In describing Palestine the Mishna (Sheviith, ix. 2) divides it into Judæa, Galilee, and *Perea*, by which Samaria is apparently intended, though the name properly only applies to a district east of Jordan. It is not therefore from Jewish sources that we can hope for information as to Samaritan topography.

In considering the question of Samaritan topography, it is first necessary to define the limits of Samaria. This task I have attempted in a former paper. (See *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1876, p. 67.)

The southern line as laid down by Josephus (B. J. iii. 3. 5) appears to have been the great valley called *Wâdy Deir Bullût*, which rises near *Libben* (the ancient Lebonah), and leaves Shiloh within the territory of Judæa. Antipatris, fixed at *Râs el 'Ain* (see the distances given, *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1876, p. 13), is thus, as stated in the Talmud, a frontier town, and Anuath (*'Aina*, C.R.C.) and Boreeos (*Brukin*, C.R.C.) are both found on the frontier line. This boundary may perhaps represent an encroachment of some ten miles on the territory of Ephraim, being about that distance north of the boundary of Benjamin.

The north boundary is defined by the towns of Bethshan (*Beisân*), En Gannim (*Jenûn*), and Caphar Outheni (*Kefr Adhân*, C.R.C.), being probably commensurate with the northern boundary of Manasseh. Bethshan and the valley of Jezveel at one time belonged to Samaria, but were subsequently taken by the Jews, in memory of which annexation the 15th and 16th of Sivan were kept (Megilla Taanith, iii. 8). This may possibly account for the curious line drawn by Josephus, making Xaloth (generally placed at *Iksal*) and En Gannim (*Jenûn*) some fifteen miles south of the former, both frontier towns.

It is doubtful whether the Jordan valley belonged to Samaria. Possibly in the time of Christ it was, as now, a "no man's land," but it appears clear that the Roman highway from Galilee to Jerusalem, along the Jordan valley by Jericho, was used by pilgrims at that period. (See Matt. xx.)

It is also doubtful whether the territory of Samaria reached the shore of the Mediterranean. Josephus claims the great plain as far as Ptolemais (*'Akkeh*) as belonging to Judæa (B. J. iii. 3. 5); but the Rabbinical writers of the Gemara make Antipatris a frontier town, and assign Caphar Saba (*Kefr Saba*) to Samaria (Tal. Jer. Demai, ii. 2), whilst Cæsarea was inhabited by a mixed people, Jews, Greeks, and Samaritans. (Tal. Jer. Abodah Zarah, v. 4.) Some doctors regarded this town as part of the "land," others as Samaritan. Frequent fights took place



in it between Jews and Samaritans in the 5th century A.D., and it is called in one passage "the land of life," in another "the city of abomination."

It seems certain that Manassch reached to the sea-coast (Josh. xvii. 10, "and the sea was his border;" and again, ver. 9, "the outgoings of it were at the sea"). It seems probable, therefore, that the extent of Samaria differed at different periods, a conclusion which may be supported from Samaritan accounts, and by the fact that three toparchies were taken from Samaria and added to Judæa by Demetrius Soter. (1 Macc. xi. 34, and Ant. xiii. 4. 9.)

The natural sources whence we might expect to obtain information as to the topography of Samaria are the Samaritan chronicles, but unfortunately nothing of any great antiquity has as yet been discovered among these interesting people, except the three rolls of the *Thorah*, or Law, the most ancient manuscript of which is at present a sealed book to Europeans. It seems, however, that some light may be derived even from the comparatively late documents which we possess, the topography of the more important of which may be briefly examined.

The first of these is generally known as the "Samaritan Book of Joshua," and probably dates from the close of the 13th century. It was published at Leyden in 1848 A.D., by M. Juynbol, from an Arabic MS. in Samaritan character, and the original, which he translates with copious notes, is thought to have been compiled from an early Samaritan and from three later Arabic chronicles. The earlier part is dated 1362 A.D., and the later 1513 A.D.

The second, called El Tholidoth, or "The Generations," is commonly called "Neubauer's Chronicle," being published by that scholar in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1869, in Hebrew character, with translation and foot-notes. It professes to have been commenced by Eleazar ben Amran, in 1149 A.D. (544 A.H.), and the second portion to have been added 200 years later by Jacob ben Ismael, being carried down as late as 1859 by other hands. The original still exists at Nablus, in the hands of the high priest; and I was informed that each priest added to it a short account of the most important events during his career.

The first Chronicle contains the names of about thirty places, and forty altogether are enumerated in the latter, the great majority in this case being Samaritan towns.

## II.

The *Samaritan Book of Joshua* is divided into two distinct parts, the first of which only is of special interest, being apparently derived from some earlier work. It brings down the history of Israel from the date of the conquest to the time of Samuel, whose predecessor, Eli, was from a Samaritan point of view the earliest schismatic, and the founder of a new and heretical temple at Shiloh in opposition to that built by Joshua on Mount Gerizim.

During the two hundred and sixty years of Divine favour, when

Israel was governed by King Joshua and his nine successors, sacrifice was offered on Gerizim, and the Sabbatical years and payment of tithes duly observed. The schism between the children of Judah and the *Kasaniya* or "orthodox," as the Samaritans call themselves (a word which the Jews converted into Cutheans according to one theory), dates from the time of sin, after the death of Samson, when the divine glory disappeared from Gerizim.

The history of the conquest under Joshua, as here given, appears to be a sort of legendary paraphrase of the Bible narrative from a point of view quite contrary to the Jewish. For, whilst it appears certain that a holy place of some kind existed at Shechem, as we gather from the words in Josh. xxiv. 26, "and he took a great stone and set it up there under an oak that was by the sanctuary of the Lord" (or holy place of Jehovah), a site which is with much reason identified with the "pillar that was in Shechem" (Judges ix. 6), and with the present *Jāmi'a el 'Amūd*, or "mosque of the pillar;" yet, on the other hand, we find Shiloh to have been the gathering-place of Israel in Joshua's time (Josh. xxii. 9), and very probably the place where the tabernacle was pitched, which militates against the Samaritan account of the schism agreeing with that of the Mishna.

The book opens much in accordance with the Biblical narrative, but no less than four chapters are devoted to the history of Balaam and to his death, being an enlargement of the one Biblical verse (Josh. xiii. 22), "Balaam also, the son of Beor the soothsayer, did the children of Israel slay with the sword," an episode interpolated in an apparently unaccountable manner in the middle of a topographical chapter both in the Hebrew and also in the Septuagint.

The episodes of the spies, of the sin of Achan, the fraud of the Gibeonites, and the league of the cities of Gibeon, Kirjath, and Beeroth (compare Gibeon, Kirjath-Jearim, Beeroth, and Chephirah, Josh. ix. 17), also receive many embellishments, and long imaginary speeches are put in the mouths of the characters.

The battle of Ajalon follows in order, and the flight of the kings to the cave of Makedah or Fakedah (probably an error of the Arabic transcriber) near a place called *Kasaha*. Makkedah is by a later Samaritan account identified as not far from Mount Gerizim.\*

The next chapter (ch. xxi.) contains an account of the advance on Shechem, and of the miraculous discomfiture of the enemy.

"For God on that day wrought a miracle in the sight of the enemies. For to those who would have fled a flame came forth before them to burn them, and a spirit stood before them, so that the horses and their riders fled together and were slain together, when they heard the shout of the children of Israel. And for them the hours of the day were lengthened as God promised them, until they had made an end at that

\* Captain Warren tells me that the Samaritans offered to show him the site at a distance of some twelve hours from Nablus. It may consequently be marked on the Survey and can easily be recovered.

time. Nor was one of their enemies left alive when the battle was finished. Then the king sent from Maharun (possibly *el Mahrûneh*, near Dothan) a letter to Eleazar the priest, and fastened it to the wings of a dove." The victory was thus communicated to him, "and the signs and wonders which had been shown to them were written therein."

"Then they departed and went and purified themselves, Joshua and all they who were with him. For a great river descended from the Mount of Blessing and watered the plain, and to it the king went down with all his host."

This account reads strangely like an echo of some lost chapter of the history of the invasion by Joshua, but the following episode is even more closely connected with part of the country not noticed in the Bible narrative.

In chapter xxvi., after the division of the land and the building of the temple on Gerizim, "which citadel was called Samaria," and the establishment of Nabich, the son of Gilad, of the tribe of Manasseh, as king over the two and a half tribes returning to beyond Jordan (compare Josh. chap. viii. and xxii.) we find an account of a new league against the children of Israël under the leadership of Saubac, king of Fâris, and the kings of the following towns :—

1. Armunieh the great.
2. Rumieh the less.
3. Saida.
4. El Keimun.
5. Damascus.

It is remarkable that these places may all be easily identified, as may the names *el Lejjûn* and *Merj el Kebir*, or "great plain," which occur in the same narrative, as being in or around the plain of Esdraelon. Thus on the north of the plain are the towns of *Rummaneh* and *Rumeh*, west of the great plain is the village of *Saida*, and on the east, according to the list of Thothmes III. (see last *Quarterly Statement*), was an ancient town called *Damesku*, whilst *el Keimûn* and *el Lejjûn* are the modern names of two places in the plain itself.

This consistency in topographical detail suggests that the story, though embellished with magic incidents fit for the histories of the Thousand and One Nights, has some foundation on an older and more trustworthy historic document.

It is unnecessary to give the history in detail. The challenge was brought to Joshua in the plain of Balata (evidently near the modern village *Bal'ata*) in the region of the Holy Mountain; Joshua sends back a defiance, and proceeds with his army to *el Lejjûn*; by magic art he is enclosed in seven walls of iron, the foe having collected their forces in *el Keimûn* (a few miles farther north). From this position he is rescued by Nabich, and the giants defeated and slain. With this episode the history of the wars ends, and no account is given of the conquest of Galilee, though the possessions of Israel are described as extending to Lebanon.

In concluding the sketch of this curious work I may give a list of the places mentioned in its pages.

LIST OF TOWNS MENTIONED IN THE SAMARITAN BOOK OF JOSHUA.

1. Jelil	=	Gilgal.
2. Iriha	=	Jericho.
3. Makedah	=	Makkedah.
4. Kasaha.		
5. Maharun	=	<i>Maharûneh?</i>
6. Armunieh	=	<i>Rummaneh?</i>
7. Rumieh	=	<i>Rumeh?</i>
8. Saida	=	<i>Saida?</i>
9. el Keimun	=	<i>Tell Keimûn.</i>
10. esh Shâm	=	Damascus?
11. Samrûn	on	Gerizim.
12. Merj Balata	=	plain near <i>Balata.</i>
13. Jebel el Barakeh	=	Gerizim.
14. el Lejjun	=	<i>el Lejjun.</i>
15. Merj el Kebir	=	<i>Merj Ibn 'Amir.</i>
16. 'Ain in Neshâb	near	the last.
17. Merj el Baha	=	Plain of Moreh.
18. Keîr Ghuweirah	=	<i>'Awertah.</i>
19. el Mâiteh	}	on Gerizim.
20. el Maia		
21. Fer'ata	=	<i>Fer'ata.</i>
22. Yâfa	=	Jaffa.
23. Lidd	=	Lydda.
24. B. Jibrin	=	<i>B. Jibrin.</i>
25. Ghuzzeh	=	Gaza.
26. Seilûn	=	Shiloh.
27. Beit el Mukuddis	=	Jerusalem.
28. Yasuf	=	<i>Yasûf.</i>
29. Fundeka	=	<i>Funduk.</i>
30. B. Lahm	=	Bethlehem.
31. Nablus	=	Shechem.

Thus out of a total of 31 places, 13 are within the confines of Samaria, and most of these are not mentioned in the Bible narrative.

### III.

The *Samaritan Chronicle* is a more sober document, though it also goes back to the beginning, and gives the astronomical reckoning from Adam. Some of its topographical details are of much value.

