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*Quarterly Statement*

FOR 1881.

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LONDON:  
SOCIETY'S OFFICE, 1, ADAM STREET, ADELPHI,  
AND BY  
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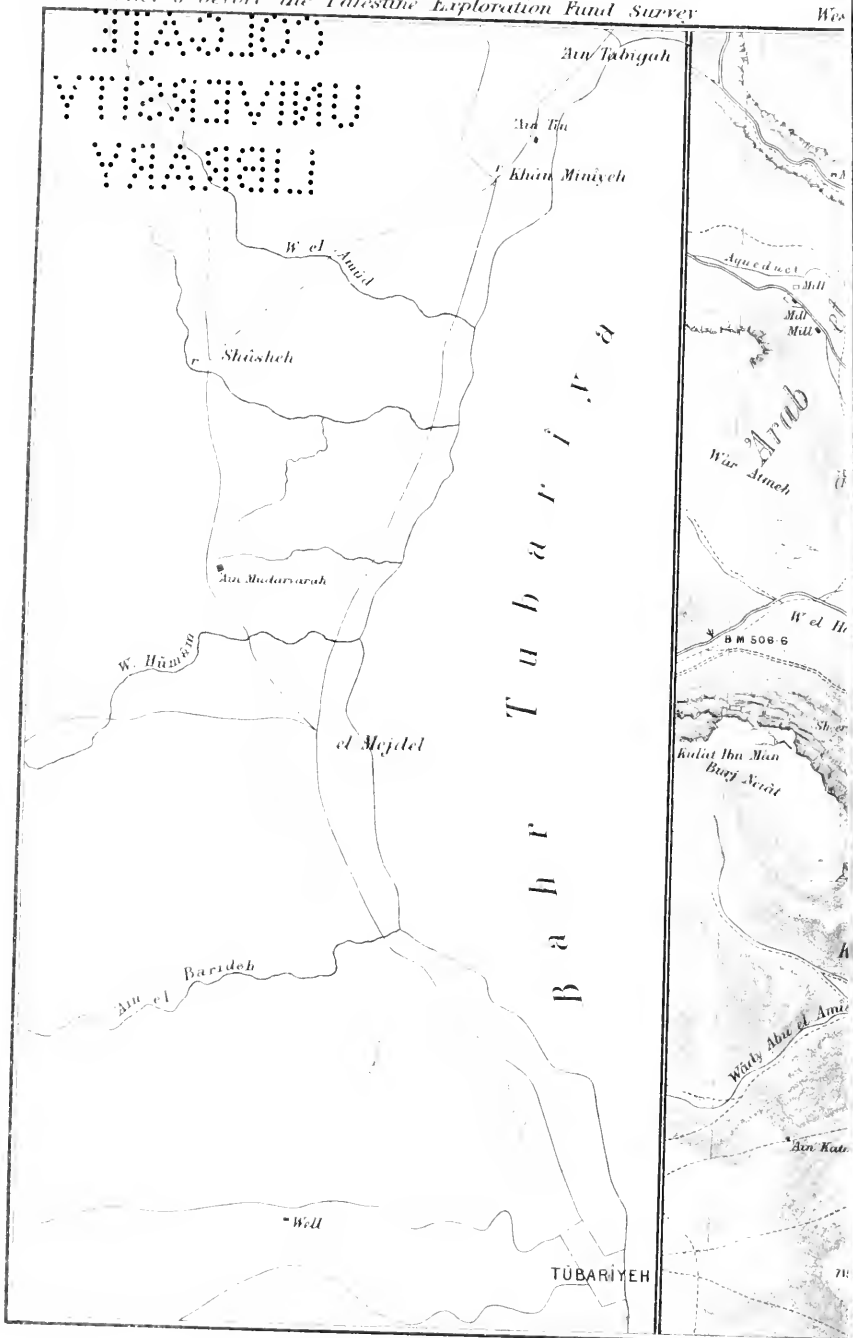


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Ben Kato

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Wādī Abū el Amūd

el Mejdal

An Shatararah

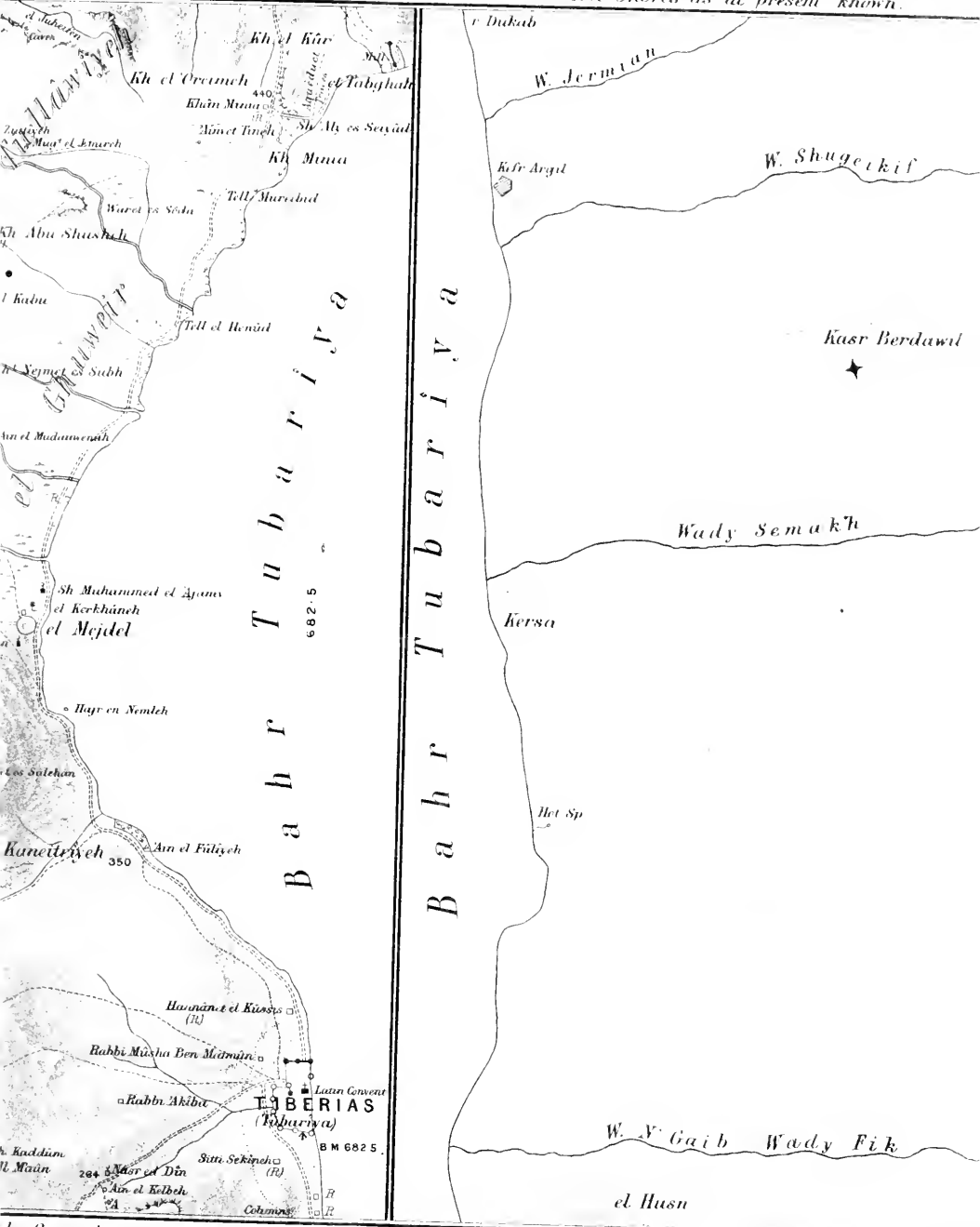
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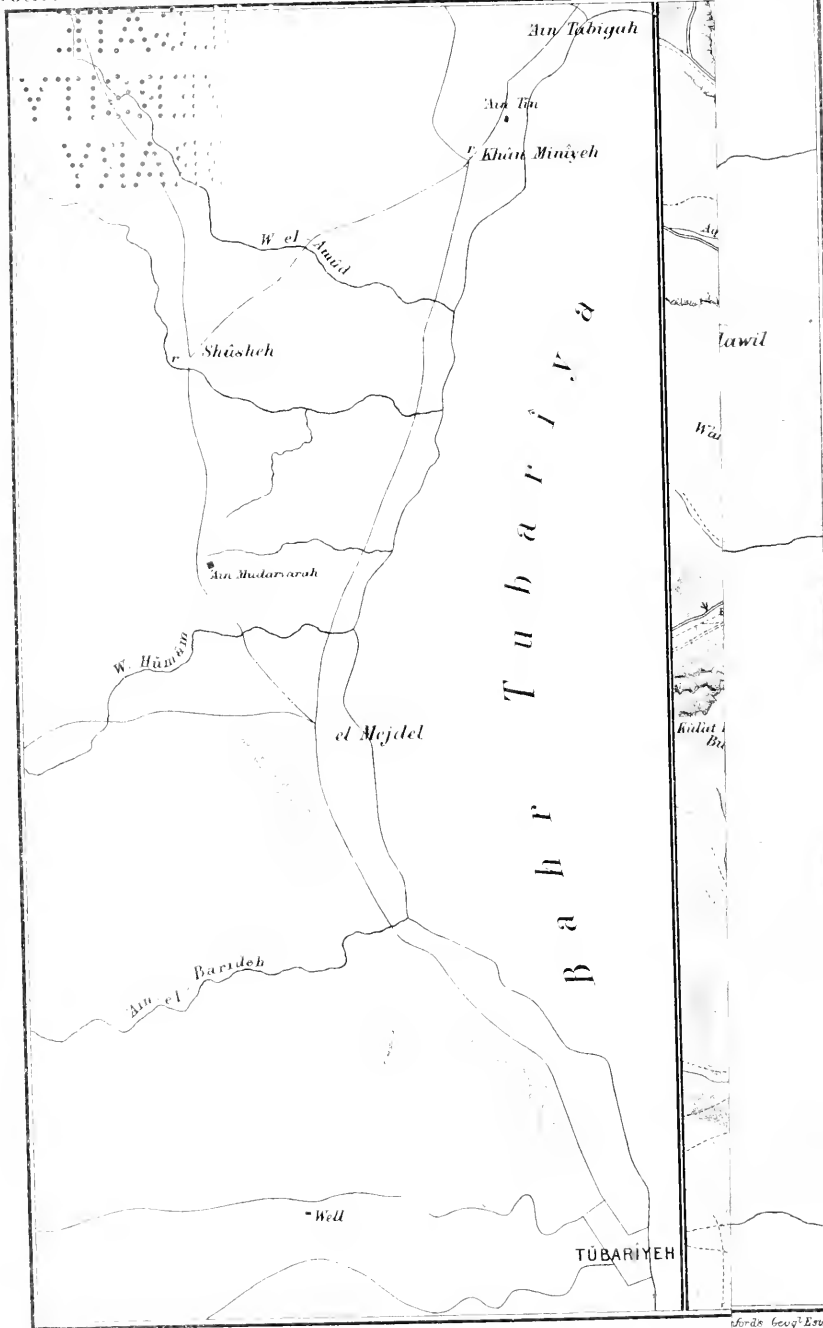
Khān Miniyeh





One inch to One mile

Sharfraz, Geog. Soc.



The Committee earnestly request all Subscribers to the Great Map to pay for it immediately on receipt of their copies. The next Edition will be ready in January. Names are received at the Office.

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## ADDITIONAL.

Since this number of the *Quarterly Statement* was sent to press, accounts have been received of Lectures held at Marlborough College, Tunbridge Wells, and Speldhurst. Particulars will be published in the next number. The Rev. W. F. Birch has also sent in the following list from Manchester:—

### MANCHESTER.

					£	s.	d.
Oct. 12, by cheque	..	..	..	..	4	3	0
Nov. 3	..	..	..	..	6	16	6
Nov. 30	..	..	..	..	4	4	0
Dec. 14	..	..	..	..	2	2	0
Total					17	5	6

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<i>a</i> T. W. Freston, Esq.	..	1	0	0	<i>a</i> Ven. Archdeacon Birch	..	1	1	0
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THE  
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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Report of the Meeting of General Committee held on November 30th, will be found on page 5. The single Resolution, for the discussion of which the meeting was summoned, was carried unanimously. It now remains to give it effect by organising and despatching an expedition to survey Eastern Palestine.

---

In order to show exactly what is proposed to be done and why, it has been ordered by the Committee that the papers laid before that meeting should be all sent to every subscriber to the Fund, past and present. They are thereupon enclosed with the present number of the *Quarterly Statement*. The comparative map needs no comment: it shows the difference between a piece of country before and after it has been surveyed. The Prospectus of the new Survey will be found to carry on the work of the Society on the lines laid down in the Original Prospectus. The reasons for undertaking the Survey, the things which have to be done, the things which have to be sought, and the things which may be hoped for, will be found enumerated in the speeches made at the meeting of the Jerusalem Chamber.

---

The Committee earnestly hope that, while the programme of their new expedition will show their present subscribers that their work of Biblical Illustration is not yet done, former donors and old subscribers will renew their support and carry this Survey also to a successful conclusion. The magnificent map of Western Palestine now before the world is a sufficient pledge and guarantee of what will be done in the East.

---

The *Quarterly Statement* will, as before, contain reports and letters of the officer in command of the expedition.

---

The Committee have the pleasure of announcing that they have invited M. Clermont-Ganneau, who will shortly become a resident in Palestine, to furnish them regularly with an account of everything that is discovered, attempted, or undertaken in archaeological research in the Holy Land. M. Ganneau has accepted this invitation. His first letters will probably appear in the April number of this Journal.

---

Nothing more has yet been received from Jerusalem with regard to the Phœnician inscription found in the Pool of Siloam. M. Ganneau has made out that it consists of at least eight lines. He has also traced about thirty characters, all in the Phœnician character of the Moabite stone.

---

The drawings and plans for the first volume of the memoirs are now completed. It may be looked for about the end of January. There will be, it is hoped, no such delays in bringing out the other volumes. That of the name lists will be published at the same time, or very shortly, after the first volume of the memoirs. It will be followed most probably, by Colonel Warren's volume on Jerusalem research.

---

We have received a very interesting and valuable number of the *Zeitschrift* of the German Palestine Exploration Society. A summary of this number will be published in April.

---

The appearance of Mr. Oliphant's book on the "Land of Gilead" is happily timed for those whose attention will now be turned to the land east of the Jordan. If anything were needed to show, more clearly than the Prospectus and the Report of the Meeting have shown, the necessity for our Survey, a perusal of this volume would furnish the last argument. Everywhere we read of bad maps, unknown districts, places where no European has ever been, ruins which have never been examined, strange people, and wild traditions. The "Land of Gilead," illustrates the remark made by the Dean of Westminster at the late meeting, that East of the Jordan lies a land of mystery.

---

Another event of the quarter is the appearance of Colonel Warren's new book on "Jerusalem Topography." It is already well known that the author holds views on the subject diametrically opposed to those advocated by Mr. James Fergusson in his "Temples of the Jews," and other books on the same subject. The new work is essentially controversial, and as such, will be found a valuable addition to the literature on the sacred sites.

---

The Rev. H. D. Rawnsley writes as follows:—"May I call your attention, and the attention of all interested in your work to the very great need that still

remains unsatisfied, so far as I know, of some authorised list of (1) objects to be sought for; (2) places to be identified; (3) observations to be made; (4) questions to be asked; (5) names to be inquired into, which could be obtainable either at your office, or at the consulates of Cairo, Beirout, and Jerusalem by any or all travellers in the Holy Land. Such a list would of course be varied from year to year, and if with it, these instructions could be given for the taking of temperatures, altitudes, levels, preparation of squeezes, rubbings, plants, and geological specimens for examination at home, the chart or list would be of the greatest service to the amateur but willing agents for such work that each year send out to the East."

---

The above valuable suggestion will be acted upon as speedily as possible. Such a list with such instructions will be prepared as soon as possible, perhaps in readiness for the spring travellers in Palestine, who are hereby invited to apply for it at the office of the Fund. Col. Warren will superintend it.

---

The second issue of the Great Map is exhausted. The third is being prepared as rapidly as possible.

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The promised pamphlet "On Some of the Biblical Gains from the Survey" is published with this number of the *Quarterly Statement*.

Mr. Saunders' "Introduction to the New Survey" will be ready in a few weeks.

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The Committee are most anxious that the Map should have as wide a circulation as possible. The Subscribers to the Fund may greatly assist them by advising the Map to be ordered for public libraries, school and college libraries and institutions.

---

It is also greatly desired that *all* those whose contributions have enabled this great work to be completed, may have an opportunity of seeing it. Arrangements have been made with the Rev. James King, of Berwick, for explaining and lecturing on the Map and its uses, during the winter. The Rev. Henry Geary is also ready to give one evening in every week to the Society, provided he be not invited to go too far from London.

---

The Reduced Map of Modern Western Palestine is promised by the engravers for February; it will be rapidly followed by the two ancient maps, already announced, on the same scale. A book has been opened at the office of the Society for the entry of names. The price is not yet fixed, but it will be as low as possible for subscribers.

---

The Cheap Edition of "Tent Work in Palestine," has been published by Messrs. Bentley and Son. All the small illustrations which were in the Library

Edition, and two of the full-page drawings, will be found in the new Edition, which has also been carefully revised by the author. An additional chapter has also been added on the "Future of Palestine." The work will be read with greater interest now that the progress of the Survey may be followed on the Map.

---

The income of the Fund from all sources, from Sept. 20th, 1880, to Dec. 13th, 1880, was £798 9s. 9d. The amount in hand at the last Committee Meeting was £1,212 3s. 3d.

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It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and the most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

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While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that these rest solely upon the credit of the respective authors, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee neither sanction nor adopt them.

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## MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

*Jerusalem Chamber, Westminster Abbey, Tuesday, November 30th, 1880.*

## THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER IN THE CHAIR.

THE Secretary read the Minutes of the last meeting, and laid before the Chairman, letters of regret at their inability to attend from the Archbishop of York, Lord Talbot De Malahide, the Dean of Lichfield, Rev. Canon Tristram, Rev. H. Hall-Houghton, Mr. W. Morrison, Mr. A. Lloyd Fox, Mr. Laurence Oliphant, Rev. W. F. Birch, Colonel Cooke, C.B., R.E., and many others.

The following is the letter received from Canon Tristram :—

DURHAM, 27th November, 1880.

Dear Mr. Besant,—It is with extreme regret that I have to write to tell you that my duties here prevent my carrying out my intention of attending the meeting on Tuesday, to plead the cause of the Exploration of Moab.

I can, from personal observation, confidently state that no part of the country affords such virgin soil for the exploration as the rich and lofty table-land East and North-East of the Dead Sea; nor is any portion likely to produce more important results. With the solitary exception of the fortress of Kerak, the land has known no settled inhabitants since it was swept nearly 1,300 years ago by the Persian destroyer, Chosroes. It is much as he left it. Time has done its work slowly and gently, unaided by man, for the great destroyer is not the Nomad, but the subsequent builder, who employs old material and adapts what he finds to his own use.

Moab is absolutely strewn with ruins above ground, and honeycombed with cisterns. The ruins are not desolate heaps or grass-grown mounds. Pillars, arches, churches, streets, remain only partially damaged, and I have often scrambled over the vaulting which still covers the ancient streets.

The names of the towns remain for the most part in their Semitic form in the vernacular of the wandering tribes. There are ruins like those of Shihan, undoubtedly megalithic, like the older remains of Bashan; there

are many which tell of the Syrian occupation and the flourishing epoch of the Maccabees, while Roman, both pre-Christian, and of the Byzantine period, churches, towers, and basilicas abound everywhere. Here too we find the unique work of Chosroes, alone in its desolation, the marvellous palace of 'Mashita.

I sincerely trust that earnest and zealous support will be given to the proposed enterprise by every lover of the Bible and of Eastern history.

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

H. B. TRISTRAM.

The Chairman called upon Mr. Glaisher to propose the Resolution of the day.

MR. GLAISHER. Mr. Chairman, and friends :

When the completion of the map of Western Palestine was drawing near, and the several memoirs were in a state so advanced that we felt certain of their completion ; the attention of the Committee on different occasions was directed to the completion of the Survey of Palestine, taking into consideration the present state of our knowledge with respect to the eastern side of the Jordan. You are well aware that the Americans had undertaken to make that survey, but when I point out to you the maps that they had sent in to us, of which here are several, and when I tell you that an endeavour to connect the points that were common, revealed discrepancies so large in amount that it was not possible by any amount of coaxing to connect the one with the other, you will agree with me that it became evident that if the eastern side of Palestine was to be surveyed and explored, the work must be begun *de novo*, using the maps as reconnaissance maps and no more.

Then the Committee on different occasions met, and this pamphlet (the "Survey of Eastern Palestine,") was prepared, which, I believe, has been sent to every gentleman present, and perhaps under those circumstances I need not read it, but it may be taken as read. This paper shows that the country on the eastern side of the Jordan—Eastern Palestine—is very full of interest indeed. There are many ruins, and the photographs, which may be seen by looking about the room, taken by the Americans, may lead one to the thought that there are many others which they have not visited, that much information is to be gained, and that, if careful explorations could be made of the ruins on the Eastern side of Palestine, many very valuable results would follow. Then the monetary question arose. It is a question which has frequently cropped up. It came before us when, ten years ago, we met in this room just before we began the Survey of Western Palestine ; but we now have large experience that we had not then, and probably the future will be very like the past. I should like, while upon this point, to speak of the subscriptions and donations that we have received. In the year 1872 we received £2,441. The party then took the field, and the next year, in consequence of that, I believe, the amount was increased to £3,170 ; the

next year £3,382; and in 1875 £3,971. There was an attack made upon the party that year, which prevented our party going out in the year 1876; and the consequence was the amount of donations and subscriptions fell £800. In the year 1877 the party went out again, and the subscriptions rose £200, and in 1878 the amount was £3,751. The greatest expenditure in any one year was £2,951 on the part of the Survey; but then we had a party at work at home, and a party at work in the field. We had then the invaluable services of Lieutenant Conder, who has made, I may say, a lifelong study of biblical knowledge and of biblical association, leading to invaluable results to the Fund. It is a great pleasure to me to think that he, with his increased knowledge, may be at the service of the Fund, and that if we begin the Survey of Eastern Palestine, I am led to hope that he will be able to take charge of it. I feel confident that nothing will escape his attention, and that he will give that intelligent interpretation to facts which has always weighed hitherto, and will weigh in future with this Committee. Now, sir, the years of the Survey were 1872, 1873, 1874, and 1875, and as I have told you, in 1875 an attack was made upon the party by the Arabs, so that we had no party in the field in 1876. In 1877, Lieutenant Kitchener went out and completed the Survey, and in the year 1878 and 1879, when our funds had decreased, the office work was done at home. The interest of the subscribers never flagged whilst there was a party in the field, but it must be remembered that while it is important for the party to take the angles carefully, it is quite as important to do the office work at home by computing the sides of the triangles of which they were part, and to lay the results down as we have done upon the map. The map is a splendid piece of work, very accurately performed, and is something that the Executive Committee feel, and I think justly feel, proud of. But we are ambitious. We are anxious to have the other side of the Jordan explored with equal or if possible greater thoroughness.