*Gerizim.*—The most important Samaritan site is the mountain now called *Jebel et Tôr*, the Samaritan and in all probability the ancient Jewish Gerizim. The fifth article of the Samaritan Creed was the assertion that Gerizim was the chosen abode of God upon earth. "Over it is Paradise, whence comes the rain." Here Adam and Seth raised altars, here Melchisedec, servant of "the most high God," was met by Abraham, for Gerizim the Samaritans hold to the present day is the highest mountain in the world, the only one not covered by the flood, though they admit that Ebal, just opposite (which overtops Gerizim by

200 feet) is to the eye, though not in reality, more lofty. Here, to continue the history of this famous site, Abraham offered up Isaac, the very spot being shown on the eastern brow of the mountain (see *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1873, p. 66). The probability that this, rather than Jerusalem (as Josephus and the Talmudists affirm), is the true site of the place in the land of Moriah which the patriarch saw afar off, has been ably argued by Dean Stanley ("Sinai and Palestine," p. 246). The Samaritans read Moreh for Moriah, and connect the site with the plain of Moreh, where Abraham pitched his tents (Gen. xii. 6).

Gerizim was also the site of Jacob's vision, and of Bethel, according to the Samaritans. Hence Luz also was identified by them with a ruined town near the foot of the mountain. Finally, it was on Gerizim, and not on Ebal, from their point of view, that Joshua erected first an altar, afterwards the tabernacle, and finally a temple. The Samaritan text reads "Gerizim" for "Ebal" in Deut. xxvii. 4, and in Deut. xi. 30 the words "opposite Shechem" are added, to define the position of the two mountains, in contradiction to the Jewish statement that Ebal and Gerizim were nearer Jericho (Tal. Bab. Sota, 33b).

In the Samaritan Chronicle the following passage occurs (*Journal Asiatique*, 1869, p. 435):—\*"Luz, which is Shomron, the place where the good King Joshua built a temple near the holy tabernacle. It is likewise Mount Joshua." Thus even the site of Shomron was transported to this centre, which formed a sort of loadstone for Scriptural localities, unless the Samaritan Shomron, or "Watchtower," was a place distinct from that of the Bible (1 Kings xii. 25), the Sebaste of Herod. The exact site of the Samaritan Luz is not as yet fixed. Major Wilson places it near the place of sacrifice at the western foot of the peak from information derived on the spot from the peasantry. Another account given to me, though not perhaps trustworthy, places it at *'Ain Sâvîn*, a fine spring east of the summit, to which a curious tradition, resembling the story of Susannah and the elders, now attaches. It is evident that the identification of Luz as on Gerizim was rendered necessary by the tradition that Bethel was here to be sought, as we read (Gen. xxviii. 19), "but the name of that city was called Luz at the first." There is, therefore, no ground for identifying this with the Luz of Judges i. 26, which was in the "land of the Hittites," probably the present *Luweizeh*, near Banias.

*The Altar on Ebal.*—As regards the episode of the reading of the law and the building of an altar on Mount Ebal (Josh. viii. 30), a further piece of information derived from the Survey here naturally finds a place. The *Jami'a el 'Amûd*, or "Mosque of the Pillar," has been identified by Dr. Williams as the scene of the reading of the law and the site of the "pillar which was in Shechem" (see *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1873, p. 71, Major Wilson's paper on Ebal and Gerizim). The

\* The Book of Joshua also speaks of Gerizim, "which citadel was called Samaria."

site seems in all respects satisfactory, but the position of the altar on Ebal, where, according to the Septuagint, Joshua inscribed *Deuteronomy*, "a copy of the Law of Moses" (Joshua viii. 22), in the sight of the people, has been sought in vain, for it seems to have escaped notice that there is a *Mukâm*, or sacred site, a little farther north, on the ridge of the mountain, but not at the highest point, which is still called 'Amâd ed-Dîn, "the Monument of the Faith." This site has at least as good a right to be claimed as representing the situation of Joshua's altar as has the *Jam'va el 'Amâd* to be considered as standing on the place of the "pillar in Shechem," which was by the sanctuary of Jehovah. The name *Imâl ed Dîn* was heard by Dean Stanley as referring to the mountain. The *Mukâm* is shown on Murray's map, but without a name, and the identification of the site is, I believe, here proposed for the first time.

The survival of this name is all the more interesting when we consider how constant has been the Samaritan tradition placing the altar on Gerizim.

In curious contrast to the centralisation of the Samaritan sites round their holy mountain, which is still the "Kibleh" of the faith, are the words of Psalm lxxviii. (ver. 9-11, and 67-69.)

"The children of Ephraim, being armed and carrying bows, turned back in the day of battle.

"They kept not the covenant of God, and refused to walk in His law.

"And forgot His works and His wonders that he shewed them. . . .

"Moreover He refused the tabernacle of Joseph, and chose not the tribe of Ephraim.

"But chose the tribe of Judah, the Mount Zion which He loved."

*Shechem*.—Placed beneath the holy mountain, Shechem, the natural capital of Palestine, remains still the last Samaritan refuge. Here Melchisedec lived, and, according to their version of the passage (Gen. xxxiii. 18), "Jacob came in peace to the city of Shechem." Here is the mosque of *Ilizn Yakûb*, "the family of Jacob," and east of the town the two sites of Joseph's tomb and Jacob's well, in the identity of which both Samaritans and Jews agree with the Biblical narrative (see Gen. xxxiii. 18; Josh. xxiv. 30; John iv. 12).

*Joshua's Tomb*.—Next in importance to Moses, the great prophet whose like, according to the Samaritan translation of Deut. xxiv. 10, was never to appear on earth again, the "blessed King Joshua" is the most important character in the Samaritan list of saints and heroes. Yet, curiously enough, his tomb seems to have been lost to them. The Book of Joshua records the burial of this hero at Timnath Serah, in Mount Ephraim (Josh xxiv. 30), a site which has been identified with the modern *Tibneh*. For an account of the tomb, see the *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1873, p. 143. It is worthy of notice that the great tree at *Tibneh*, which is a sacred spot, has the name *Sheikh et Teim*, that is, "the elder the servant of God." The same title is applied to the mosque at Shiloh, *Jâm'va et Teim*, "mosque of the servant of God."

Jewish tradition, however, as represented by Rabbi Jacob, of Paris, 1258 A.D., places Timnath Serah at a village called Kefr Heres, about five miles south of Shechem, where to the present day Joshua and Caleb are said by the Jews to be buried. The probable site of this place is the modern *Kefr Hâris*, which, though it is eight miles from Nablus, is in the required direction—towards the south. Here exist two Mukâms of the ordinary character, one being that of *Neby Kifil*, or “the dividing prophet,” in which appellation we may very probably recognise a tradition of Joshua. About a mile farther east is the Mukâm of *Sitt Miriam*, perhaps an ancient cenotaph of Miriam, the sister of Moses.

The names *Hâris* and *Kefr Hâris*, which apply to villages close to one another, exactly represent the Hebrew Heres, which occurs in Judges ii. 9, where we read Timnath Heres for Timnath Serah. It appears from Judges i. 35 that “Mount Heres” was a district, and extended to the neighbourhood of Ajalon (Yalo). Its probable meaning is “the rugged mountain,” but the present pointing makes it mean “mountain of the sun,” although Jerome seems to have understood it in the other sense. He places Joshua’s tomb in the tribe of Dan (Onom. Thamnathsara), on the road from Lydda to Jerusalem, and states it to have been in his day a large place, where Joshua’s tomb was shown. “Very marvellous it is,” he further says, “that the distributor of the possessions should have chosen for himself so rugged and mountainous a spot” (Epist. Paulæ. 13). Jerome evidently means the present *Tibneh*, and seems to have in his mind the name Heres, as meaning “rugged,” but the Talmudical authorities, taking as usual the more unnatural meaning, say that Heres means the sun, and that it was derived from the fact that a figure like the sun was carved on the tomb, to signify that the personage there buried had caused the sun to stand still (Rashi *Comment* on Judg. ii. 9). The tomb generally supposed to be Joshua’s at Tibneh has no such carving, though one near it is ornamented. If Heres mean “Mount Heres,” the title might be well applied to the rugged hills extending from Yalo to Shechem, and including Tibneh, Hâris, and Kefr Hâris.

Joshua is often confused in the mythology of the peasantry with the Imâm 'Ali Ibn Abu T'aleb, the companion of the prophet (see *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1874, p. 87), who has three Mukâms, one at Jericho, one at Ramleh, one west of Nablus. Neby Kifil has also another Mukâm near that of Neby Dan and Neby Hudah, east of Lydd. Some tradition of Joshua is also possibly attached to the Mukâm of *Sheikh 'Aisa*, west of Sebaste; and at Yanûn, also in Samaria, is the tomb of *Neby Nûn*, probably the father of Joshua. These traditions, however, will form a paper by themselves, which I hope to be able to compose later.

The Samaritan Book of Joshua represents the king to have been buried at *Kefr Ghuweirah*, and as it also states Eleazar to have been entombed in the same place, there can be no doubt that the modern *'Avertah* is intended, but unfortunately only two tombs exist here, which may now be mentioned in turn.

'*Awertah*.—"Here," says the Samaritan Chronicle, "are the tombs of the holy priests." The Jews also agree that Eleazar and Phinehas were buried here, and, as in the former case where Jewish and Samaritan traditions agreed on the sites of Joseph's tomb and Jacob's well, the Bible record seems satisfied by the position, so in this case there seems no valid objection to fixing the "hill that pertained to Phinehas (*Gibeah-Phinehas*) . . . in Mount Ephraim"—where Eleazar is said to have been buried (*Josh. xxiv. 33*)—at the modern 'Awertah. The older form of the name, *Caphar Abarthah*, given in the Samaritan Chronicle, is a good instance of the Samaritan confusion of the two letters *B* and *Vau*.

Two tombs, both held sacred by Jews, Samaritans, and Moslems, are here shown, one called *el 'Azeir*, west of the village, being that of Eleazar, the other *el 'Azeirat*, that of Phinehas, east of the village. It is worthy of remark that another *el 'Azeir*, a *Mukâm* also, exists farther south, east of Turmus Eyya, and beyond the limits of Samaria. This may represent a later Jewish tradition.

The tomb of Eleazar is 18ft. 3in. long by 15½ft. broad; a rude erection of masonry and plaster, like that of Joseph. It stands in a paved court, in which grows a magnificent terebinth. I visited the spot in 1872, and sketched the tomb.

The other tomb, that of Phinehas, is close to a small mosque. The sepulchre, resembling the last, measures 14ft. by 7½ft. It is surrounded by a wall having round arches to a series of arcades. This enclosure measures 26ft. by 20ft., and is certainly not modern. The interior court is paved, and a vine is trained across the top of the arcades to form a species of roof. The mosque we did not enter, nor has any tradition connected with it been as yet collected. I made at the time a sketch of this monument as well.

Such are the sacred places of Samaria as pointed out by native tradition. The Samaritan Chronicle, however, gives information on other obscure periods of the history of this curious people. It gives a list of twenty-two towns where the high priests who succeeded Tobiah resided, all being apparently in Samaria, as far as they can be identified.

It is known that in the second and third centuries the Samaritans were in a very flourishing condition, and had colonies in Egypt, and even a synagogue at Rome. The Chronicle gives their possessions in Palestine as allotted by the high priest Baba the Great, about 160 years after Hadrian had destroyed Jerusalem. This description is interesting, as it seems to include all Palestine with the exception of the mountains of Judæa, dividing the land into eleven districts, as given below. (*Journal Asiatique* for 1869, p. 440.)

1. "To Ishmael he gave the land of Luzah to Gilil on the sea." (The Arabic version says "to the plain of the sea.")

2. "To Jacob of Iskar he gave the land as far as Tiberias.

3. "To Zeith Ben Thaham he gave the land east of Mount Gerizim to the Jordan.



4. "To Jehoshua Ben Berak Ben Eden he gave the country from Caphar Halul to Beth Shebat.

5. "To Abraham Shamatimah Ben Ur Ben Pherath he gave the country of Horon to the land of Palestine (or of the Philistines).

6. "To Israel Ben Mahir he gave from Gaza to the River of Egypt.

7. "To Joseph Ben Shuthelah he gave the land of the Goodly Mountain to Cæsarea.

8. "To Lael Ben Beker he gave the land of the frontier of Carmel as far as Accho. (This has a curious bearing on Josh. xix. 26, which it appears to me to explain.)

9. "To Beker Ben Ur he gave the land of the hill of Naker to Sural, which is Tyre. He dwelt there, and died at Caphar Marun (*Marûn*).

10. "To Shebat Ben Sebo Ben Makir he gave the land from the River Litah to Sidon.

11. "To Barad Ben Shiran Ben Amed he gave the Mountain of Galilee, from the river to Lebanon, and all the villages round this mountain."

The divisions so described are for the most part pretty clear, as will be seen below:—

1. The country south-west of Nablus to *Jellil*, north of Jaffa, and to Cæsarea.

2. The Plain of Esdraelon and of Beisan, and the 'Ard el Humma, in which district were towns such as Sirin and Tuta, mentioned as inhabited later by Samaritans.

3. The hills of Samaria east of Nablus.

4. Probably Lower Galilee, as far as *Kefr Sabt*, on the east.

5. The Plains of Philistia as far as Gaza, the north line being from Beth Horon (*B. Ur*) to Gilil (*Jellil*), joining on to the south side of No. 1.

6. South of the last to *Wady el 'Arish*.

7. The hills of Manasseh, north of No. 1 and south of the next.

8. North of the last, Carmel and the Plain of Akkeh.

9. Phœnicia, from Accho to Tyre.

10. North of the last from the Litany River to Sidon.

11. Upper Galilee.

These districts are therefore contiguous one to another, and extend over the whole of Palestine with the exception of Judæa proper, to the mountains of which the Jews are by this description confined.

At a later period the Samaritan Chronicle gives a valuable list of those towns which were inhabited by the Samaritans after the Hejira. This is a period when very little is known of this nation. The places mentioned extend over nearly the whole of the district allotted by Baba, and colonies are also mentioned in Damascus, Cairo, and Baalbek. The colony at Gerar and Gaza seems to have lasted till late in history, but no Samaritans are now to be found out of Nablus.

The following are the two lists noticed above:—

## LIST OF PLACES INHABITED BY THE HIGH PRIESTS (AFTER THE TIME OF TOBIAH).

N.B.—S. for Samaria.

Samaritan Text.	Arabic Text.	Modern Name.
1. SALEM (the Great).....	Sâlim (the Great) .....	<i>Sâlin, S.</i>
2. BETH FATUHA .....	B. Fatûha.	
3. SANTA KARIMATHAH....	Tul Keram .....	<i>Tul Keram, S.</i>
4. ELONAH TABAH .....	Shejr el Kheir ( <i>i.e.</i> , "Holy Oak").	
5. SHECHEM .....	Nâblus .....	<i>Nâblus, S.</i>
6. AMNAH SERAH.....	'Adeh Serêh.	
7. BETH FAUR .....	Beit Fâghûr.....	<i>Khûrbet B. Far ? S.</i>
8. ISKAR.....	'Askar .....	<i>'Askar, S.</i>
9. LUZEH .....	lûzeh .....	<i>Lôzeh, S.</i>
10. CAPHAR JIHBETH.....	Kefr el Wahebeh.	
11. KATHAH (the Great).....	Kudhyeh (the Great).	
12. NOBAH .....	Nôbih .....	<i>Nâbe ? S.</i>
13. AKRAEITH.....	'Akrabeh .....	<i>'Akrabeh, S.</i>
14. OPHRAH.....	Fer'ata .....	<i>Fer'ata, S.</i>
15. BEIROTHAH .....	el Bîrch .....	<i>Bertah ? S.</i>
16. LAN .....	(Illegible.)	
17. JUSEPHEH .....	Yâsûf .....	<i>Fâsûf, S.</i>
18. MERDAH .....	Merdah .....	<i>Mirdah, S.</i>
19. TIRAH NEMARA .....		<i>Tîrch ? S.</i>
20. BETH PHURIK .....	Beit Fûrik .....	<i>Beit Fârik, S.</i>
21. KIRJATH HAGAH.....	Kuryet Hajjah.....	<i>Kuryet Hajja, S.</i>
22. SUCHAH.....	Shuweikeh .....	<i>Shuweikeh, S.</i>

## LIST OF PLACES INHABITED BY THE SAMARITANS IN THE 7TH CENTURY.

Samaritan Text.	Arabic Text.	Modern Name.
1. DAGON .....		<i>Beit Dejân, S.</i>
2. AZZAH .....	{ Inhabited by Samaritans of Tribe of Benjamin in the 14th Century }	<i>Ghu:zeh.</i>
3. GERAR .....		<i>Umm el Jerrâr.</i>
4. BETH PHURIK .....		<i>Beit Fûrik, S.</i>
5. CAPHAR NEMARAH.		
6. AL RAMLAH .....		<i>er Ramleh.</i>
7. CAPHAR SAFIRIEH .....	Safûrieh .....	<i>Safiriye'h.</i>
8. CAPHAR ABEARTHAH ..	'Awert .....	<i>'Awertah, S.</i>
9. SIRIN .....		<i>Sîrîn.</i>
10. TUTA .....	Tutai.....	<i>Umm el Tût ? S.</i>
11. CAPHAR MARDAN.		
12. GITH .....		<i>Jett, S.</i>
13. KIRJATH OPHLATHAH..	Kuryet Ghuffeh .....	<i>'Afâlêh ?</i>
14. BETH BEZIN .....		<i>Beit Bezîn, S.</i>
15. ELON MOREH .....	Merj el Baha .....	<i>Sahel Râjîb, S.</i>
16. MOHNAH HA ALUNAH..	el 'Askar el 'Ali .....	<i>Mukhnah, S.</i>
17. KIRJATH ASKUR .....		<i>Kh. 'Askâr, S.</i>
18. KIRJATH TZEKATHAH..	Kûzah .....	<i>Kâzah, S.</i>
19. KIRJATH ATZAPHEH ...		<i>Umm Suffûh ? S.</i>
20. KIRJATH CAPHAR KALIL .....		<i>Kefr Kullta, S.</i>
21. KIRJATH HAM-MISHPAT .....		<i>Jenn Safut ? S.</i>

A few remarks may be added on the more important of these places :

*Iskar.*—It is clear from the Chronicle that two places of somewhat similar name existed in Samaria; one being called Iskar, in the plain between the two mountains towards the east. In the Arabic translation it is written 'Askar, and is evidently the modern village of that name. The other is called 'Askûr, and was near another site called Kuryet ha Mishfeh. This seems to be the ruin of 'Askûr west of Gerizim. The chief interest of the former name lies in the fact that 'Askar is generally thought to be the Sychar of the New Testament, and that in the Samaritan text we find the word in a transition form without the initial 'Ain which has taken the place of the *Yod*. This fact considerably increases the probability of the identification.

*Ophrah.*—The value of the variations in the Arabic translation of the Chronicle is here again evident. It serves to identify the modern Fer'ata, or later Jewish Pirathon, with an ancient Ophrah, and the one which suggests itself as most probably identical is Ophrah of the Abiezrite, a town of Manasseh, the home of Gideon (Judges vi. 11). If this be the case the identification has a direct bearing on the question of the north boundary of Ephraim at Asher-ham-Michmethah (Josh. xvii. 7), and would fix this place at 'Asireh, as proposed by myself, agreeing with the identification of the River Kanah as *Wady Kanah*, and making Gerizim the outpost of Ephraim, whereas the ordinary identification of Asher with *Telusir*, or Mr. Drake's proposed site at 'Asirah, quite destroys the identification of the River Kanah and includes Ebal in Ephraim, leaving only a very narrow strip of country for Manasseh.

The only other point of great interest is the fact recorded that the Samaritans inhabiting Gaza and Gerar were Benjamites. It shows that the Samaritans claimed to represent all Israel except Judah, and not merely the tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh.

This paper has already been prolonged to such an extent that there is no room for the discussion of minor points of interest, such as the identification of the plain of Moreh with the plain of the Muknah or "camping-place." It is sufficiently evident that the Samaritan literature allows us to fill up a portion of Palestine which is almost a blank as regards Biblical towns.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, Lieut. R.E.

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## NOTES ON MASONRY.

THE following is an abstract of observations with regard to styles and dressing of masonry in Palestine, extending over three years, and embracing the results of visits to many hundreds of ruins. The prominently distinct styles in the principal buildings are seven in number.

1st. Megalithic ashlar ; stones averaging 3 ft. 6 in. in height, generally great length, some reaching 30 to 40 feet. No attention was paid to quarry bed, as shown by various weathering ; a draft from 1 $\frac{3}{4}$  to 3 $\frac{1}{2}$  inches broad,  $\frac{1}{4}$  to  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in depth. The tooling is fine and regular, done with a flat instrument with teeth, used in two directions at right angles to

one another. The same tooling on the edges of the central projecting face in a border, one inch wide. The rest of the face finished with a blunt instrument worked at right angles to the stone (a kind of cold chisel). The stones of the Haram at Jerusalem, and the *voussoirs* of *Robinson's arch*, are thus dressed; perhaps not earlier than Herodian times. It would be interesting to know whether the dressing of the foundation stones with Phœnician letters is the same.

2nd. Masonry of square proportions; height of course 2 to 3 ft., *without any draft*, smoothly dressed, with an instrument having many fine teeth. Attention has been paid to quarry bed, and the joints are well laid. Mortar and cement of very hard character used; arches and cradle vaults semicircular, the keystones very narrow, and the haunch stones broad. The Twin Pools, the Double and Triple Passages, are examples. It appears to be Roman work, dating later than the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus.

3rd. Masonry of stones, 3 to 5 ft. in length, and 2 to 2½ ft. in height. A broad and very irregular draft, differing in breadth on various sides of the stone; the boss is often not rectangular, the draft from 2 to 6 inches in breadth, and from 1 to 3 inches in depth. The boss is hammer-dressed, the draft dressed with a toothed instrument, but more coarsely than in the preceding styles. The joints are laid rather open, the mortar is soft, the length of the stone differs. In one instance two stones, one 1½ ft., the other 5 ft. long, occurred next one another. The height of the course differs greatly, and low courses occur near the foundation. The quality of the stone is generally inferior to the two former, which are taken from the Melaki beds. Round arches are invariably found with this style; the doorways often have lintels with low relieving arches above. Barbarous Greek inscriptions, Byzantine capitals and ornamentation of early character accompany this style. It is found in the outer walls of convents, basilicas, and similar buildings of the early Christian period, such as Justinian's Church on Gerizim, dating 533 A.D.

4th. Stones, well cut, of very square proportions, a deep draft more carefully cut than in the former style, 2 to 6 inches broad. The boss is rustic, projecting from 6 inches to 1 ft. or even 18 in. The draft is hammer-dressed. These stones occur in the outer walls of Crusading towns and castles, and in some cases *the pointed arch of a gate or postern is built of such stones*, of size equal to those in the wall. It is supposed that the irregular surface offered better resistance to the ram in a siege. It is evident these stones were quarried by the Crusaders, and they are found in exclusively Crusading sites such as Kaukab el Hawa (Belvoir), and 'Athlit (Castellum Peregrinorum).

5th. Small masonry, hard, well-picked stones, *mezzeh* or Sta. Croce marble. The proportions moderate, height of the courses 1 ft. to 1½ ft., but not always equal. Numerous masons' marks on the better-dressed stones; joints very fine and close; tooling with a very sharp-pointed instrument very close; the lines continuous or broken, vertical, diagonal, horizontal, and in the less careful specimens curved or crossed. Both round and pointed arches occur in this style. Vaults groined or barrel

with a parabolic section, of small masonry of rag-work or of rubble. The core of the wall often of rubble in hard shell mortar. The style of architecture accompanying this system is Italian Gothic, modified by local influences. The twelfth century churches of Palestine are specimens of this Crusading style.