Now what are the expenses? The working expenses for the years 1872-1877 were £2,675 a year, so that during the five years the expenses were between £13,000 and £14,000. I believe that for £13,000 or £14,000 we shall be able to have a map on the other side as accurate as we have it on this. When I was here ten years ago, the map I hold in my hand represented what we knew of the topography of Western Palestine. How great is the difference between our state of knowledge then and our state of knowledge as shown by the large and beautiful map upon the wall!

That which we are most desirous of doing, as we are now free—as we can give our undivided attention to the work—as we have trained officers who have their hearts thoroughly in the work, is to see if we cannot complete on the one side of the Jordan that which we have done on the other. Now the plan hitherto adopted has been to keep the party continuously in the field; but it has been suggested by the Committee that perhaps a better plan would be to keep the working party in the field for the best six months of the year, and to have five months at home, doing office and other work, the other month being devoted to the going

and coming. If this plan were adopted the result we might look for, might perhaps be stated thus. Firstly, we should have the maintenance of the party for only seven months in the year; secondly, we should give the party a beneficial change of air and rest; thirdly, we should enable the work to be got up, and portions finished off, and probably some put into the engraver's hands; fourthly, it would give the Committee better means of estimating the expenses and inquiring into methods of work. If this plan were not adopted, I do not think the expenses could be less than they were formerly—that is, about £2,700—and if our office and all other expenses are taken into account, you will see that we should require between £3,000 and £4,000 a-year to carry out satisfactorily the objects which we have in view. If, however, the early return of the party were resolved upon, we might perhaps save £400 or £500 a-year. These are matters to be considered. Money, of course, is an important element to be regarded, but I cannot think that while the money is economically used, we shall have any trouble in procuring the necessary amount. The past leads me to feel confident that if we do our work steadily, faithfully, and well; gaining information upon biblical points (and looking at this pamphlet it will be seen that there are a very large number of biblical associations of the highest interest, upon which we may hope to gain information), we cannot have much trouble or difficulty in procuring the money that we may require. Therefore, sir, without further remark, I would beg to move—That it is now desirable to take, without delay, the Survey of Eastern Palestine, under conditions similar to those which have been proved to be thoroughly successful in the case of Western Palestine. (Cheers.)

MR. MACGREGOR. Mr. Chairman, I do not think we require to convince any person around this table of the importance of the work which it has been proposed should be begun. If this were a meeting of the general public, who may be more or less ignorant of our work, and who would require to have descriptions given, what we might have to say would be very different. The great success which has hitherto been attained must afford cause for mutual congratulation, and I am sure the Dean will feel that it is deserved, especially by those who have worked hard—the Officers and the Committee—those who have gone away and those who have stayed behind. The great success gained should be an incentive to further efforts, because “nothing succeeds like success.” Certainly it would never have done to have taken the Eastern side first, but now that we are strong upon the West, and can point to the results, our progress to the East becomes an absolute necessity.

Thirty years ago I went to Palestine in the ordinary way, and but twenty years afterwards, I went in another way on the water. At that time the maps were very deficient; I had the great privilege of the gift by Captain Warren, now Colonel Warren, of a little photograph of a map that had been made of the Sea of Galilee. This I copied, and put into a book on half-inch scale. That was invaluable of course, especially as it was to be used on the water. I have brought here one of a great

number of maps that I had copied in the British Museum, and this was the best. It was rather old. It is the map of Seetzen in A.D. 1732, and is rather amusing to look at. But although that may appear ridiculous now, it was the only thing to be had some time ago, and we shall look back, I hope, in another year or two to the time when we had only those imperfect maps which are now superseded by the splendid map before us.

Our work in Jerusalem will greatly depend, I think, upon the success of the Map and the Memoirs, and I suppose political matters are now sufficiently quiet to hope that this, at any rate, will be allowed, and that Colonel Warren and others will swing down these shafts 90 feet under the ground, and feel as happy as he used to be when he was suspended there by a rope at the top.

I am very sorry that the Eastern part will be a little impeded by the illness of Mr. Oliphant, who was to have been here to-day, and I am not able at all to plead in his stead, having little of his knowledge of the subject ; but he was so unwell that he was persuaded not to come. His book will, however, be out on the 7th of next month, and from what I have seen and know of it and of him, and from what we have already heard in an indefinite way, it will be sure to be interesting. It will come out at a very happy time for us all, when this work is about to be begun in the Land of Gilead, and I hope that a work of this description will make the place so interesting that the publication will come opportunely for the Fund. There is also another very remarkable work in connection with the Fund in one sense. *The Jewish Chronicle*, a well-known paper belonging to the Jews of London, and two or three other newspapers in foreign lands, are turning their attention to the East country, not only because of its general interest, but for purposes of future settlement and cultivation. It is too soon yet to say more than that there is to-day a very strong feeling on the part of many influential persons that something should be done in England which would enable the Jews to go back to Palestine. Where they should go, and by whom they should be maintained, and for what exact purpose, is of course no within our province to declare or to suggest, but it is, I think, within our province to remember that a Map and a completion of the Memoirs of the East might be even more useful to them than the Map of the Western part, seeing that the Western part is on the whole at present not considered so adapted for settlement as are the provinces on the Eastern side of the Jordan.

Now there is one congratulation that I think ought to be made at this particular period of our progress, and that is, that whilst the Committee get some thanks—and the Executive Committee try to deserve some too—I think we ought all to thank our Secretary for the extraordinary attention he has given, and for the work that he has successfully accomplished (applause). It is only necessary to see him as we do in the Executive Committee to feel that this tribute will be cheerfully accorded to him by the Chairman and the Committee. (Hear, hear.)

It is a striking thought too that in this year, and in this Chamber—the Dean will correct me if I am wrong—the revision of the New Testament is in progress.

The DEAN of WESTMINSTER. It is completed.

MR. MACGREGOR. We have it from the chair that it is now completed. That is a remarkable addition to the wonders of this year. Now the map is published, and the revision is completed, the two will go hand-in-hand, and each will help the other. Combined they form a picture Bible—a correct picture Bible—and those who know how many picture Bibles there are that are full of mistakes, will be delighted to find that at any rate, as regards the map, it is as correct as it can possibly be made. An erroneous picture Bible is one of the worst things for children to use, and a correct map of Palestine must be one of the best things for students to be guided by. The work that has been done is commended on all sides, and we can only hope that our American friends will resume in some other shape what they have confessedly failed in doing at the present moment. This cannot be for want of will. When we think that the whole of Palestine that is now surveyed, is only the size of Wales, and that the whole of Jerusalem within the walls would go into Hyde Park; it is a wonderful thing if the two great nations of the world, receiving assistance, as they do, from Germany, Sweden, Norway, and other Protestant countries, cannot finish the work that has been so well begun.

There is one suggestion I would make, and it is only a suggestion. No doubt the Executive will consider it afterwards. I happened to be yesterday with the new Lord Mayor, asking from him the use of the Egyptian Hall, for a meeting on behalf of the monument to the Martyr Tyndale. Now it is a matter for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund to consider whether, having done a good deal among the *literati* and the universities, we should not also have a meeting in the city upon this subject under the presidency of his lordship—an earnest Christian man; and we should then be able to go to one of the most powerful communities and which is sometimes called the largest Protestant Church in the world—that is the Wesleyans—those in America being assimilated to, if not actually part of the same body as those who are in England. We may well hope that the Lord Mayor would be as kind in giving us the use of that place and his presidency, as he has been for the other great purpose I have named. I wish all success to the Fund. It is a great privilege to work with such kindly associates; we never have a quarrel, and our Chairman would keep us in order if we had. (Applause.)

MR. F. A. EATON. I am afraid, sir, the only excuse I can have for saying a few words, is that I am one of the very few persons who have had the good fortune to visit the countries east of the Jordan. It is now more than eighteen years ago. We were a party of seven, travelling along the beaten track in Western Palestine, when, thanks to a letter of

introduction which two of us had from you, Mr. Chairman, to the Protestant missionary at Nazareth, M. Zeller, our plans were suddenly changed, and under the guidance of that gentleman, we struck eastwards across the Jordan by the Jisr Mejámieh, traversed the Ghor to Pella; thence forded the Yarmuk, and ascended the hot springs of Amatha to Um Keis; rode along the well-wooded slopes of Jebel Ajloon (Gilead) and the fertile plains of Bashan and the Haurán to Mezarib, Derá, and Bozrah of Moab. Near Bozrah, our route lay through the other two subdivisions of the Haurán, the Jebel el Druze, or Ard el Bathanceeyeh, the land of Batanæa, and the el Lejah, the Hebrew Argob and Greek Trachonitis, to Damascus. We paid no backsheesh and we had no escort, but trusted to the hospitality of the Arab and Druse Sheikhs, with whom M. Zeller was well acquainted, and all of whom entertained us right royally. Though our journey was a hurried one and only lasted a fortnight, and though it took us through but a small portion of Eastern Palestine, it was quite enough to show us that though not so rich in Biblical associations as Western Palestine, Eastern Palestine was infinitely richer in archaeological remains. For one monument on the western side there are probably a hundred on the eastern; nor have they suffered so much at the hands of man. Neither the Crusaders, the Byzantine Greeks, nor the Arabs have played such havoc in the east as in the west. In the Haurán may still be seen those massive stone buildings, the materials of which, however comparatively modern their arrangement and decoration were, it may be reasonably presumed, chiselled in a far more remote antiquity. It is no uncommon thing to see these houses in a complete state of preservation built of huge blocks of black basalt with slabs of the same for the roof, 12 feet long,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, and  $\frac{1}{2}$  foot thick, and entrance doors also of basalt, hung on the ball and socket principle; great solid stones of the same material being used as lintels at the top and bottom. I remember seeing some folding-doors of this kind at Damá, in the centre of that wonderful island of rock, the Lejah, which were 10 or 12 feet high, and 8 or 9 inches thick, and which turned in their sockets with the greatest ease. It may, indeed, be said that inexhaustible possibilities await the explorer here; but time, great philological experience, an intimate acquaintance with Arabic dialects and with Hebrew, a trained and practised eye, and great care, are absolute essentials towards making a proper use of them.