6th. Roughly dressed stones, laid with broad joints, many of those in exteriors drafted with a narrow draft; hammer-dressed, with the bosses sometimes hardly dressed at all; proportions similar to the preceding style. Masons' marks observable on the better-dressed specimens; the corner stones are the best and largest; the arches accompanying this system are generally pointed. The Church of St. Jeremiah at Abu Ghosh and the convent of Khirbet Ikbala are examples. It is an inferior Crusading style of the twelfth century.

7th. Resembles No. 5, but the masonry is inferior in finish and material. The proportions less, the joints not so well laid. No masons' marks occur. The tooling is similar, but the lines deeper, further apart, and less regular. On many stones a toothed instrument has been used irregularly, giving a patchy appearance. The arches are all pointed; the vaults groined, of rubble with ashlar ribs; the corner stones are often drafted with an irregular shallow draft; the boss hammer-dressed or coarsely tooled. A peculiar hard red cement, full of pottery, occurs with this style, which is observable in *khans* and Saracenic buildings of the fifteenth century and later.

The above remarks show that the finishing with a toothed instrument still in use is a method observable in all styles except the Crusading, but that there is a possibility of confusion between Crusading and the better Saracenic work, which styles are only distinguishable by aid of the masons' marks on the former.

It shows also that the distinctive character of the Jewish drafted masonry, compared with the later drafted styles, is to be recognised by three tests:—

- 1st. The length of the stones compared to their height.
- 2nd. The shallowness of the draft.
- 3rd. The cross chiselling with a toothed instrument.

It is very easy to distinguish these styles after a little practice. There are occasional difficulties when transitional or exceptional instances occur, but nothing is easier than to separate the early Christian and Crusading work from the Jewish.

There is, so far, no evidence that drafted masonry was used by the Romans in Palestine. In the Herodian buildings at *Jebel Fureidís* none of the masonry is drafted, nor in the Roman work at *Beisán*.

C. R. C.

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#### NOTE.

Lieut. Conder has further proposed to write papers on a new site for Megiddo, on Saul's journey to Zuph, on Gibeah of Saul, on the Moslem Mukams, and on some twenty new minor discoveries, with a list of the Lepidoptera collected by him for the Fund.

LIST OF THE BIRDS COLLECTED FOR THE PALESTINE  
EXPLORATION FUND BY THE SURVEY PARTY IN  
PALESTINE.

THESE birds were collected in Palestine during the prosecution of the Survey, and have since been named and examined by the Rev. Canon Tristram, LL.D., F.R.S., who complimented the party on the way in which they were preserved. The Arabic names were collected as far as possible, and have been transliterated according to Dr. Robinson's method.

Sergeant Armstrong, R.E., deserves great credit for the zeal and energy he has shown in collecting and skinning specimens.

The Committee have resolved upon mounting a complete set of these birds, under the superintendence of Canon Tristram.

PLAINS AND HILLS.

Names.	M. or F.	Where Shot.	Date.	Remarks.
SHORT-TOED EAGLE ..... <i>Circetus gallicus</i> . Gm.	?	Yebna .....	...	Lives on reptiles only. S. Europe. (Found crop full of young reptiles.)
COMMON KESTREL ..... <i>Tinnunculus alandarius</i> . Bāshek or Sekeir. [Gm.	F.	Beit Atab .....	9-74	
LESSER KESTREL ..... <i>Tinnunculus cenchris</i> . [Naum.	F.	Ramleh .....	10-73	
MARSH HARRIER ..... <i>Circus aruginosus</i> . L.	M.	Ain Feshkiah (Dead Sea).	11-73	Young plumage; Europe, Asia, and Africa.
MONTAGU'S HARRIER ... <i>Circus cineraceus</i> . Mont. Abrak Tenâh.	F.	Jericho .....	11-73	S. and Central Europe and N. Africa.
LITTLE OWL ..... <i>Athene meridionalis</i> . Rigs. = <i>glauca</i> . Sav. Bûneh or Kûkâ.	F.	Bethlehem ...	10-73	S. Europe, N. Africa. The bird of Minerva.
LONG-EARED OWL..... <i>Otus vulgaris</i> . Fl. Duwa.	F.	Jericho .....	11-73	Long-eared or horned owl; Europe, N. Asia, and India.
NIGHT JAR..... <i>Caprimulgus europæus</i> . L.	F.	Beit Atab .....	10-73	Caught sleeping under a rock.

Names.	M. or F.	Where Shot.	Date.	Remarks.
HOOPOE ..... <i>Upupa epops.</i> L. Hudhud.	M.	Bludan .....	9-73	
ROLLER ..... <i>Coracias garrula.</i> L. Shikker-rák.	?	Gaza .....	5-75	S. Europe, Africa, W. Asia ; summer migrant to Medi- terranean countries.
BEE EATER ..... <i>Merops apiaster.</i> L. Khudhár at Jericho, Wurwur in Syria.	F.	Bludan (Anti- Lebanon).	9-73	A summer migrant, com- mon in S. Europe, all Africa as far as the Cape, and Asia as far as Cash- mere.
CHIMNEY SWALLOW ..... <i>Hirundo rustica.</i> L. Kuttáf.	M.	Jordan Valley	3-74	
BLACK CAP ..... <i>Sylvia atricapilla.</i> L.	M.	Jericho .....	11-73	In winter dress.
BLUE-THROATED ROBIN <i>Ruticilla suecica.</i> L.	F.	Jericho .....	11-73	
BLUE-THROATED ROBIN <i>Ruticilla leucocyana.</i> Dueikhleh. [Brehm.	M.	Jericho .....		
COMMON ROBIN ..... <i>Erythacus rubecula.</i> L. Semmeneh.	F.	Jericho .....	11-73	A winter migrant to Pales- tine.
COMMON REDSTART ..... <i>Ruticilla phoenicea.</i> L.	M.	Jordan Valley	...	A summer resident in Palestine and England.
TITHYS REDSTART ..... <i>Ruticilla tythis.</i> Scop.	M.	Bludan .....	9-73	Europe, N. Africa, and W. Asia.
BLACK AND WHITE CHAT <i>Saxicola libanotica.</i> [Hemp.	F. M.	Bethlehem ... Bethlehem ...		
STONE CHAT ..... <i>Pratincola rubicola.</i> L. Serrák Hanimma.	M.	.....	10-73	Identical with the English bird.
PIED WAGTAIL ..... <i>Motacilla alba.</i> L.	M.	Ramleh .....	10-73	
GREY WAGTAIL ..... <i>Motacilla sulphurea.</i> Kueiksa.	F.	Jericho .....	11-73	
GREAT TIT ..... <i>Parus major.</i> L.	M.	Beit Atab .....	10-73	Same as British Ox-eye or Great Tit.

Name.	M. or F.	Where Shot.	Date.	Remarks.
WOODCHAT SHRIKE ..... <i>Lanius auriculatus</i> . Müll.	M.	Jordan Valley		
MASKED SHRIKE ..... <i>Lanius nubicus</i> . Licht.	M.	Jordan Valley	3-74	N. Africa, S. E. Europe, and S. W. Asia.
COMMON STARLING ..... <i>Sturnus vulgaris</i> . L. Zerzûr.	F.	Jericho .....	...	Europe, Asia, and N. Africa.
GOLDFINCH..... <i>Carduelis clegans</i> . Steph. Danûra.	M.	Bethlehem ...	11-73	
SPANISH SPARROW ..... <i>Passer salicarius</i> . V. Dueiry.	M.	'Ain Fasail ...	3-74	
CORN BUNTING ..... <i>Emberiza miliaria</i> . L.	M.	'Ain Fasail ...	3-74	The common bunting of England, all Europe, and N. Africa and W. Asia.
CRETSCHMAERS BUNTING <i>Emberiza caesia</i> . Cretsch.	M.	'Ain Fasail ...	3-74	S. W. Asia only.
CRESTED LARK ..... <i>Galerida cristata</i> . L. Kunbara.	F.	Jaffa ... ..	10-73	
COMMON CUCKOO ..... <i>Cuculus canorus</i> . L. Kûkû or Wakûk.	?	Jordan Valley		
SPOTTED CUCKOO ..... <i>Oxylophus glandarius</i> . L.	M.	'Ain Fasail ...	2-74	Summer migrant to all cir- cum-Mediterranean coun- tries. Has been obtained in England; common in Africa as far as the Cape.
COMMON TURTLE DOVE . <i>Turtur auritus</i> . Gr. Hamam.	?	Yebna .....	...	Summer migrant to Eng- land and Palestine.
GREEK PARTRIDGE ..... <i>Caccabis græca</i> , Bp.; or <i>saxatilis</i> , Mey. Shinnar.	M.	Jericho .....	11-73	

## BIRDS OF THE GHOR.

GREAT HORNED OWL ... <i>Bubo ascalaphus</i> .—Sav.	M.	Jericho .....	12-73	Common in Egypt and Nubia; resident in Pales- tine everywhere.
COMMON KINGFISHER ... <i>Alcedo ispida</i> . L. Abu Nukker.	M.	Jericho .....	11-73	



Name.	M. or F.	Where Shot.	Date.	Remarks.
GREAT SPOTTED KING- FISHER. <i>Ceryle rudis</i> . L. Abu Kubeia.	F.	Jericho .....	11-73	S. Europe, Asia, and Africa.
INDIAN KINGFISHER ... <i>Aleyon smyrnensis</i> . L. Abu Semak.	F.	Jericho .....	3-74	A bird of S. Malabar and Southern India, &c. One specimen known to Linnaeus from Asia Minor, re-discovered on the Meander by Capt. Graves, R.N.; only found elsewhere of W. Asia in the Jordan Valley.
SUN BIRD .....	M. and F.	Jericho .....	11-73	Peculiar so far as yet known to the Jordan Valley and its neighbourhood; found by Canon Tristram on Carmel in summer, and he believes seen once in Asia Minor near Ephesus. Said to be found also at Jaffa.
BLACK ROCK CHAT..... <i>Dromolca leucopygia</i> .— Bareijeh. [Br.]	M.	'Ain Feshkhah	11-73	North Africa and Arabian deserts.
BLUE THRUSH .....	F.	Marsaba .....	11-73	S. Europe, rocky districts; sedentary.
HOPPING THRUSH .....	F.	Jericho .....	11-73	Peculiar, as far as yet known, to the Jordan Valley and Dead Sea; will probably be found in some Arabian wadies.
BULBUL .....	M.	Beit Atab .....	10-73	Peculiar to Palestine and regions adjacent.
GREAT GREY SHRIKE... <i>Lanius lathora</i> . Sykes. Abu 'Ali.	M.	Jericho .....	11-73	Replaces in Palestine the northern Grey Shrike of Europe; an Indian species; very much larger toes and feet than our bird.
GRAKLE .....	M.	Marsaba .....	11-73	Known only from the wadies round Dead Sea; probably also at Petra and Sinai. Found by Lt. Conder as far north as W. Maleh in Jordan Valley.
ROCK SPARROW .....	M.	Deir el Kelt (near Jericho)	11-73	Very fine specimen.

Name.	M. or F.	Where Shot.	Date.	Remarks.
GREAT INDIAN TURTLE DOVE. <i>Turtur risorius.</i> L. Hanam beidi.	M.	Jericho .....	12-73	South Asia.
SAND GROUSE .....	M.	Desert (Bir es Seb'a)	11-74	N. African Desert (not Asiatic). Also in Jordan Valley.
DESSERT PARTRIDGE..... <i>Ammoperdix heyii.</i> Hajel. [Temm.	M.	Jericho .....	12-73	Peculiar to Jordan Valley, Arabia, and N. Africa. Replaced in India by <i>Ammoperdix bonhami.</i>

## COAST BIRDS.

RING PLOVER OR RING DOTTEREL. <i>Charadrius hiaticula.</i> L.	M.	Jaffa .....	10-73	
COMMON SANDPIPER ... <i>Tringoides hypoleucos.</i> L.	M.	Solomon's Pools	7-74	Same as the English bird.
DUNLIN .....	M.	Haiffa .....	10-73	
AVOCET .....	M.	Sur .....	10-73	
SQUACCO HERON .....	M.	Jordan Valley	5-74	Circum-Mediterranean.
LITTLE BITTERN .....	F.	Jerusalem (bought at)	12-9-74	Europe, N. Africa, and W. Asia.
WATER RAIL .....	M.	Jericho .....	11-73	Old World.