If I am not detaining the meeting too long Mr. Dean, I should like to read a short extract or two from a letter I have just received from that eminent Semitic scholar, M. Clermont Ganneau. I have only had time to glance over it, but, with your permission, I will roughly give the meeting an idea of a few of the things he says:—

M. Ganneau is quite sure that all the countries on the East of the Jordan, if properly examined, have many surprises in store for the explorer, and that though we may not discover the iron bed of Og, King of Bashan, there is every hope of finding some basalt sarcophagus with a royal inscription like that of Eshmunazar in the Louvre. He lays great

stress on what he calls the onomastic traditions of biblical countries, and on the tendency of autochthonous tradition, a tendency very marked in all Semitic races, to think of and to consider as geographical entities those who were more or less connected with the history of the country. As for instance that the name of the modern *Belka* is the same as that of *Balak*, King of Moab; that *Shihân*, where M. de Vogüé found a magnificent bas-relief of a king, is the same word as *Sihon*, the King of the Amorites; the *Aujeh*, an affluent of the Jordan, as *Og* the King of Bashan; *Ajloon* as *Eylon*, King of Moab; the town of *Shobek* as *Shoback*, one of Hadarezer's generals; *Bela*, the old name of Zoar, as *Bela* (cf. *Balaam*), the son of Beor, King of Edom; while the name of *Lot* survives in *Kaum Loot*, the people of Lot, *Madueen Loot*, the Pentapolis, and *Bahr Loot*, the Dead Sea. M. Ganneau also connects the towns of Rabbath and Zoar or Segor with the two daughters of Lot; to use his own words, "la grande et la petite, l'ainée et la cadette, *Bekira* et *Seghira*, *Rabbetha* et *Seghërtha*," who according to the Judæo-Mussulman tradition gave their names to the two principal towns of Ammon and Moab. Another very important point to which M. Ganneau draws attention is the possibility of finding at Pella monuments relating to the very earliest Christian times. He also directs attention to the topographical value of the milestones which bordered the Trans-Jordanic Roman roads, and the necessity for carefully searching for them; one that he knows of near Ajloon bears a long inscription, with the name of the place and the distance in miles.

These are some of M. Ganneau's remarks, and they seem to me so valuable as showing what a rich store of interest awaits the proposed expedition, that I trust, sir, you and the meeting will pardon me for having so long detained you.

MR. DOUGLAS FRESHFIELD. Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: I have responded to your kind invitation to come here to-day and say a few words about your proposed exploration of the east side of the Jordan, with great pleasure, and the more so because for the last ten years I have had these few words more or less burning within me. It is quite ten years, I think, since Mr. Morrison asked me to come and speak at one of your annual meetings in Willis's Rooms. When I got there I was asked what I should talk about. I said "The east side of the Jordan." "Oh!" said the Society, "that will not do at all, because we have got something else on hand." Well, of course you were perfectly right to do what you had on hand, and to finish it in the way you have done; but I confess at the time I was disappointed, because it seemed to me you were putting off and handing over to the Americans what was the most important and likely to be the most useful part of all your work—the exploration of the country east of the Jordan. In saying this I should like to guard myself against being thought to slight in any way what has been done already. I think the map before us is one of the most admirable bits of private work I have ever seen, and I have used maps a good deal. I am quite sure, speaking as a member of the Council of the Geographical Society, that when we next award our



annual medals that map will be brought before us, and we shall carefully consider amongst others, the claims of its maker or makers to distinction. But, good as this work is, it seems to me that when you get across the Jordan your work will be still more valuable. What has been accomplished may be spoken of—roughly only of course—as a work of correction of previous authorities; but when you go to the other side your map will be a creation. The old maps of the eastern side are practically worthless, and this fact may be illustrated by what happened to myself. The first day we left Es Salt we tried to ride over the hills by Van de Velde's map as I had been accustomed to do in Western Palestine. We immediately lost our way and—the story has a double bearing—in doing so we came upon some ruins which I had never seen described before, and which I am not at all sure have been described since, and that is what you are constantly doing on the eastern side of Jordan. Then during the next two or three days we found rivers two or three miles out of their proper course, and villages on the wrong side of them—Roman roads not marked, or wrongly marked; in short we had the most convincing evidence of how much a good map was wanted.

As to archaeology it seems to me that there is scarcely any limit to the new knowledge that you may hope to collect by the identification of sites and the collection of inscriptions. When we get a complete set of photographs (those on the table already show how much may be done in that way) we shall be able to tell whether any remains of primitive architecture really exist under the accumulations of Roman and Arabic civilisations. We shall certainly be able to bring before the eyes of English people what has been partly brought before the French public by the Count de Vogüé's beautiful book—it has often been a source of wonder to me no translation of it has been published in this country—in which there is a picture of a Roman town in the early centuries of our era almost as perfect as you get from Pompeii. Moreover, I think you will find the work not very difficult to carry through. One advantage you will have. Suppose the tribes come up and the country is dangerous—though I do not assume this will happen, refuge may be taken in the hills of Jebel Haurân, which will afford, not only a place of retreat, but a sanatorium probably, at all seasons of the year perfectly healthy.

As to photography, I should like to add one remark. It seems to me extremely desirable that, if possible, one member of the expedition should be a good photographer. The other day we took steps at the Geographical Society which may result favourably in promoting that result. We referred it to one of our Committees to make arrangements by which intending travellers could be easily and cheaply instructed in London in photography. We should be very happy if one of the first instructed was a member of the Palestine Exploration Society. I will only add that the gist of what I have meant to say is this—that I think to stop now after your work would be a thousand pities—it would be like leaving off reaping in a field just when you have got to the very thickest part of the crop. (Applause.)

Colonel WARREN. Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen :—

The undoubted success attendant upon the sale of the new map, and the demand that has occurred, appears to justify the course which it is now proposed to pursue of extending our work to the other side of Jordan. As far as I am concerned myself, I should strongly have advocated the continuation of this work, even if we had not the prospect of such a success as it has been, because I think as our work is the elucidation of the Bible, there is no doubt that many persons would have made up any deficiency ; but when we find that the public is entirely satisfied with the work, and there is already by the sale of the maps a small profit being made which may be placed to the credit of further work, it is undoubtedly our duty to continue our labour to the end, and not to take our hand from the plough.

When we look at the map before us, we must acknowledge that it is a very beautiful specimen of work. We know that it is extremely accurate, and we must feel and acknowledge that it reflects the greatest credit upon Lieutenants Conder and Kitchener, the accomplished surveyors who have produced it ; and I am sure we must all hail with great gratification the prospect of Lieutenant Conder being employed on this work a second time. It is not only as a surveyor that Lieutenant Conder's services are so valuable ; he unites to his professional attainments a knowledge of the people ; he is intimately acquainted with their manners and customs ; he knows their country, and, last of all, he is a student of the Bible. He knows the nature of the information which is specially wanted, and he can make a shrewd guess as to where things are to be found. I feel assured myself that the success of the expedition will be attained by retaining the services of Lieutenant Conder if that can possibly be arranged. I do not wish to infer in any way that we ought not to throw upon our surveyors the duty of making identifications, etc. : for I think it is their business to collect all the information they can possibly find and bring it home, and let scholars in England form their own deductions. But there is no doubt it is of the greatest advantage to have in the person of the surveyor, an officer like Lieutenant Conder who knows a clue when he sees it, and can follow it up, and who is not likely to let slip any chance matter which may come before him which would lead to good results. When we look upon the east of the Jordan, we find a country there far different to that on the west for surveying purposes. It is not broken up in the same deep woods and valleys as that on the west. It is in a great measure a table-land elevated 3,000 feet above the Mediterranean, and is well watered and well wooded. It is, too, comparatively healthy ; and in fact, in the summer of 1868, I took my party over to the east side actually to the benefit of their health. I think on that account, the Survey on the east side will be found much more pleasant work, and the triangulation that has taken place on the western side will be found of very great service to those on the east, and there are parts where the ground is level, and a base of verification may be very accurately measured.

I do not know whether we are all agreed upon the point to which the

Chairman of the Executive Committee alluded with reference to bringing the party home every year; I must say that from a surveyor's point of view, I should rather feel inclined to keep the party out at least one year or eighteen months. I think after that time, some of the party may get jaded or ill, and it may be necessary to bring them home; but I think the surveyors themselves, after they have been out there the first six months, will feel inclined to go on with the work, and would probably rather not come back, because they would be just getting into the very thick of it, as it were, and probably it would be as well for them to go on with it.

The climate on the eastern side is not like that on the west. During some of the summer months over this plateau there is a cool wind blowing, and sometimes for eight or ten days together the country is comparatively mild, and not in any way so unhealthy as the cauldron of the Jordan, or the shore of the Mediterranean.

With regard to the population, some have stated that there is likely to be a difficulty with the Bedouins. For my part, I think the fact that in this country, there are simply Nomadic population, Druses, and Moslems, is a great advantage. On the western side in the villages, there are Mussulmen of different kinds, and Christians of several denominations, Jews, Druses, Maronites, etc., and these people are continually intriguing and stopping the surveyor in his work in one way or another; but on the eastern side there are simply the Bedouin who are not fanatical with regard to their religion, and who are very fond of the good word of an Englishman. They have many very good qualities, qualities which Englishmen regard, and I have no doubt that very little difficulty will be found with them.

Again, people are inclined to say that this is not the time to go on with the work on account of the political complications that are likely to ensue; but we may ask when were there not similar complications apparent upon the horizon?—when was not the political horizon lowering in this direction? and one is tempted to cite the old proverb—“He that observeth the wind shall not sow, and he that regardeth the clouds shall not reap.”

I can speak with regard to the numerous ruins which are on the eastern side, especially towards the country of Gilead. There, for many hundreds of years, hardly any change has taken place; in fact, scarcely any change, since many of these magnificent old temples were cast to the ground during the earthquakes previous to the Middle Ages. And we must not forget that many of these old temples, which date from the time of the Antonines, are made of old material; and there are architectural remains and mouldings which point to there having been a separate style of architecture in that country, previous to its occupation by the Romans. I feel certain myself, that when a systematic and prolonged search is made, some very remarkable results will be obtained. I think that the photographs which have been brought back, will in many cases show that there are some very ancient ruins—far more ancient than those of the Romans in that country, which are still to be brought to light; and my own impression also, is that among these splendid ruins about Mount

Nebo, and in the high places between Mount Nebo, and Rabath Amman inscriptions similar to that of the Moabite stone are likely to be found. It may be said, of course, that the finding of the Moabite stone was an accident; but we must acknowledge that one accident may lead to another accident: for instance, few can doubt that the recent discovery of that remarkable Phœnician inscription in the Pool of Siloam at Jerusalem, is due in a measure to the eyes of persons having been opened by the discovery of the Moabite stone.

I must congratulate the Committee upon the favourable circumstances under which it will now commence its third, or I may say, fourth expedition. Fourteen years ago, it was a society little known, and without money. Ten years ago it had become very well known, and had considerable credit; at the present time it is not only well known, and its reputation established, but it has a fixed income by subscriptions, which, if supplemented in a small degree—it only requires to be supplemented in a small way—will enable the Committee to carry out the work creditably to the reputation of the Society, and to the satisfaction of the public. (Applause.)

PROFESSOR HAYTER LEWIS. After what has been said by the different speakers of the architectural remains on the east side of the Jordan, and with the photographs about the room to give force to their remarks, I feel that there is really very little for me to add upon the subject. I will, however, call your attention to one or two points which have struck me very forcibly in considering what we should be likely to find on the east bank. There have been made quite recently one or two discoveries which may be regarded as remarkable. We knew of course from Irby and Mangles and others that scattered over the land, in different parts, there existed stone-monuments which you call prehistoric or unhistoric, according to the nomenclature you may prefer—but I think very few people indeed realized or knew much about them until the publication of Professor Palmer's and Canon Tristram's journeys. Few imagined that, scattered to a large extent through the land, were large monuments, stone circles, etc., just as one sees on the mountains of Wales and the hills of Scotland, the names and dates and everything connected with which are at present entirely unknown; and we may hope, after careful exploration (for I think few of them have been examined, and none of them have been carefully explored), to find some certain clue to the date, and the purpose for which these curious monuments were erected. The second surprise, I may say, to which I may allude in our time, was the exploration of the Hamrân, described in that wonderful book of De Vogüé's to which Mr. Douglas Freshfield has alluded, and which can scarcely be praised too much. So far as it goes it is perfect. But it does not cover, or anything like, the ground we hope to cover, and I have no doubt whatever, that we shall find when the ground comes to be explored, remains which will amply repay in an archæological point of view, the cost, the time and trouble of exploration.

I do not say that it was a discovery, because of course we knew from Burckhardt, who was I think, the first who went there ; and likewise from Cyril Graham and others, that these remains did exist, but it was an exceedingly cloudy sort of view that we had of them. Dr. Porter describes these cities, and many considered that we had in them the actual cities of Bashan ; we now know them to date very shortly after the Christian era. A remarkable series of monuments, of which I say we had simply the most imperfect description in Burckhardt's and other works, have been brought to light. The stone doors have been alluded to by Mr. Eaton, but I think very few persons know that we have one of them in the British Museum. I have been to the Museum over and over again with persons of scientific and archaeological knowledge, but I never yet met with any one who had seen it. It is just at the entrance of the Egyptian room, and affords a specimen of the curious work which Mr. Eaton has mentioned.

Then a real discovery in our time, and one of the most valuable kind, was that made by Dr. Tristram in the palace of Chosroes at Mashita. It reveals to us a new style of work. It shows that in a desert—or at least in a place that no one seems to have visited before—we have one of the most magnificent remains of the particular time of Chosroes.

Now these few works that I mention give a sort of insight, I think, as to what we may expect to find when the country is carefully surveyed. At the present moment, to begin with, we have no remains, so far as I am aware, that you can call Phœnician architecture. That it was grand we may suppose from the description in the Bible of the work of the architect sent by the Phœnicians to do Solomon's work ; but except from the sarcophagi I think we are almost thoroughly ignorant of it. I have seen what there are of remains in the museum at Algiers. Of course there is to be seen at that museum a very large collection of Phœnician remains ; but all may be summed up in one line—a few inscriptions. There is nothing whatever beyond that. There is scarcely an architectural fragment ; in fact, I think I may say that there is not one. At Carthage, I believe it is the same. But one must certainly hope very strongly that if we begin to excavate under these buried cities we may find some clue to what was the character of the ancient architecture of the Phœnicians ; and more than that, I do hope that we may discover some clue likewise to what was, I will not say the architecture of the Jews, but the style of work which was practised by them. At present we know scarcely anything. Even the outline and the decoration of these two grand pillars which are described so often as being at the entrance of the Temple are simply matters of guess, and it is just possible that we may find in some of the *bas-reliefs* something which will help us to explain the most interesting problem about the Temple. I need scarcely remind any one here of the finding, as I may call it, of the seven-branched candlestick on the Arch of Titus. We all know how many drawings and restorations have been made of that seven-branched candlestick, and how entirely the whole were found to be incorrect when some genius suggested that we might on the Arch of Titus

find a correct representation. This was found, and we know it perfectly agrees with all the descriptions in the Bible, and it does not agree, so far as I am aware, with any representation which had been formed by guess.

I will not detain you any further ; there are other gentlemen who wish to address you, and who will speak with greater knowledge of the country than I can.

Rev. Dr. GINSBURG. Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: It is with peculiar pleasure that I hear from such an authority as Mr. Glaisher and from others that we are seriously intending to explore the eastern side of Palestine. I was in that country, as probably some of you know, about six years ago. My experience there was not of the best kind. Probably we ought to thank ourselves for much of the inconvenience which we suffered from.

I have not the slightest doubt that remains are to be found in Moab, and in the whole region round about there, which will illustrate, not only the geographical and the narrative, but especially the linguistic part of the Bible. I have read some of the inscriptions that have been found. I must say that no inscription has ever been discovered which is of such extraordinary importance to the elucidation of the language of the Old Testament as the Moabite stone. For myself, I am convinced that the nation which dwelt in the place where such a stone has been found, must have been in the habit of erecting such stones to commemorate events ; that the erection of such a stone could not have been an isolated example, but that it must have been a regular custom among the people to erect such stones ; and therefore, though it was simply by an accident that this stone was discovered, there can hardly be any doubt that if travellers could sojourn in the place quietly, and live with the Arabs as the Arabs live, and not by their costly style of living, arouse the cupidity of the Arabs for baksheesh or the price of redemption (which was what they expected from us and was the reason why they took us captives) many valuable discoveries might be made. I met the late lamented Mr. Drake and others of this Palestine Exploration Fund, living like Arabs—simply, unpretentiously—and I believe if the same thing is done on the eastern side of the Dead Sea it will be quite as successful generally, and far more successful from a topographical point of view, and from a linguistic point of view, than on the western side. The Moabite stone more nearly approaches to biblical language, than anything I have ever seen. I speak with all humility when I say that any one who knows Hebrew would be able to read the inscription upon the Moabite stone, without the aid of a dictionary even. This is the first time we have ever discovered anything in the work of a kindred nation which comes so near the language of the Old Testament as the language of the Moabite stone. It will prove of the greatest service to biblical students, and to those who write on grammar and lexicography. Many terms which have come down to us as later Hebrew terms have now been established beyond doubt from the Moabite stone as belonging to an earlier period of the Hebrew language, and of biblical language ; and a great deal might be done in that way if the Society would only at the

same time take the hint which the Professor opposite me has given to examine into things that exist in museums in Europe. If this Fund were to make it a branch of its work to employ its members, or to ask its friends to look after these things, we should find that discoveries have been made entirely within our reach illustrative of Palestine. Only a few days ago a gentleman engaged in the British Museum, taking casts of coins, brought to me a coin which has been in the Museum for years, and which, if the Palestine Exploration Fund had known of it, would no doubt have sent some of its accomplished members to examine; and on this coin—I submit it to you, Mr. Chairman—we have, as far as I can decipher, Jehu in his carriage. There he is, and the name Jehu in the old Hebrew characters exactly resembling the letters on the Moabite stone, only in fact more perfectly written. You will find Jehu consisting of three letters. On the right-hand side is *Yod* and *He*, and on the left-hand side of the figure is the vowel *Vau*, making Jehu. Then you have the chariot; and I have the authority of the gentleman at the head of the numismatic department of the British Museum for saying that is the only winged chariot that has ever been discovered on any coin. Putting the date at the very latest, the period of this coin would be about 400 years before Christ. Now if we were to work on the spot carefully, and if the gentlemen who go there were to put themselves on friendly terms with the Arabs and the Bedouins, who knows how many coins of that or a similar description might be found, for it is well known that the Arabian and the Bedouin ladies wear their coins round their heads as ornaments; and thus a whole vocabulary, and a whole list of biblical names might be discovered.

Professor Lewis has spoken of the want of knowledge on our part of Phœnician architecture. Here you have a specimen of Phœnician coinage, as I suppose it must be taken to be. The gentlemen at the British Museum think the coin must come from Gaza, and here you have a specimen of the way in which they have struck their coinage. The coin itself, as seen in the British Museum, is one of the best things of that period. How many such things await discovery in the unexplored and beautiful country which is to be the scene of the future labours of the Society! The ravines are, it is true, very rough, but it does not take very long to get from the ravine to the top of the hill; and, though you may in the ravine, experience a tropical climate, the moment you get on the hill, after three or four hours' climb, you are in a cold climate, where you can sojourn for the night, and be recruited for the work of the following day.

I therefore rejoice most heartily to hear that the Society has at last determined to go to work on the eastern side of the Dead Sea, and I have no doubt that the Society will stick to its resolution, and will manifest its determination and its zeal in a similar way to that manifested by the Society in exploring the western side of Palestine; and I have no doubt that those of you who can advocate the cause of this Society in its exploration of the eastern side of the Dead Sea, will only too gladly help in that

way, and in other ways seek to bring about the accomplishment of this great work.

Professor E. H. PALMER. Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen: Much has been said by the previous speakers as to the important discoveries that we are likely to make on the eastern side of the Jordan in archaeology, topography, and inscriptions, and with this I fully agree; but I should like to call your attention to possible discoveries which may be made in other directions—I mean in those of ethnology and philology generally, but especially as elucidating the Bible. During my own short sojourn Moab, I came across several very remarkable things. For instance, one of our own camel men bore the odd name of Fa'ūr, a name that does not exist in Arabic, that certainly is not Mahomedan, but is really letter for letter identical with the name of the old Moabite idol, Baalpeor. Again, I constantly heard from the Arabs the word Háreth, which means in ordinary Arabic, a ploughman, but which in Moab is always applied to the hills upon which most of the Moabite towns are built. In the Bible, we find the capital of Moab called Kir-Hareseth. Hareth in Arabic, and Haresb in Hebrew, are identical in orthography. I believe I am right in saying that the name Hareseth somewhat puzzled the commentators, but if it were real according to the local meaning of the word—the city of the hill, *par excellence*, we see at once the reason for its appellation, and we also find the curious fact of a local Moabite word existing in the colloquial discourse of the Arabs of the present day.

Another curious thing I found there, and which I have mentioned in my account of the country there—the so-called statue of Lot's wife, a curious rock by the shore of the Dead Sea, bearing, when seen from the distance, a curious resemblance to an Arab woman. This is called by the natives Bint Sheikh Lât—the daughter of Sheikh Lot—and it is a curious fact that in Moab the word Bint, which properly means daughter, is by the Arabs of the present day, nearly always applied to a wife. I do not lay much stress upon that, but it affords a significant comment upon the well-known story in the Bible of Lot.

Another thing is, that amongst the Arabs, those who have undoubtedly lived in the country for long generations, we find many names illustrating the old scripture records; as for instance, in Judges we find that two princes were slain, Oreb and Zeeb. In that very country to the present day, the ruling family of the sheikhs of the Adwan, the elder branch is called Deab, which is exactly the same as the Hebrew name in spelling, and means also “wolves.” The other name Oreb in Arabic, Ghoráb, is likewise a common Arab tribal name. So I think we may hope to find even among these tribes many things which will shed light upon the scripture history.