## ALPINE REGIONS.

SPARROW HAWK .....	F.	Jericho .....	7-12-73	Identical with the Eng- lish species.
LONG-EARED OWL .....	M.	Jericho .....	8-12-73	Common from Ireland to India.
ALPINE SWIFT .....	M.	Jordan Valley...	24-3-74	From the Cape to India, Europe, Asia, and Africa.
NUTHATCH.....	M.	Bludan (Anti- Lebanon)	20-9-73	Greece and Syria.
PERSIAN LARK .....	M.	Bludan (Anti- Lebanon)	23-9-73	Mountain tops of S. W. Asia.

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aRev. A. Johnson.....	0	10	6	aMrs. Pattenson .....	0	10	6
aMrs. J. F. Johnson.....	0	10	0	aVery Rev. Dean of St. Paul's	1	0	0
aMrs. C. Kemble .....	2	2	0	aR. H. Pearson, Esq. ....	1	1	0
aRev. Alfred Kennion .....	0	10	6	aJohn Pearson, Esq. ....	1	1	0
aT. J. Kent, Esq. ....	2	2	0	aRev. G. C. Pearson.....	1	1	0
aW. Kershaw, Esq. ....	0	10	0	aLady Emily Pepys .....	0	10	0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
aRev. R. Powell	0	10	6	aMrs. F. Thrupp	2	2	0
aH. Peto, Esq.	1	1	0	aA. B. Thorburn, Esq.	1	1	0
aE. Pethybridge, Esq.	1	1	0	aRev. J. J. Thornley	0	10	6
aRev. G. T. Pilcher	2	2	0	aMiss Thwaites	0	10	6
aSavery Pinsent, Esq.	1	1	0	aHenry Treacher, Esq.	1	1	0
aWilliam Phillips, Esq.	1	1	0	aH. Trevor, Esq.	1	1	0
aMiss Pope	1	0	0	aE. Trimmer, Esq.	2	2	0
aRev. J. Priestley	0	10	0	S. Tomkins, Esq.	10	10	0
Miss Pursell (collected)	1	5	0	aMiss Augusta Tufnell	0	10	6
aB. Ralph, Esq.	0	10	6	aR. Turnbull, Esq.	0	10	0
aMiss L. C. Relton	0	7	6	aRev. W. Turner	0	10	6
aF. Ridoutt, Esq.	0	10	6	aRev. G. Twentyman	0	10	6
aT. Roberts, Esq., jun.	0	10	6	aJ. B. Ulph, Esq.	0	10	6
aHenry Rogers, Esq., and Mrs. Rogers	1	1	0	W. Underhill, Esq.	20	0	0
aRev. W. A. Rouse	0	10	6	aC. J. Valentine, Esq.	0	10	6
aMrs. H. Rotten	0	10	6	aMiss Walker	0	10	6
aDr. Sandreezki	0	10	6	aC. Walton, Esq.	1	1	0
aMiss Saunders-Forster	1	1	0	aT. R. Watts, Esq.	0	5	0
aW. B. B. Scriven, Esq.	1	1	0	aR. T. Webb, Esq.	1	1	0
aRev. G. Short	0	10	6	aF. West, Esq.	0	10	6
aS. Scott, Esq.	2	2	0	aT. Wheeler, Esq.	1	1	0
aMiss Sibthorpe	1	1	0	aJ. Whitehead, Esq.	0	10	6
aRev. Adam Clark Smith	0	10	6	aMiss Williams	1	1	0
aRev. A. C. Smith	0	5	0	aE. Wilmshurst, Esq.	0	10	6
aT. H. Smith, Esq.	0	5	0	Rev. E. Wilson	0	10	6
aW. Marten Smith, Esq.	1	1	0	aW. L. Winterbotham, Esq.	0	10	6
aJohn Spence, Esq.	0	10	6	aW. Woodall, Esq.	1	1	0
aJohn Spencer, Esq.	0	10	6	aMrs. Wolff	1	0	0
aMiss Stephens	0	10	0	Do., collected by	1	15	0
aGeneral Stanhope	1	1	0	aA. Wraith, Esq.	0	10	6
aRev. G. W. Straton	1	0	0	aRev. W. H. Wright	0	10	6
aJ. G. Strickland, Esq.	1	1	0	aB. P. Wright, Esq.	0	10	6
aRev. E. Stone	2	2	0	aLady Annora Wynn	0	10	6
aH. C. Stuart, Esq.	1	1	0	Per Rev. T. C. Henley:—			
aColonel W. Stuart	1	1	0	aC. H. Charlesworth, Esq.	1	1	0
aRev. Edward Swann	1	1	0	W. N. Alcock, Esq.	1	0	0
aRev. W. J. Tait	0	10	6	Collected by W. T. Clements, Esq.:			
aH. J. F. Taylor, Esq.	0	10	6	B. Newling, Esq.	0	10	6
aMrs. Theobald	0	10	6	C. S. Grimwade, Esq.	0	10	6
aRev. Dr. Thomas	0	10	6	W. Clements, Esq.	0	10	6
aJ. D. Thomas, Esq.	0	5	0	James Muir, Esq.	0	10	6
aG. M. Thompson, Esq.	0	10	6	Smaller sums	0	7	9
				W. T. Clements, Esq.	1	0	0

LOCAL SOCIETIES.

BATH.

May 16.—By cash ..... £23 5 0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

S. E. S. Carpenter, Esq. ....	£0 10 6	Miss Orde .....	£0 7 6
Mrs. Caroline Gordon .....	0 10 6	Rev. J. Lawes .....	0 10 0
Mrs. Stainforth .....	1 0 0	Miss Darlot .....	0 10 0
The Miss Goldies .....	1 0 0	Rev. C. B. Pearson .....	0 10 0
Rev. T. P. Methuen.....	1 1 0	Rev. Prebendary Wood .....	0 10 0
R. T. Gore, Esq. ....	0 10 0	Miss Abingdon Smith .....	0 5 0
Charles Timins, Esq. ....	0 10 0	Rev. R. Drummond .....	0 10 6
William Daubeny, Esq. ....	0 10 0	John Johnston, Esq. ....	0 10 6
Rev. J. Buttanshaw .....	0 10 6	Rev. H. H. Winwood .....	1 1 0
Mrs. Buttanshaw .....	0 10 6	Miss Batchelor.....	1 1 0
Captain Anderdon .....	2 2 0	Miss Broke .....	1 1 0
Rev. S. Bond.....	0 10 6	Miss Gandy .....	0 10 6
Mrs. Mount .....	1 1 0	Rev. W. E. Haigh .....	0 10 0
E. T. Caulfield, Esq. ....	1 0 0	Thos. F. Walker, Esq. ....	1 0 0
Rev. J. F. Moor .....	0 10 0	Mrs. Walker, sen. ....	0 10 0
Mrs. Moor .....	0 10 0	General W. Eden .....	0 10 6
J. H. Goldie, Esq. ....	0 10 6	Mrs. Gee.....	0 10 6

BELFAST.

April 18.—aL. Plunkett, Esq. ....	£0 10 6
„ „ —aW. W. Lamb, Esq.....	0 10 6

BISHOP'S WALTHAM.

May 13.—James Padbury, Esq. ....	£0 10 6
Per Rev. H. R. Fleming, Corhampton Vicarage :—	
Rev. S. Bridge.....	£0 10 6
Rev. C. J. Hume .....	0 10 6
Rev. A. B. Burton .....	0 10 6
Rev. W. H. Morley .....	0 10 6
Rev. H. R. Fleming .....	0 10 6
Mr. Charles Pink.....	0 10 6
	£3 3 0

BIRKENHEAD.

April 24.—Gilbert Cowie, Esq. ....	£0 10 0
June 15.—Mrs. Newton.....	1 0 0

BRIGHTON.

April 26.—Per Rev. C. E. Douglass .....	£4 10 0
Receipts :—	
The Countess of Aberdeen .....	£1 0 0
Rev. Thomas Calvert .....	0 10 6
Rev. H. H. Methuen .....	0 10 0
C. Bellingham, Esq. ....	0 10 0
Rev. Dr. Hannah .....	1 1 0
Rev. C. E. Douglass.....	1 1 0
	£4 12 6
Expenses .....	0 2 6
	£4 10 0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

BROMLEY.

April 3.—Lamb, Esq. .... £1 1 0

CAMBRIDGE.

Paid into Coutts' Bank ..... £20 0 0

CHELTENHAM.

May 26.—Per Dr. E. Wilson ..... £15 0 0

CLIFTON AND BRISTOL.

Jan. 9.—By cash ..... £10 0 0

May 11.—By cash ..... 7 1 0

June 13.—By cash ..... 3 12 6

Subscriptions and Donations for the first half of the year 1876 :—

M. J. J. (don.) .....	£10 0 0	Mr. C. J. Thomas.....	£0 10 0
Rev. C. H. Wallace .....	1 0 0	The Misses Mills .....	0 10 6
Rev. R. A. H. Stroud .....	0 10 0	Mrs. Goldberg (Jerus. Fund) ...	0 10 6
Miss C. E. Holmes .....	0 5 0	Miss Bernard.....	0 5 0
Donation .....	0 5 0	Mrs. Malthus .....	0 2 6
Mrs. Lardy .....	0 10 0	Rev. J. B. Goldberg.....	0 10 6
Mr. T. Howard.....	0 10 6	Miss Moor .....	1 1 0
Mrs. Churton.....	1 1 0	Miss Ware .....	0 5 0
Mr. T. J. Whittuck.....	1 0 0	Miss Douglas.....	0 5 0
Miss Fisher .....	0 10 6	Mr. E. W. Bird .....	0 10 6
Miss Richards .....	0 10 6		

DARLINGTON.

Paid into Union Bank.—aH. F. Pease, Esq..... £5 0 0

DUBLIN.

June 6.—Per Denis Crofton, Esq. .... £7 10 0

Right Hon. Wm. Brooke, M.C. ....	Rev. Maxwell Close .....
Hon. George F. Colley.....	A. D. McGusty, Esq. ....
Dennis Kelley, Esq., D.L. ....	Denis Crofton, Esq. ....
Rev. Henry West .....	

EDINBURGH.