What M. Ganneau has mentioned about the connection between names of places and biblical historical characters also struck me in many instances. I only at this moment remember one—the ruined city of Shihan bearing the same name virtually, as Sihon the King of Moab. I



hope that when the expedition is sent to these parts its work will not be confined merely to the study of the Jordan district but that the survey may be carried further southward—on the Eastern side of Arabia, where so much that is of intense interest lies, and where so many discoveries may, it is to be hoped, be made. Poor Drake and I, when we went through Petraea and worked our way up to Moab that way, came across more than one queer old town cut in the rocks—smaller examples like the large rock-cut city Petra—the Sela of the Bible—the city of the rock. There also in the neighbourhood of Petra lived a tribe of Arabs, or of fellaheen—half Arab, half fellaheen, who are called the *Liyd theneh*. Their lineaments, their habits, everything about them shows that far from being of the same stock as the other Arabs, by whom they are surrounded, they are nothing more or less than of Hebrew descent—in all probability a remnant of one of those numerous Hebrew tribes, who, after the dispersion of the Jews which followed the Roman conquest, fled into Arabia, and who played so important a part in the early history of Islam. To move among these people, to get from them their folk-lore, their language, and their idioms, could not fail to throw very great light both upon the language and the manners of the Bible. In the whole of the Eastern side of the Jordan, as Professor Lewis has remarked, we may hope to discover more of those wonderful Persian ruins of which *Mashita* is a specimen; and I may just note in connection with this subject, that the Arab histories tell us very explicitly that the great palaces of Chosroes on that side of the Jordan were robbed to build the new city of Bagdad; and I think it would be at least interesting if some of the travellers who go that way were asked to look amongst some of the ruins of the old Kaliphs' palaces to see if there might not be something that may have come from the other side of Jordan, and which may contain not merely relics of Persian civilization, but older material—Phœnician and Moabitic work which had been worked up by the Persians, and afterwards stolen and carried off to Bagdad. I will not detain you longer than to say that I think an expedition to that part of the Jordan cannot fail to be attended with the very greatest success so far as discoveries go, in topography, architecture, archæology, and in philology. As for the difficulty of dealing with the natives, I do not for my own part believe that there exists any at all. I found them perfectly easy to manage when I was there—much more easy to deal with, in fact, than the fellaheen in the villages on the other side. The Arabs have some peculiar customs; for instance, what they call the *blood-fend*, and the making a man *dakheel*, that is to say getting from some one a guarantee of your safety which he must answer for with his own blood; and if the traveller does but learn these few things, and deal with the Arabs as they deal with each other, he may go from one end of Arabia to another without running the smallest risk of any personal harm; and as for robbery and extortion he need fear very little of that, if, as has been suggested by Dr. Ginsburgh, he only has the good sense not to parade his riches, but goes about in a simple manner. I think that there would be no difficulty whatever in travelling in the country.

I can quite endorse all that has been said about the healthiness of the place, for I found it was quite possible to get from a very hot valley up into a mountain, and be snowed up there for a fortnight ; and surely where one can count upon that elevation, and generally upon some snow, at any rate in winter, one need have very little fear of fever. There is nothing then, either in the country itself, or in the character of the natives, to throw difficulties in the way of the expedition, while the results may, I think, be expected to be even greater than on the other side—greater especially because as the country has remained comparatively deserted for so long, and has had, comparatively speaking, so few inroads and incursions from other nations that it has remained longer *in statu quo* than the country on the other side, where a continuous population has always lived, and where there have been so many immigrations and incursions and journeys of people, that Western Palestine was, for so many centuries, the highway between the East and the West.

Lieutenant CONDER. Mr. President and Gentlemen : I feel that after so many distinguished gentlemen have spoken, that I have very little to say, especially as I have not been over the Jordan ; but I think perhaps a few words as to the method upon which the survey might be carried out may be of interest. But first I should like to thank the Chairman of the Executive Committee and the other gentlemen who have spoken, for the very kind way in which they have spoken of my work, and for the appreciation which they have shown of the Map of Palestine. I thank them, but I cannot say that I altogether agree with them. I have very good reason to know that the Map of Palestine is a work that is far from complete. We know that there are many defects in the map from the top to the bottom, and I feel that if I were called upon to write a critique on my work I could write a very scathing one ; but at the same time I think that I am right in saying that each and all my companions, including Mr. Drake—whose death we so greatly deplore—Lieutenant Kitchener, Sergeant Black, Sergeant Armstrong, as I know from personal experience, did his work thoroughly conscientiously, striving night and day and at all times to overcome the difficulties of the task, and that it was not for want of good-will and earnest endeavour on our part that the map remains in some particulars deficient. And this, I think, I may safely say with regard to the Map of Western Palestine, that although others may add to it, they will find very little that they will feel called upon to alter. Our object all through was not so much to be absolutely exhaustive, which would have been impossible, as it was to ensure that what we did put down was founded upon thoroughly good authority. The difficulties that we had to encounter I need hardly detail to the explorers who are present, who know thoroughly well that theoretical expectations at home are not always borne out by practical experience abroad, and who also know that what appears so hopeful and easy before one goes out is found to be surrounded with every sort of difficulty when one is on the spot. There are difficulties from the climate, difficulties from the suspicions of the

people, difficulties with the transport, and difficulties at almost every step you take. We had in the first instance, to overcome our own ignorance of the subject, and secondly, we had to overcome the suspicions of the natives and to make allowance for their extremely untruthful habits. Even in England we know that the Ordnance Survey encountered the greatest difficulty in settling the nomenclature of the maps in a satisfactory manner, and with these additional difficulties we found it one of the hardest of all the Survey tasks to procure names accurately. For that reason it was made a rule that, however tempting a name might be, it was not to be accepted unless it was proved by the concurrent testimony of more than one person; and I think we may say that we had the most satisfactory instance of the nature of the nomenclature in the case of Adullam. M. Clermont Gameau, whose discoveries are very well known to you all—who has shown a greater aptitude for the recovery of ancient sites than anybody else, and whose identifications are probably sounder than those of any one who has been in the country since Robinson discovered the site of Adullam and recognised it under the name of 'Aid el Mâ. He gave me that information; and when the tracing of that part came in I listened with great interest to hear whether the name 'Aid el Mâ would turn up. I found that my sergeant had discovered the name on the place indicated, and I went to the place the next day, and I met a group of Mussulmen there; they refused to tell me the name; they told me we knew the name better than they did. After this party were gone we came across the shepherds, who were really the best authorities upon the point, and from whom I again obtained the name. In that case the men who had discovered the name did not know that I knew it; and yet that name was satisfactorily recovered; and I think we may say of the majority of important sites, that we obtained the real ancient names which are testified to by more than one person. There is no doubt that we learned a great many lessons in working out the Survey of Western Palestine. We learned the ways of the people, and even in the technical work we learned one or two points; and I hope, if the Survey of Eastern Palestine is accomplished by the party of explorers whom I had the honour of leading, it would probably be more satisfactory as a whole, than the Survey of the West. With regard to the difficulties of the country, and of the nationalities to the east of the Jordan, I think it was Mr. Freshfield who intimated that we should find the Druses very intelligent allies; and we should in the south be able to obtain the assistance of the Adwân Tribe, who are accustomed to Europeans, and who are one of the dominant tribes in the district of Moab. The only country I have not a clear idea about is Mount Gilead, but that is a comparatively small district, and I think there would be very little difficulty in dealing with either of those three great districts which comprise the survey which it is proposed to take. Most of the gentlemen who have spoken hitherto appear to have confined themselves to the consideration of the scientific part of the work. Perhaps I might be allowed to say that it appears to me that the scientific

side of the work is not that which has obtained the support which the Palestine Exploration Society have gained from the public. The reason why the public have supported the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund appears to me to be the illustration of the Bible. We know that the study of the topography of the country, of its natural products, and indeed the study of Palestine generally, has led to very important illustration of the Bible, and I have no doubt from what I have seen that the feeling on the part of the public that this is the work of the Fund is the reason of the great interest which has been excited; and it is perhaps because it is supposed that on the Eastern side of the Jordan there is less biblical interest, that more importance has been attached to the scientific side of the work. But we must remember that, although only one-fifth of biblical names are associated with places on the East side as compared with the West, yet that the majority of those names on the East are those of unknown sites. Those in the West belonged often to sites that were known before the work commenced, and for that reason there is, I believe, a greater field for identification on the East than on the West. Then too, some of the most interesting and romantic episodes of the Old Testament are connected with the East. We have the pursuit of Gideon to Karkor; we have the retreat of David to Mahanaim; we have the wood of Ephraim, where Absalom was killed; we have perhaps half-a-dozen of these histories which are full of topography, and which require elucidation to a very great extent. We have to find the site of Mahanaim; we have to find the site of Ashtaroth Karnaim where the great temple of the two-horned Astarte was situated; we have to find the site, or at all events verify the position of the site of Succoth where Jacob crossed; we have to find the site of Jegar Sahaduta where his monument was placed, and the memory of which was kept alive in the City of Ramoth. In addition to this, the Eastern portion is very interesting from the New Testament point of view. We may say that Galilee is the land of the New Testament, but we must remember that on the Eastern side is the country of the Gadarenes, and so many places that are connected with the history of Our Lord, and we may say that the Map of Palestine cannot be considered perfect until at all events the Eastern shores of the Sea of Galilee have been laid down. Although we may not all have the enthusiasm of M. Ganneau, for which he has ample justification in the work he has done, we may expect that some relics of very early Ebionite Christianity may be discovered in the district of Bashan and on the Eastern shores of the Sea of Galilee and as far down as Pella.

With regard also to the recovery of monuments similar to the Moabite stone, I should like to remark that when I was in Jerusalem, in 1874, the American Consul-General there, who had recently taken a journey through Moab, informed me that he had seen inscribed stones similar to the Moabite stone among the ruins of some of the Moabite cities, so that there is a reason, at all events, to take very great care in exploration in the district surrounding Hesban.

The DEAN of WESTMINSTER. After the very interesting speeches we

have heard, I am unwilling to occupy your time any longer. I have only to say that when the Palestine Exploration Fund was first set on foot by my friend Mr. Grove, though I sympathised heartily with the proposal, I felt what Mr. Freshfield has expressed as his feeling also, that the point at which every effort ought to be directed, was the exploration of Eastern Palestine. Beautiful as that map of Western Palestine is, and great as has been the light which has been cast by the explorations, that light is as nothing compared with the light that can be thrown upon the eastern district of Palestine. Of all the features of interest that struck me when I first went to Palestine—a feature altogether undescribed, and of which I had not the least idea till I went there, of which no book of travel had given the slightest information—was the constant view of the mountains of Moab, and the great wall of the east of Jordan. Wherever we went, that wall, rising up from the purple chasm which separated us from it, was a beautiful source of mystery and of tantalization, filling us with a sense of ignorance, and with a desire to know what there was beyond it. I feel pleased and delighted beyond measure that that desire is now about to be satisfied. True, there are not nearly so many interesting places; but still there are very many. Once before I mentioned a place, and I think Lieutenant Conder has mentioned it—which I would go any distance to see, and that is the Mahanaim.

I think I need hardly say anything more. Everything has been discussed from so many points of view that there is nothing further to be said. I am sure the Archbishop of York, who is recruiting his health elsewhere, will be very glad to hear of this successful meeting, and I am very glad to have been able to take his place.

There is one remark I should like to make about the photographs. All the photographs of Palestine should be invariably photographs of buildings and of ruins; photographs of landscapes appear to me always nearly worthless. I beg Lieutenant Conder if he has any influence over the photographer who is with him, to induce him to spend all his efforts upon the buildings, and none upon landscape.

The Dean then put the following resolution: "It is now desirable to take without delay the Survey of Eastern Palestine under conditions similar to those which proved to have been successful in the case of Western Palestine."

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

Mr. MAUDSLAY. I must be excused if I ask one word, and that is how we stand with reference to the exploration of the eastern side of the Jordan with regard to the Americans, and the nature of the arrangements by which it is proposed we should carry out what they had undertaken. The public may possibly be under the impression that the Americans have surveyed the country, and I think a few words should be said in this room in explanation as to the character in which we go to the East of the Jordan. Perhaps Mr. Glaisher will clear up this point.

Mr. GLAISHER. As Mr. Maudslay says, an arrangement was made that the Americans were to take the eastern side, and we the western side, but

they have not surveyed the country ; the result of their reconnaissances is in fact, this map which I hold in my hand ; and it is now distinctly understood by them that we are to take up the real survey. Colonel Warren made some reference to the money that we should want, and as I am on my feet, perhaps it would be well that I should state that we are entirely out of debt, and we have at the bankers' more than a thousand pounds. One other remark. We have heard read portions of an interesting letter of Mons. Ganneau. Though it is not quite arranged at present, we hope that Mons. Ganneau will become our monthly correspondent in Palestine ; and if he discovers anything there, we have a great hope that we shall soon know the result of his labours.

Rev. F. W. HOLLAND. I have great pleasure in rising to propose a vote of thanks to the Dean of Westminster for kindly presiding upon this occasion, also for allowing us the use of this room. We have very often had to thank the Dean for his kind assistance at our meetings, and in other ways ; and I can only express the hope that he will feel rewarded to-day by the character of this meeting, and that we shall bring our work to a happy conclusion.

Mr. GLAISHER. It is my pleasing duty to second that. Ten years ago, in this room, the Dean was here ; the Archbishop was in the chair ; and to see the Dean still taking that same lively interest in Palestine that he expressed then, is a great pleasure, and you may readily know how gratified I feel at performing the duty of seconding this motion.

The DEAN of WESTMINSTER. I accept your resolution with thanks, and re-echo your wish for the success of the undertaking.

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The following is the Pamphlet referred to by Mr. Glaisher (p. 6). It is the Prospectus of the—

## NEW SURVEY OF EASTERN PALESTINE.

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THE following objects were proposed in the original prospectus of the Palestine Exploration Fund, issued in 1865 :—

- “1. *Archæology*.—To search *below the surface* in Jerusalem ; to examine the mounds and ruins which lie scattered over the whole country, and to gather from them the buried secrets which may help us better to understand the Sacred History.
- “2. *Topography*.—To complete the survey of Palestine, of which the coast-line is already accurately mapped in the Admiralty charts.
- “3. *Geology*.—Of which we still remain in comparative ignorance.

- “4. *Natural Sciences.*—*Botany, Zoology, Meteorology.*—These are at present but very imperfectly known, while the recent investigations of Mr. Tristram, limited as they necessarily were, show that researches are likely to furnish results of no common scientific interest.
- “5. *Manners and Customs.*—To do for the Holy Land what Mr. Lane’s ‘Modern Egyptians’ has done for Egypt—describe in a systematic and exhaustive order, with clear and exact minuteness, the manners, habits, rites, and language of the present inhabitants, with engravings intended, like his, ‘not to embellish the pages, but to explain the text.’”

On the conclusion of their excavations at Jerusalem, in the year 1870, the Committee undertook the Survey of Western Palestine, a great work in which they have been occupied without interruption for nine years. Survey of Western Palestine.

This part of the Survey is now happily completed and the Great Map in 26 sheets is already in the hands of subscribers, while the volumes of the memoirs and the reduced maps are well advanced and will very shortly be issued.

These memoirs, as has been already set forth in the *Quarterly Statement*, comprise not only a detailed description of the country, with its ruins, villages, mountains, streams, etc., by the officers in charge of the Expedition; but also separate papers and essays by Colonels Wilson and Warren, Canon Tristram, Mr. Glaisher, Prof. Palmer, Mr. Trelawney Saunders, and others. One of the three reduced maps will show the position of the places mentioned in the Old Testament; the second will give those of the New, the third will be a modern map. The Memoirs.  
The Reduced Maps.

The large scale map is generally acknowledged to be the greatest contribution rendered to the study of the Bible since its translation into English: while the accuracy of the information obtained and the short space of time taken to complete and produce it compare favourably with any Government survey. The value of the work is highly appreciated by foreign as well as by English scholars; one of the most venerable of English theologians writes to say that he thanks God that he has lived to see it completed. The Great Map.

This map contains the whole of Western Palestine, having for its eastern boundary the River Jordan and the Dead Sea.

But Eastern Palestine has yet to be surveyed.

The present condition of our knowledge of this great district resembles very much that of Western Palestine when the Survey was first com- Eastern Palestine.

menced. The country has been visited by many travellers, who have described its general features and many of its ruined cities. Among these travellers may be mentioned Burekhardt, Seetzen, Wetzstein, Irby and Mangles, Lord Lindsay, De Vogüé, Waddington, De Luynes, Porter, Costigan, Lynch, Molyneux, Robinson, Cyril Graham, Thomson, Tipping, Tristram, MacGregor, Eaton, Zeller, Wilson and Anderson, Warren, Burton, Drake, Palmer, Socin, Steever, Merrill, Klein, Freshfield and Oliphant.

Our own expeditions under Lieut. Warren and those of the American Exploration Society east of Jordan have made reconnaissances which will facilitate the work now proposed.

The country to be surveyed comprises the following districts or provinces :—

I. Bashan, the "level" land, which extends from the southern slopes of Mount Hermon to Gilead on the south, the southern frontier being the River Hieromax, now called the Nabr Yarmûk or the Sherîat el Mandhâr. Bashan is subdivided into :—

- a.* Jetur (Ituraa), now called Jedur, of which Philip was tetrarch (Luke iii, 1) named after Jetur, the son of Ishmael (Gen. xxv, 15, 16). It was conquered by the Manassites (1 Chron. v, 18-23), who lived there until the Captivity. This country contains the southern and eastern slopes of Hermon and the table-land eastward.
- b.* The district named after the city of Golan (Golanitis) now called Jalân. This is a table-land rising by terraces from the Jordan Valley. The city (Josh. xx, 8), which gave a name to the district, has yet to be identified. Dr. Porter says that there are a hundred and twenty-seven ruined towns in it, among them the ancient towns of Aphek, Gergesa, Bethsaida, Hippos, Gamala and Ashtaroth.
- c.* The Hauran (Auranitis), a level land, with the ruins of 150 towns, the buildings of which are still remaining in good preservation, many of them with roofs, doors, and window shutters, all of stone and still in their places. A vast number of Greek and Roman inscriptions have been collected in this district. Those found by MM. de Vogüé and Waddington have been published in de Vogüé's magnificent work on the architecture and archaeology of Central Syria.
- d.* The Argob or Trachonitis, now called el Lejah, the "place of refuge," which is, correctly, a part of the Hauran. This formed part of



the kingdom of Og (Deut. iii, 4, 5), when it held threescore cities "fenced with high walls." Remains of more than sixty cities have been found here, but it has been but little visited of late, and never completely explored.

- e. East of the Hauran is the district of Batanea containing the Hill of Bashan. This country is that of the Maachathites (Deut. iii, 14; Josh. xii, 5; 2 Sam. x, 6; 1 Chron. xix, 7).

II. The land of Gilead, including territory allotted to the tribes of Reuben, Gad, and part of Manasseh, extending southwards as far as the river Arnon. Of this country Canon Tristram writes ("Bible Places," p. 322)—

Land of Gilead.

"The name of Gilead is still preserved in Jebel Jilad, little south of the Jabbok, one of the highest points of the mountain range which rises near 4,000 feet from the Valley of the Jordan beneath it. In all Gilead, whether forest, prairie, or valley, there is a wild grandeur, unequalled in any other part of Palestine. Rising abruptly from the Jordan Valley, its western bluffs are deeply furrowed by the many streams which drain the mountain sides.

"The traveller rides up and down deep concealed glens: sometimes by a track meandering along the banks of a brook, with a dense fringe of oleanders, 'willows by the water-courses,' shading it from the sun and preventing summer evaporation, while they waste their perfume on the desert air without a human inhabitant near. Lovely knolls and dells open out at every turn, gently rising to the wooded plateau above. Then we rise to higher ground and ride through noble forests of oak. Then for a mile or two through luxuriant green corn, or perhaps through a rich forest of scattered olive-trees, left untended and uncared for, with perhaps patches of corn in the open glades.

"No one can fairly judge of Israel's heritage who has not seen the luxuriant exuberance of Gilead, as well as the hard rocks of Judæa, which only yield *their* abundance to reward constant toil and care. To compare the two is to contrast nakedness and luxuriance. Yet the present state of Gilead is just what Western Palestine was in the days of Abraham. Subsequently the Canaanites must have extensively cleared it, even before the conquest, and while the slopes and terraces were clad with olive-groves, the amount of rainfall was not affected. The terraces have crumbled away; wars and neglect have destroyed the groves, until it would be difficult to find any two neighbouring districts more strangely contrasted than the east and west of Jordan. But this is simply caused by the greater amount of rainfall on the east side, attracted by the forests, which have perished off the opposite hills. The area of drainage is about the same on each side. The ravines and wadys are numerous; but few of the streams are perennial on the west—all are so on the east. Every stream draining from Moab and Gilead is filled with fishes and fresh-water shells. I never found living fresh-water shells but in two streams on the west side."

III. Moab, whose principal cities are Dibon (where the Moabite stone was found), Rabbath Moab, and Kir Haraseth.

"The whole of the country is a table-land, with the ridge nearly 3,000 feet above the sea, and therefore more than 4,000 above the Dead Sea, from which it rises precipitously by a series of terraces so narrow and broken that passage is impossible; and then from the crest, scarcely more than from two to four miles retired from the sea, it gently slopes into the vast Belka, or "plain country," and the boundless wilderness beyond. It is deeply ploughed and samed to its very centre by the stupendous ravines of the *Callirrhoe* (Zerka Ma'in) and the *Arnon* (Mojib), besides minor wadys."—Tristram's "Bible Places," p. 345.

The survey of this country will be conducted on the same system as that of Western Palestine; that is to say, the officer in command will be instructed:—

1. To produce an accurate map on a scale of one inch to a mile.
2. To draw special plans of important localities, and ruined cities.
3. To make drawings or take photographs of buildings, sites, tombs, etc.
4. To collect all the names to be found.
5. To collect geological specimens, antiquities, etc.
6. To make casts, squeezes, photographs, and copies of inscriptions.
7. To collect legends, traditions, and folk-lore.
8. To observe and record manners and customs.
9. To excavate if time and opportunity permit.

Where assistance is required in any of the above divisions it will be given, as in the "Survey of Western Palestine," by gentlemen who have made those subjects their special study.

The following are some of the Biblical events connected with this part of the country:—

The battles of the "four kings against five" (Gen. xiv, 1-12); the destruction of the Cities of the Plain; the meeting of Jacob and Laban; that of Jacob and Esau; Jacob's vision at Mahanaim; the wrestling at Penuel; the conquest of Sihon by Moses; the battle of Edrei; the "Pisgah View;" the death and burial of Moses; the story of Balak and Balaam; the division of the land among the two and a-half tribes; the establishment of the three Levitical cities; the wars of the Manassites and Gadites with the Hagarites; the pursuit of Gideon; the revolt and victories of Jephthah; the wars of David against Ammon; the flight of Sau's sons, and that of David; the campaigns of Ahab and his son Joram with their allies, Jehoshaphat and Ahaziah; the wars with Moab; the birth of Elijah; the invasion of Tiglath Pilezar and of Hazael, and the captivity of the tribes.