March 31.—aRev. W. Turner ..... £0 10 6

List of Subscriptions to the Palestine Exploration Fund, received in Edinburgh by me during the year ending 31st December, 1875 :—

Jan. 6.—Robert Scott.....	£0 10 6	Jan. 20.—Mrs. Gallaway .....	£2 0 0
„ 12.—John Hoyes .....	2 0 0	„ „ Wm. F. Burnley .....	1 0 0
„ „ Mrs. Mill .....	1 0 0	„ „ John Miller .....	0 10 6
„ „ Miss Clayton .....	0 10 0	„ „ Rev. K. Moody Stuart .....	0 5 0
„ 15.—John Watson .....	1 1 0	„ 25.—Miss J. C. Cowan... }	12 0 0
„ „ W. Leckie .....	1 1 0	„ „ George Cowan .....	
„ 20.—Mrs. A. Stewart .....	0 10 6	Feb. 9.—Miss Morrieson .....	0 5 0
„ „ Robert Clark .....	0 10 0	„ 11.—Isaac Anderson Henry .....	0 10 6

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Feb. 13.—James Steuart .....	£0 5 0	May 8.—J. K. ....	£0 2 6
„ „ Sir Geo. Harvey,		„ „ James Wright .....	0 10 0
„ „ P. R. S. A. ....	1 0 0	„ „ T. G. Murray .....	3 0 0
„ 29.—Professor Sir Robert		„ „ 17.—John Boyd .....	1 0 0
Christison, Bart.	1 1 0	„ „ Rt. Hon. Lord Provost	
Mar. 1.—Miss Crooks .....	1 0 0	Falshaw .....	1 0 0
„ „ Miss Muir.....	1 0 0	„ „ P. Miller .....	0 2 6
„ „ Rev. Dr. Veitch .....	1 1 0	„ „ Mrs. Meek .....	0 5 0
„ „ A Friend .....	0 5 0	„ „ Mrs. and Miss Paterson	0 10 0
„ „ Dr. Jeffrey .....	1 0 0	„ „ Prof. A. K. Simpson...	1 1 0
„ „ John Kennedy.....	1 1 0	„ „ Rev. Dr. Sandford ...	0 5 0
„ „ J. T. Brown .....	1 1 0	„ „ Professor Balfour.....	0 10 0
„ 3.—Mrs. E. Baxter.....	0 10 6	„ „ J. A. Jamieson .....	0 10 0
„ 6.—Miss Mackenzie .....	1 0 0	„ „ The Chisholm .....	1 0 0
„ 8.—Dr. Wilson .....	0 2 6	July 15.—William Lyon .....	1 1 0
„ „ Mrs. Rollo.....	0 5 0	Aug. 24.—Rev. R. H. Ireland ...	0 10 6
„ 10.—William Tait .....	0 10 6	Sep. 28.—Charles S. Inglis.....	0 10 6
„ „ Professor Kelland ...	0 5 0	Oct. 9.—W. J. Duncan .....	1 1 0
„ „ Mrs. Wood .....	0 2 6	„ „ Dr. Cumming .....	0 2 6
„ 16.—D. Barton .....	1 0 0	„ „ William Robson .....	0 5 0
„ „ Miss Mary Douglas...	0 5 0	„ „ Miss Monat .....	0 10 0
„ „ Lord Teignmouth ...	1 0 0	„ „ Mrs. Macfie .....	0 5 0
„ „ W. J. Ford .....	1 0 0	„ „ J. Murray .....	0 10 6
„ „ John Maenair .....	0 10 6	„ 11.—David S. Dickson ...	0 10 6
„ 20.—William Lyon .....	1 0 0	„ „ Sir Francis B. Out-	
„ 22.—F. Brown Douglas ...	0 10 0	ram, Bart. ....	1 0 0
„ „ Miss Fergusson .....	0 10 0	„ 12.—Rev. G. D. Cullen ...	1 0 0
„ „ J. W. Begbie, M.D. ...	1 1 0	„ „ James Carnegie .....	0 5 0
Apr. 6.—Robert Haldane .....	0 10 0	„ „ James Campbell .....	0 5 0
„ „ William Dickson.....	1 1 0	„ „ Miss Russel .....	0 3 0
„ „ Mrs. Miller .....	0 5 0	„ „ Misses Gall .....	0 2 6
„ „ John MacLaren.....	0 2 6	„ „ Rev. James Fairbairn	0 2 6
„ „ Mrs. Morison .....	1 0 0	„ 13.—J. T. Wilson .....	0 10 6
„ 7.—Rev. D. T. K. Drum-		„ „ D. S. Peddie .....	0 5 0
mond .....	0 10 0	„ „ John Scott Moncrieff	0 10 6
„ „ J. H. Wilson .....	0 5 0	„ „ Angus Macdonald,	
„ „ Mrs. McLean .....	0 3 0	M.D. ....	0 5 0
„ „ Misses Kennedy .....	0 2 6	„ „ John M. Balfour .....	0 10 6
„ „ Mrs. Seton .....	0 5 0	„ 18.—Rev. J. Calder Mac-	
„ „ Mrs. McDowall .....	0 5 0	phail .....	0 2 6
„ „ Robert Paterson, M.D.	0 10 6	„ „ T. S. ....	0 2 6
„ 8.—The Very Rev. Dean		„ „ Rev. N. Wight.....	0 2 6
Montgomery .....	0 5 0	„ „ Patrick Guthrie .....	0 5 0
„ „ Miss Falconar .....	1 0 0	„ „ Rev. Dr. Macgregor..	0 10 6
„ „ R. M. Smith .....	1 0 0	„ „ Rev. Dr. Blaikie .....	0 5 0
„ „ James Macandrew ...	0 5 0	„ „ Rev. Dr. Peddie .....	0 5 0
„ „ Dr. Moir .....	1 0 0	„ „ J. T. Black .....	0 5 0
„ „ Mrs. Smith .....	0 7 6	„ „ T. A. G. Balfour, M.D.	0 5 0
„ „ David MacLaren .....	0 5 0	„ „ Miss Macmillan .....	0 2 6
„ „ Mrs. Teape .....	0 5 0	„ „ Mrs. Leighton .....	0 2 6
„ „ John White .....	0 5 0	„ „ Mrs. H. J. Muston ...	0 2 6
May 5.—James Sime .....	1 0 0	„ „ A. F. Sommerville ..	1 1 0
„ „ Messrs. Usher & Co. ...	0 10 6	„ „ Miss Sommerville ...	1 1 0
„ „ Mrs. Steele .....	0 5 0	„ 22.—William Fraser .....	0 5 0
„ „ R. E. Scott .....	0 5 0	„ 25.—Rev. Dr. Duff .....	1 0 0
„ „ G. W. Simson .....	0 10 6	„ „ Rev. Dr. Mitchell	
„ „ Thomas B. Johnston		Harvey .....	0 5 0
for 1874 .....	1 1 0	„ 26.—Alex. Paton .....	0 5 0
„ „ Do. for 1875.....	1 1 0	„ 27.—Mrs. John Stewart ...	1 0 0
„ 8.—Douglas MacLagan, M.D.	1 1 0	„ „ Miss Buchanan .....	0 2 6



LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

Oct. 27.—Mrs. P. Deans .....	£0 2 6	Dec. 11.—Mrs. Brown .. .....	£0 5 0
„ 29.—Miss Erskine .....	1 0 0	„ „ Rev. Dr. Hanna .....	1 1 0
„ „ Mrs. Stott.....	0 2 6	„ 14.—Edward Caird .....	1 1 0
„ „ Mrs. Scott.....	0 2 6	„ „ T. C. Burrow .....	0 10 0
Nov. 1.—Rev. A. Whyte] .....	1 1 0	„ „ A Friend .....	0 5 0
„ 2.—J. R. Stewart .....	0 15 0	„ „ Dr. Gibb .....	0 10 6
„ „ Rev. David Simpson ..	0 10 6	„ „ W. G. Dickson.....	0 10 6
„ 6.—Rev. A. Haldane		„ „ Mrs. Thomson Bonar ..	0 5 0
Chinnery.....	1 1 0	„ 20.—John Drybrough .....	0 10 6
„ 19.—Rev. Thomas Main ..	0 10 6	„ 27.—The Rev. A. H. Char-	
„ 20.—John Miller .....	1 1 0	teris, D.D. ....	0 10 6
„ „ T. Nelson & Sons ..	2 2 0	„ 31.—Mrs. Colonel	
Dec. 1.—Misses Stevenson ..	1 0 0	MacDougall .....	0 10 0
„ „ Charles Sidey .....	0 5 0	„ „ Pastor A. Hansen ..	0 10 6
„ „ Mr. Gartshore .....	0 10 6	„ „ John Cowan .....	1 0 0
„ „ D. Anderson.....	0 5 0		
„ „ Rev. James M. Cotterill ..	0 5 0		
„ „ Mrs. Wood .....	0 2 6		
		Total.....	£103 4 0

T. B. JOHNSTON,

*Hon. Secretary.*

4, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh,  
8th February, 1876.

FARNWORTH.

April 15.—By cash..... £6 6 6

“The Palestine Class” (per Rev. H.

Burton, B.A.) .....	£3 3 0
Mr. Thomas Nuttall .....	1 1 0
Mr. J. J. Thornton .....	0 10 6
Mr. M. Attwood (Castle Donington)...	0 10 6
Rev. Henry Burton, B.A. ....	0 10 6
Mr. E. Wilson.....	0 6 0
Mr. W. A. Ferguson .....	0 5 0

FROME.

April 26.—Per Rev. J. G. Rooke .....

Mr. J. Chapman .....	£0 5 0	Mr. E. C. Olive .....	£0 10 6
Mr. E. Cockey .....	0 2 6	Mr. Joshua Parsons .....	0 5 0
Mr. F. Cockey .....	0 5 0	Rev. T. G. Rooke .....	1 1 0
Mr. H. Cockey .....	0 5 0	Miss Salmon .....	0 10 0
Rev. W. Crouch.....	0 5 0	Miss Sewell .....	0 10 6
Rev. E. Daniel .....	0 10 6	Mrs. John Sheppard.....	0 10 0
Mr. G. A. Daniel .....	0 10 6	Mr. Joseph Tanner, jun. ....	1 1 0
Mr. Flatman .....	0 10 3	Mr. H. Thompson.....	0 10 6
Mr. T. Green .....	1 1 0	Mrs. Thompson .....	0 10 0
Mr. T. H. Holroyd .....	1 1 0	Miss Thompson .....	0 5 0
Rev. J. Horton .....	0 5 0	Mr. Poukin .....	0 10 6
Mr. Houston .....	0 10 6	Mr. J. W. D. T. Wickham .....	0 10 6
Mr. Le Gros .....	0 10 6		

GLASGOW.

aH. K. Wood, Esq. .... £2 0 0



LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

HULL.

*a*—Holmes, Esq. .... £1 1 0

LANCASTER.

May 12.—E. B. Dawson, Esq. .... £1 1 0

LEDBURY.

June 15.—By cash ..... £2 3 7

LEEDS.

Hon. Sec. of Leeds Association in account with P. E. F.

<i>a</i> Allbutt, Dr. T. Clifford .....	£1 1 0	<i>a</i> Harris, Miss .....	£1 1 0
<i>a</i> Armitage, W. J., Esq. ....	2 2 0	<i>a</i> Harvey, Thos., Esq. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Atkinson, Rev. A. ....	1 0 0	<i>a</i> Heaton, Miss .....	1 0 0
<i>a</i> Atkinson, J. T., Esq. ....	0 10 6	<i>a</i> Hey, Rev. John .....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Atkinson, Edward, Esq. ....	1 1 0	<i>a</i> Holmes, John, Esq. . . . .	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Atkinson, Miss .....	1 1 0	<i>a</i> Jepson, E. G., Esq. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Baines, Edward, Esq. ....	1 1 0	<i>a</i> Jowitt, John, Esq. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Baines, Frederick, Esq. ....	1 1 0	<i>a</i> Jowitt, R. B., Esq. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Baxter, Wm., Esq. ....	0 10 6	Lowther, Sir Chas. H., Bart. ....	2 2 0
<i>a</i> Bilbrough, J. B., Esq. ....	1 1 0	<i>a</i> Mason, C. L., Esq. (2 years) ...	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Birchall, Edward, Esq. ....	1 1 0	<i>a</i> Metcalfe, Geo., Esq. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Birchall, Miss .....	1 1 0	<i>a</i> Maude, Miss .....	1 0 0
<i>a</i> Blomefield, Rev. Sir T. E. W., Bart. (2 years) .....	2 2 0	<i>a</i> Morton, H. J., Esq. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Conder, Rev. E. R. ....	0 10 6	<i>a</i> Richardby, Miss .....	1 0 0
<i>a</i> Cornthwaite, Rt. Rev. Bishop	1 1 0	<i>a</i> Ryder, Chas., Esq. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Conyers, W. H., Esq. ....	1 1 0	<i>a</i> Scatcherd, Miss (2 years) .....	1 0 0
<i>a</i> Crawford, Mrs. J. E. (2 years)	2 2 0	<i>a</i> Scattergood, T., Esq. ....	0 10 6
<i>a</i> Crowther, Misses (2 years) ...	2 2 0	<i>a</i> Smith, Stephen E., Esq. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Darwin, F., Esq. ....	2 2 0	<i>a</i> Smith, Stooks, Esq. ....	0 10 6
<i>a</i> Dunn, Rev. Thos. ....	0 10 6	<i>a</i> Wheelhouse, C. G., Esq. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Dykes, E. O., Esq. ....	1 1 0	<i>a</i> Whitby, Rev. Thos. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Dykes, Miss, and Mrs. Cheape	0 10 0	<i>a</i> Wilson, Thos., Esq. (the late)	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Embleton, T. W., Esq. ....	1 1 0	<i>a</i> Taylor, T. E., Esq. ....	1 1 0
<i>a</i> Ferguson, Wm., Esq. ....	0 10 6		
<i>a</i> Filliter, Ed., Esq. ....	1 1 0		
<i>a</i> Good, J. G., Esq. ....	1 0 0	By Sale of Books and Pho- tographs.....	4 17 0
<i>a</i> Gott, Rev. Dr. ....	2 2 0		
<i>a</i> Harker, Wm., Esq. ....	1 1 0		
<i>a</i> Hamilton, R. W., Esq. ....	1 1 0		
			£57 8 6
			4 17 0
			£62 5 6

Dr.

To Expenses of Association, in-  
cluding Printing, Postage,  
Advertising, and Sta-  
tionery, &c. ....

£5 12 8

„ Remitted to Society .....

54 4 0

„ Balance in hand .....

2 8 10

£62 5 6

Cr.

By Subscriptions and Donations

£57 8 6

„ Sale of Books and Photos...

4 17 0

£62 5 6

EDWARD ATKINSON. *Hon. Sec.*

## LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

## LEITH.

May 25.—By cash ..... £10 10 6

Messrs. Braidwood and Fowler .	£1	1	0	Rev. D. Thorburn .....	£0	5	0
Messrs. James Currie and Co....	1	1	0	Thos. Aitken, Esq. ....	0	10	6
Messrs. Mathew and Theilmann	0	10	6	Rev. Gildart Jackson .....	0	5	0
Messrs. James Wishart and Sons	0	10	6	W. W. ....	0	10	6
Messrs. T. Gibson and Co. ....	1	1	0	Thomas Sturrock, Esq. ....	0	5	0
Messrs. La Cour and Watson...	0	10	6	John Somerville, Esq. ....	0	5	0
Messrs. Blackwood, Scott, and Co. ....	1	1	0	John Henderson, Esq., M.D....	0	5	0
Messrs. John Somerville and Co.	0	10	6		£11	13	6
Messrs. D. J. Thomson and Co.	0	5	0	Interest .....	0	1	7
Messrs. D. Callender and Sons .	1	1	0		£11	15	1
Messrs. W. and J. Jenkinson...	0	5	0	By sum paid to collector and charges .....	1	4	7
Messrs. A. Fullarton and Co....	0	10	0		£10	10	6
J. Pringle, Esq. ....	0	10	6				
Robert Mowbray, Esq. ....	0	10	0				

## LIVERPOOL.

April 3.—aJ. Blackett, Esq.....	£0	10	6
„ aJ. S. Blackett, Esq.....	1	1	0
„ aE. B. Blackett, Esq., M.D. ....	0	10	6
„ aRev. W. R. Blackett .....	0	10	6
May 27.—T. Roberts, jun. ....	0	10	6
„ Miss Watson .....	0	10	6
„ Miss Blevin .....	0	10	6

## MANCHESTER.

May 5.—Per Rev. J. Priestley .....	£1	5	0
April 19.—Collection at St. Paul's, Brunswick-st.	10	3	0

## NEWCASTLE.

May 11.—Literary and Philosophical Society.....	£3	3	0
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## PLYMOUTH.

April 25.—Per Jno. Shelly, Esq. ....	£4	4	0
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## READING.

May 5.—Per G. Leybourne Carley, Esq. ....	£8	4	0
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aRev. S. H. Soole .....	£0	5	0	aRev. N. J. Garry .....	£1	1	0
aM. J. Sutton, Esq.....	2	2	0	aJ. Harrinson, Esq.....	1	1	0
aArthur W. Sutton, Esq. ....	1	1	0	aRev. G. J. Tubbs .....	0	10	6
aC. E. Stuart, Esq. ....	0	10	6	aW. Exall, Esq. ....	0	10	6
A Friend .....	0	2	6	aRev. C. F. J. Bourke.....	1	0	0

## SOUTHEND.

April 26.—Miss Augusta Tufnell .....	£0	10	6
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LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

STIRLING.

May 13.—Per William Taylor, Esq.....	£1	0	0
Mr. Barclay .....	£0	5	0
Mr. P. Nicholson.....	0	5	0
Rev. George Yuile .....	0	10	0

STROUD.

June 30.—By Cash .....	£10	10	0
Ebenezer Apperly, Esq. ....	£0	10	6
Mr. John Bryant .....	0	10	6
J. H. Carpenter, Esq. ....	0	10	6
William Cowle, Esq. ....	0	10	6
George Gillson, Esq. ....	0	10	6
Mr. James Harper .....	0	10	6
Miss Isacke .....	0	10	6
John Libby, Esq. ....	0	10	6
Mr. T. S. Osborne.....	0	10	6
John Randell, Esq. ....	£0	10	6
Mr. Edward Rouse .....	0	10	6
Lieut.-Col. Stather .....	1	1	0
J. H. Taunton, Esq. ....	0	10	6
Mr. W. Thomas.....	0	10	6
Rev. J. G. Uwins .....	0	10	6
Rev. Joseph Wilkinson .....	0	10	6
L. W. Winterbotham, Esq. ....	1	1	0
Edwin Witchell, Esq. ....	0	10	6

TORQUAY.

R. Andus Clark, Esq. ....	£1	1	0
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TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

April 25.—Per G. Bartram, Esq. ....	£8	16	6
W. A. Smith, Esq. ....	£1	1	0
T. Walker, Esq. ....	1	0	0
Mrs. Sylvester .....	0	10	6
R. Janson, Esq. ....	1	1	0
Rev. H. J. Rhodes, 1876-77 (for 2 years) .....	£2	2	0
F. Chippendale, Esq. ....	1	1	0
G. Bartram, Esq. ....	1	1	0
B. H. Collins, Esq. ....	1	0	0

WELLS.

May 5.—Per W. J. Welsh, Esq. ....	£3	11	0
Dr. Edwards, Glastonbury (1875)...	£0	10	6
Rev. C. M. Church, Wells (1875)...	1	0	0
Rev. J. Beresford, Wells (1875) ...	0	10	6
Mrs. Brice (1875-76) .....	0	10	0
Captain Giles (1875-76).....	0	10	0
Mr. G. Laurence (1875-76) .....	0	10	0

WESTON-SUPER-MARE.

May 10.—	£0	10	6	1876.
1876.	£0	10	6	1876.
Feb. 1.—aMrs. Baedeker .....	0	10	6	Captain Martin (for a Report)
„ 8.—aMiss Tomkins .....				April 8.—Mrs. Matheson .....
„ 18.—Per Mr. Robbins—				May 9.—aMrs. Leppington ...
From Mrs. Whidborne .	0	2	0	

WOLVERHAMPTON.

W. Fleming, Esq. ....	£0	10	6
Rev. S. C. Adam.....	0	10	6

ERRATA.

Omitted from last *Quarterly*, Lord Glasgow, £5.  
Maidstone, for Rev. H. D. Finch, 10s., read Rev. H. D. French.

## LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

The following was received too late for the last *Quarterly Statement*:-

March 28.— <i>a</i> Mrs. Gurney Hoare, Hampstead Heath...	£0 10 6
Mrs. Gurney Hoare and Friends .....	10 2 0
March 29.—Meeting at Rev. E. and Mrs. Boger's, St. Saviour's Grammar School, Southwark, S.E. ....	2 3 0
Details of Mrs. Boger's—	
<i>a</i> Mrs. R. G. Ledger, St. John's, Southwark	£0 10 6
Various donations .....	0 11 6
Mr. Spielman .....	1 1 0

### ERRATUM (*April Quarterly*).

In the list of donations at meeting at Mr. and Mrs. Johnston's, Woodford Green, March 23 (the total amount correctly stated at £49 14s.), in details insert Jas. Spicer, £10.

Received too late for last Report:—

April 6.—Glasgow Ladies' Association, by Miss Watson, Hon. Sec. £38 7 0  
1876.

Jan. 31.— <i>a</i> Misses Kerr, 13, Woodside Terrace .....	£1 1 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Playfair, 12, Woodside Terrace .....	1 1 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Macleod, 1, Woodlands Terrace .....	1 1 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. McDowall, 8, Park Terrace... ..	1 1 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Collins, 3, Park Terrace East.....	1 1 0
,, <i>a</i> Miss Bain, 3, Park Terrace .....	1 1 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Auld, 4, Park Terrace .....	0 10 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Coats, 6, Park Terrace .....	0 10 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Allan, 2, Park Gardens .. ..	2 0 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. James King, 12, Claremont Terrace	2 2 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Readman, 28, Woodside Place.....	2 2 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Dickson, 13, The College.....	1 0 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. McGrigor, 19, Woodside Terrace ..	1 1 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Arch. Campbell, 16, Woodside Crescent	1 0 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Williamson, 5, Park Circus Place ...	1 0 0
Feb. 2.— <i>a</i> Mrs. Paul, 14, Grosvenor Terrace.....	1 0 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. James Smith, 7, Park Circus .....	1 0 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Stephen, 15, Park Circus.....	1 0 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Holms Kerr, 27, Park Circus .....	1 0 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Moffat, 13, Park Street East .....	1 0 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Graham Gilbert, York Hill.....	1 1 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Chalmers, 1, Claremont Terrace.....	0 10 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. J. A. Campbell, 3, Claremont Terrace	0 10 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. John Orr, 21, Woodside Terrace.....	0 10 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Macleod, 10, Woodside Crescent ...	0 10 0
,, <i>a</i> Miss White, 2, Woodside Terrace .....	0 10 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Reid, 10, Woodside Terrace .....	0 10 0
,, <i>a</i> Miss Whitehill, 12, Bellevue Terrace.....	0 10 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Robert Brown, 9, Hill Head Gardens	0 10 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Jamieson, 7, Woodside Terrace .....	0 5 0
,, <i>a</i> Mrs. Walter Grey, 11, Claremont Terrace	1 0 0

LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

Feb. 2.—	<i>a</i> Miss Watson, 9, Woodside Terrace .....	£1	0	0
„	<i>a</i> Mrs. C. Donald, 200, Bath Street .....	1	0	0
Collected by	Mrs. Campbell—			
	Mr. Galbraith, 3, Blythwood Square .....	2	0	0
	Mr. McLean, St. Vincent Street .....	2	0	0
	H. R. Robertson, Esq., Woodlands Terrace .....	1	0	0
	Mrs. D. Mackenzie, Claremont Gardens ...	1	0	0
	Mrs. Holms, Park Circus .....	1	0	0
	Mrs. Hugh Burn, Claremont Gardens.....	0	10	0
		<hr/>		
		38	7	0
Meeting at	Mrs. Beresford's, 4, Gloucester Crescent, Hyde Park,			
April 15 .....		1	5	6
	<i>a</i> Mrs. Beresford .....	£0	10	6
	<i>a</i> Mrs. G. G. Macpherson, 5, Craven Hill			
	Gardens .....	0	10	6
	Anon .....	0	4	6
Meeting at	Mrs. H. Abel Smith's, Bournemouth, April 18 .....	13	0	6
	<i>a</i> Miss F. Williams, The Mount, York .....	£0	10	6
	Various sums anon.....	12	0	0
	Mrs. Palleine, Clifton Castle, Yorkshire..	0	10	0
Meeting at	Dr. and Mrs. Nankivell's, Pennellyn, Bournemouth,			
April 20 .....		5	4	6
	<i>a</i> H. Gunton Turner, Esq., Holnwood,			
	Bournemouth .....	£0	10	6
	<i>a</i> Mrs. Hodgson, The Rookery, Carlisle ...	0	10	6
	<i>a</i> H. H. Hammond, Esq., Sundridge House,			
	Bournemouth .....	1	1	0
	Various donations .....	3	2	6
Meeting at	Rev. W. and Mrs. Lance's, Thurlbeare, Taunton, April 26	13	7	4
	<i>a</i> Rev. W. Lance, Thurlbeare, Taunton ..	£1	0	0
	<i>a</i> F. D. Newton, Esq., Barton Grange, Taunton	1	0	0
	Various donations .....	10	2	4
	Rev. J. E. Lance, Buckland St. Mary,			
	Taunton .....	1	0	0
	Miss Woodford .....	0	5	0
Rev. W. R. Clark's,	The Vicarage, Taunton, April 28 .....	9	3	7
	<i>a</i> Miss Rawlinson, Hill Side, Taunton .....	£0	10	6
	<i>a</i> H. G. Badcock, Hovelands, Taunton.....	1	1	0
	<i>a</i> Rev. E. Woodhouse, The Elms, Taunton	0	10	6
	<i>a</i> Malet, Esq., Pyrland Hall, Taunton .....	0	10	6
	Various donations .....	6	11	1
	„ „ .....	0	10	0
Meeting at	Charlotte Countess of Castle Stuart's, Broom Hill,			
Honiton, S. Devon, May 4 and 5 .....		2	13	6
	Mrs. Miller .....	£1	1	0
	Mrs. Gilpin .....	0	10	0
	Rev. — Willesford .....	0	10	0
	Rev. — Foote .....	0	5	0
	Miss Foote .....	0	2	0
	Miss S. Foote.....	0	2	0
	Mrs. Moody .....	0	1	0
	Mrs. Shepherd .....	0	2	6

## LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

Meeting at Mr. and Mrs. Benthall's, Sherborne, Dorset, May 6.			
Various donations.....	£5	0	0
Meeting at Colonel and Mrs. Rawlins', The Manor House, Bishopshull, Taunton, May 9.			
Various donations.....	3	8	3
Meeting at Mrs. Ames', 4, Cavendish Place, Bath, May 11 .....	8	0	9
<i>a</i> Mrs. Ames .....	£1	1	0
Various donations .....	6	19	9
Meeting of Ladies' Association, Chichester, May 17 .....	6	5	0
Meeting at Mr. and Mrs. Carter's, The Limes, Walthamstow, E., May 19 .....	13	2	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Mannio, Priory Lodge, Walthamstow	£0	10	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Ramsden, Forest Lodge, The Forest, Snaresbrook .....	0	10	6
Mrs. Berger.....	0	10	0
The Misses Carter .....	0	5	0
H. Ford Barclay, Esq., Monkham's, Woodford .....	5	0	0
Sam. Sheppard, Esq., 31, Oxford Square, Hyde Park .....	2	0	0
Various donations .....	4	6	6
May 19.— <i>a</i> Mrs. W. W. Johnson, Wingfields, Snaresbrook .....	0	10	0
,, 20.—The Misses Horner .....	1	0	0
Meeting at Rev. B. W. and Mrs. Bucke's, Holy Trinity Vicarage, Lee, S.E., May 27 .....	2	4	0
Various donations.....	£1	4	0
Capt. Liebenrood, Vermont, Lee .....	1	0	0
Mrs. Greenwood, 4, Talbot Place, Blackheath .....	1	0	0
Meeting at Rev. W. and Mrs. Norman's, The Parsonage, Snaresbrook, E., May 31 .....	3	6	6
<i>a</i> Rev. G. Fitzgerald, The Rectory, Wanstead	£1	1	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Norman, The Parsonage, Snaresbrook	0	10	6
H. B. Lewin, Esq.....	0	10	0
<i>a</i> —Lee, Esq., 4, Woodfield Terrace, Bayswater	0	10	0
Various donations .....	0	15	0
Meeting at Col. Pinney and Lady Smith's, 30, Berkeley Square, June 1.....	18	6	6
S. Tucker, Esq., Rouge Croix, Herolds' College, E.C. ....	£1	1	0
G. F. Fortescue, 8, Redelyffe St., West Brompton .....	1	0	0
Miss Reeve, 43, Montague Square, W.....	0	10	0
Mrs. Gurdon, 38, Hill Street .....	1	0	0
Mrs. Cholmondely Dearing, 12, St. George's Road, Eccleston Square .....	0	10	0
Mrs. Dundas, 63, Eccleston Square .....	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Lady E. Knox, 10, Gloucester Place, Portman Square .....	0	10	6
Mrs. Wright, 55, Burton Crescent.....	0	10	0
Mrs. Willson, 9, Albert Mansions.....	0	10	0
<i>a</i> D. Matheson, Esq., 52, Queen's Gate .....	0	10	0



LADIES' ASSOCIATIONS.

<i>a</i> Mrs. Simpson, 3, Eccleston Square .....	£0	10	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Temple Layton, 11, Victoria Road, Kensington .....	0	10	6
<i>a</i> G. Edwards, Esq., 1, Dr. Johnson's Build- ings, Temple, E.C. ....	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Mrs. Locke King, 38, Dover Street .....	1	0	0
The Countess of Gainsborough .....	3	0	0
Various donations.....	6	3	6

Meeting at Mrs. Beresford's, 4, Gloucester Crescent, Hyde Park,  
June 14 .....

Sale of "Our Work" and donation .....	£0	10	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Keith Young, 26, Eastbourne Terrace .....	0	10	6
General Roxburgh .....	0	10	0
Anon .....	0	5	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. Lang, West Hill, Harrow .....	0	10	6

2 6 0

Meeting at Justice Sir Thomas D. Archibald and Lady Archibald's,

June 22 .....

Justice Sir Thomas D. Archibald .....	£10	0	0
Mrs. Crampton, 35, Gloucester Gardens...	1	0	0
Mrs. Liddiard, 90, Inverness Terrace .....	2	0	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. J. Alexander, 10, Porchester Terrace .....	1	0	0
Do. do. ....	2	0	0
S. Blackton, Esq., Larch Hill, Malvern Wells .....	1	0	0
Miss E. Leslie, Bourdon House, Davies St.	0	10	6
Various donations .....	2	3	6

19 14 0

## LECTURES AND MEETINGS.

REV. H. GEARY.

Place.	Date.	Proceeds. £ s. d.
Reading ... ..	April 6 ... ..	27 3 5

REV. R. J. GRIFFITHS.

Reigate ... ..	March 30 ... ..	3 15 0
Birmingham ... ..	May 25 ... ..	4 2 6
Canterbury ... ..	June 23 ... ..	3 7 3

REV. T. C. HENLEY.

Gargrave ... ..	Feb. 6 ... ..	1 7 3
Malham Tarn ... ..	,, 14 ... ..	0 17 4½
Arneliffe ... ..	,, 15 ... ..	0 13 0
Grassington... ..	,, 16 ... ..	2 2 6
Kettlewell ... ..	,, 17 ... ..	0 11 9
Malham ... ..	,, 18 ... ..	0 5 6
Airton ... ..	,, 19 ... ..	1 8 9½
Long Preston ... ..	,, 20 ... ..	3 9 10
Giggleswick ... ..	March 7 ... ..	6 10 0
Rylstone ... ..	,, 8 ... ..	1 5 3
Tosside ... ..	,, 9 ... ..	1 0 0
Burnsall ... ..	,, 10 ... ..	1 0 0
Barnoldswick ... ..	,, 11 ... ..	3 15 5½
Bramley ... ..	,, 13 ... ..	2 3 6
Laister Dyke ... ..	,, 14 ... ..	1 7 5½
Settle ... ..	,, 16 ... ..	3 7 6
Slaidburn ... ..	,, 17 ... ..	2 12 6
Carleton ... ..	,, 18 ... ..	2 14 0
Burley in Wharfedale ... ..	,, 21 ... ..	2 18 8
Keighley ... ..	,, 22 ... ..	2 14 4½
Clayton ... ..	,, 23 ... ..	0 8 1
Skipton ... ..	April 3 ... ..	2 12 10½
Bolton-by-Bolland ... ..	,, 4 ... ..	1 4 6½
Grindleton ... ..	,, 5 ... ..	0 15 4
Farnley (sermon) ... ..	,, 30 ... ..	1 6 5½
Otley (sermon) ... ..	,, 30 ... ..	5 17 1½
Upton, Torquay (sermon)... ..	May 21 ... ..	3 11 11
Ashburton (sermon) ... ..	,, 28 ... ..	4 5 8
Buckfastleigh (sermon) ... ..	,, 28 ... ..	2 12 9

## LECTURES AND MEETINGS.

## REV. A. F. FORBES.

Shifnal	...	...	...	March 9	...	...	£2	17	4½
Burton-on-Trent	...	...	...	„ 13	...	...	2	3	0
Wolverhampton	...	...	...	„ 14	...	...	5	2	7½
Cound	...	...	...	„ 27	...	...	1	0	0
Rural Deanery of Wombourne (Offertory)	...	...	...		...	...	0	15	3
Tettenhall (Col. Thorneycroft's)	...	...	...	May 1	...	...	9	12	6

## REV. W. H. A. EMRA.

Braintree	...	...	...	March 28	...	...	1	18	3
Malden	...	...	...	April 7	...	...	3	12	6

## REV. A. J. FOSTER.

Melton Mowbray	..	...	...	Dec. 16, 1875	...	...	1	11	0
*Rusden	...	...	...	Jan. 21, 1876	...	...	0	13	6
Wellingborough	...	...	...	„ 25, 1876	...	...	1	0	1½

\* This lecture was given on the evening of the great storm and of the Abbots Ripton accident. The audience was consequently reduced to the clergy of the parish and a few school children.

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## Reading :—

Alfred Sutton, Esq.	...	...	...	...	...	...	5	0	0
αRev. F. Bowden	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0
αMiss France	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
αMiss J. Thomas	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0

## Reigate :—

Rev. C. Cazenove	..	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6
Mrs. Snee	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6

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H. F. Fardon, Esq.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6
Rev. W. C. Badger	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6
αMiss A. A. Gore (promised)	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6
αHenry Manton, jun., Esq. (promised)	...	...	...	...	...	...	1	1	0

## Tettenhall :—

Mrs. Fowler (don.)	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
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## Wolverhampton :—

Rev. J. Hes	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6
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## Braintree :—

J. Harrison, Esq.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	0
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## Maldon :—

J. C. Float, Esq.	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6
J. G. Sadd, Esq.	..	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6
Rev. E. R. Horwood	...	...	...	...	...	...	0	10	6

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Sir T. D. Archibald, 7, Porchester Gate .	£10 0 0	
Mrs. Crampton, 35, Gloucester Gardens...	1 0 0	
Mrs. Manisty, 24A, Bryanston Square ...	0 5 0	
Mrs. Liddiard, 90, Inverness Terrace .....	2 0 0	
αMrs. J. Alexander, 10, Porchester Terrace	1 0 0	
Do. do.	2 0 0	
M. S. Blackton, Esq., Larch Hills, Malvern Wells .....	1 0 0	
Miss E. Leslie, Davies Street .....	0 10 6	
Various donations .....	1 18 6	
The Hon and Rev. Annesley Gore .....	1 0 0	
The Hon. Mrs. A. Gore .....	1 0 0	
June 28.—By Mrs. Gandell, Oxford .....	0 2 6	
July 7.—Miss Standidge, Wanstead .....	0 5 0	
„ 7.—Meeting at Mrs. Whitehead's, Harrow.....	1 8 3	
αMiss Whitehead .....	£0 10 6	
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Mrs. Wolff, Taunton .....	3 16 0	
Collected .....	£1 15 0	
Mrs. Wolff .....	1 0 0	
Mrs. F. B. Portman, Staple Fitz Paine ...	1 1 0	
Miss Styan, by Miss Matthews .....	0 2 6	
Meeting at Mrs. Pierce Butler's, Southboro', Tunbridge Wells, July 19 .....	10 2 6	
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Do., do. ....	0 5 0	
αMiss A. Wheeler.....	0 2 6	
Miss Attersoll .....	0 5 0	
Meeting at Dowager Lady Herschel's, Collingwood Hawkhurst, August 3 .....	23 11 0	
αRev. Cocker Egerton, Burwash Rectory, Sussex.....	£0 10 6	
αMrs. Jennings, Elm Hill, Hawkhurst ...	1 0 0	
αDowager Lady Herschel.....	1 1 0	
Do., do. ....	4 0 0	
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