Here is the River Arnon, the boundary between Moab and the Amorites, on whose banks stood Aroer, and the mysterious city "in the midst of the river." Here are Heshbon the capital of Sihon not far from Jahaz, where that king met with his overthrow; Rabbath Ammon, the one city belonging to the Ammonites, besieged by Joab, and taken by David; Ramoth Gilead, which played so great a part in the wars between the Syrians and the kingdom of Judah; Gadara, whose modern inhabitants, like the demoniacs of the miracle which associates the city with the New Testament, dwell in the ancient tombs; Bethsaida Julias, the scene of the miracle of Mark vi, 31-53; Cesarea Philippi, the northernmost point of our Lord's wanderings, where Herod built his temple of white marble; Damascus, with the rivers Pharpar and Abana; the Bozrah of Jerem. xlviii, 24; the river Jabbok, where Esau and Jacob met, the boundary of the Ammonites; Machærus, where John the Baptist was beheaded; Callirrhoe, whither Herod the Great repaired in hopes of recovery from his disease. On this side are also the great palace of Hyrcanus (Arakel Emir); the unfinished palace of Chosroes the Second (Mashita); the fortress of Kerak, where Mesha sacrificed his son; and Dibon where the Moabite stone was found. We must not forget, also, that it was on this side that the Christian Church found a refuge during the troubled times of the siege by Titus.

The Committee invite a comparison of the three following maps. The first shows a piece of Western Palestine before the survey; the second, the same piece after the survey; the third, a piece of Eastern Palestine as it can now be mapped. The last mentioned portion selected for illustration is not exceptionally unknown; it is a piece of the country adjoining the Sea of Galilee.

Comparative  
Maps.

The following are the places mentioned in the Bible east of Jordan most of which require to be identified:—

Abana river.	Baal Meon.	Betonim.
Abarim.	Baalgad.	Bosor.
Abel Ceranim.	Bajith.	Bozrah.
Abel Mizraim.	Bascama.	Bozrah of Edom.
Abel Shittim.	Beon.	Camon.
Almon Diblathaim.	Beth Baal Meon.	Casphon.
Aphek.	Beth Diblathaim.	Damascus.
Ar Moab.	Beth Gamul.	Dametha.
Arnon river.	Beth Haran.	Dibon.
Aroer.	Beth Jeshimoth.	Dimon.
Ashtaroth.	Beth Nimrah.	Edrei.
Ashtaroth Karnaim.	Beth Rehob.	Elealah.
Ataroth.	Bezer in the Wilder- ness.	En Eglaim.
Avith.		Gadara.

Galeed.	Lasha.	Rabbah.
Geshur.	Luhith.	Rabbath Ammon.
Golan.	Maachah.	Ramath Mizpeh.
Ham.	Madmen.	Ramoth Gilead.
Hazar Hatticon.	Mahanaim.	Rebot.
Heshbon.	Maked.	Rogelim.
Hobah.	Maon.	Salcah.
Horonaim.	Medeba.	Shilmah.
Im.	Mephaath.	Shittim.
Ishtol.	Minnith.	Shopan.
Jabbok river.	Misgab.	Succoth.
Jabesh Gilead.	Mizpeh Gilead.	Tabbath.
Jahaz.	Mizpeh Moab.	Taphon.
Jazer.	Nebo.	Tob.
Jegar-sahadutha.	Nimrim.	Tophel.
Karkor.	Nobah.	Zareth Shabar.
Kedemoth.	Penuel.	Zered Brook.
Kenath Nobah.	Peor.	Zoar.
Kir of Moab.	Pharphar, R.	
Kiriathaim.	Pisgah.	

The following are the principal classical and mediæval sites of the country :—

Abila.	Dios.	Neballo.	Rudda.
Adraa.	Dosos.	Neve.	Saccea.
Aphnith.	Essa.	Omba.	Samachn.
Areopolis.	Gamala.	Pella.	Sebe.
Arbela.	Gerasa.	Phaenos.	Selencia.
Batanea.	Hippos.	Phenutus.	Soganna.
Bethzoba.	Julias.	Phiala (Lake).	Solyrna.
Callirrhoe.	Kerak.	Philadelphia.	Tyrus.
Canatha.	Livias.	Philippopolis.	Zara.
Capitolias.	Machærus.	Regueb.	Zerka.
Dionisia.	Neapolis.	Rhose.	

As regards the cost, it will probably be at the same rate as that of the previous survey; that is to say, the Committee will have to meet an expenditure of over £3,000 a-year. The east of the Jordan will be surveyed at a greater speed, owing to the more favourable configuration of the country, than was possible to the west. The Committee confidently expect that the same support which was given before will be given again, because it is not to be believed that the English-speaking people will rest content while the Holy Land is only half surveyed.

The Surveyors of Eastern Palestine will also be instructed to conduct these excavations on the shores of the Sea of Galilee which were proposed in the *Quarterly Statement* for October, 1878. The subscriptions which were paid in for the purpose of carrying out the excavations were placed on Deposit account as a special fund. It is hoped that excavations will definitively decide for us the positions of Capernaum, Chorazin, Bethsaida,

and Taricheæ. Other questions of interest are connected with Ain-el-Tabigah, the mounds of Genessareth, Irbid, Kerak, Kalat-et-Hasn, the ruins at Khersa, and other mounds and remains on the borders of the lake.

As heretofore, the reports and letters of the officer commanding the expedition will be published in the *Quarterly Statement* of the Society, which will be sent post-free to all subscribers.

Quarterly Statement.

Subscriptions and donations are received by the Society's Bankers, Coutts and Co., Strand, or the Union Bank of London, Charing Cross Branch. If sent to the Offices of the Fund they should be *made payable to the order of the Secretary, and crossed Coutts and Co.*

By Order of the Committee,

1, ADAM STREET, ADELPHI  
December, 1880.

WALTER BESANT, M.A.,  
Secretary.

ON SOME OF THE  
GAINS TO BIBLICAL ARCHÆOLOGY  
DUE TO THE NEW SURVEY.

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THE Survey Map of Palestine, west of Jordan, is now given to the public. Extending over 6,000 square miles, from Dan to Beersheba, its execution in the field occupied a period of seven years, and more than two years were subsequently spent in preparing the results for publication. The voluminous memoirs which will elucidate the map, and probably fill eight quarto volumes profusely illustrated, are already in the press, and the first instalment will soon be ready for publication.

It is therefore a fitting time for the enquiry, what permanent results of value and of interest to readers of the Bible have been gained by the successful accomplishment of this arduous task?

Geographical discoveries of remarkable interest and value are at once recognised by those who compare the Survey Map with former maps of Palestine. The Sea of Galilee proves to have a depression nearly 100 feet greater than was formerly supposed. The courses of the main affluents of Jordan on the west are entirely different from those previously shown. The Crocodile River springs from a source formerly unsuspected. Villages have been transposed from one side to the other of great boundary valleys, forty fords of Jordan are now known where only four were previously marked. Ten thousand modern names occur on the map, of which nearly nine-tenths were previously unknown. Important notes as to the geological structure of the country, its physical features, cultivation, soil, climate, and natural products have been collected, and the traditions and customs of its inhabitants have been noted. And from an archaeological point of view our information as to the dates, the positions, and the nature of the existing ruins, as to the character of the peasant language, and as to the manners, customs, and superstitions of the rustic population, has been enormously increased.

As early as the year 1849 the late Canon Williams had pointed out the desirability of making a complete survey of Palestine. It was felt that by this process alone could we hope to obtain an exhaustive acquaintance with the topography of the country, and ensure the examination of those districts which, lying remote from the main lines of travel, remained almost a blank on even the best maps.

The expectations thus expressed have been abundantly justified by the results of the survey, while errors of former travellers have been corrected by the survey officers. The most important discoveries have been made principally in those districts which were previously almost unknown,

and the close nature of the survey has been such as to justify the hope that but little of permanent interest has been left unexamined above the surface.

The amount of new discovery in the single branch of identification may be judged by the attached index of names which Lieutenant Conder, R.E., has at various times proposed for identification, and which are now incorporated in the Memoirs. Roughly speaking, a proportion of two-thirds of the Biblical topography of Western Palestine has now been recovered with some approach to certitude, and of this proportion no less than a third is the direct result of the survey work.

The value of geographical discovery for the verification of the accuracy of scriptural history has lately been exemplified in a striking manner in the case of the Egyptian Records relating to the Hittites. The veracity of the Old Testament account of the Hittite Princes contemporary with Solomon had been deemed as presenting insuperable difficulties, but the indisputable testimony of the granite records of Thothmes and Rameses has left no doubt as to the contemporary rule of this powerful race in Northern Syria in the times of the Hebrew Judges and Kings. The subject of identification even in the case of obscure sites, or insignificant ruins, obtains, when viewed as part of a systematic study of scriptural topography, an extraordinary value and importance. Few may care to know, for instance, the exact site of Anaharath or Zaananim, but many will be interested in the determination of the tribe boundaries, in the elucidation of the adventures of David, or of the tragic fate of Sisera, and it is only by a patient devotion to the study of minute details of topography that any striking general conclusions can safely be reached.

That the topography of the Talmud, of the works of Josephus, of the Byzantine pilgrims, and early Christian Fathers, of the crusading and Arab chroniclers, of the Samaritan, and the Egyptian or Assyrian records, have been elucidated in an important degree by the survey discoveries will be a matter more interesting, perhaps, to the antiquarian than to the general reader; yet each and all of these various records of the history and geography of the Holy Land are so bound up with the questions of Biblical history and geography, as to render it imperative that they should be exhaustively examined by any explorer anxious to arrive at sound conclusions as to Bible sites. The fruits of such research will find a place in the survey memoirs, and the present paper is only intended as a sketch of the most interesting results of direct Biblical importance which have been founded upon these extended inquiries.

There is another peculiarity with regard to Biblical geography which lends additional interest and importance to the subject. Palestine is a little country, the length of which might be traversed by rail in six hours and its breadth in less than two. The six hundred Bible sites which are to be found within its limits are thus on an average to be sought within an area of 10 square miles a piece. When David fled farthest from Saul he was yet not more than 40 miles from Bethlehem, nor more than 50 from

Gibeah where Saul abode. Most of the famous deeds of Samson took place in a district containing an area of less than 40 square miles. Jerusalem itself covered at the height of its prosperity not more than 330 acres, including 30 acres of the Temple enclosure. The closeness of the topography while on the one hand rendering its recovery more difficult, lends on the other a wonderful vividness and reality to the ancient episodes of Hebrew history. At Hebron we may almost trace each step of Abner's way from the Well of Sirah to his doom at the city gate. By Michmash we may gaze on the very rock up which Jonathan climbed. At Shechem we may stand on the brink of Jacob's well, in the very foot prints of Christ. We are not content to know that Capernaum was north of Tiberias, and insist on fixing the exact spot now disputed by sites only about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles distant one from the other. Fierce controversies arise between those who place Cana 4 miles north of the traditional site and those who support the latter view. Topography, in short, takes the place in Palestine of geography, and for this reason a plan rather than a map is required.

Of the character of the proposed identifications, their reasons, and comparative probability, the Appendix will give the reader some idea. It is proposed here briefly to run over the most interesting questions on which the trigonometrical survey has thrown new light, and for this purpose it will be most convenient to follow the sequence of the Scripture narrative rather than to adopt any geographical arrangement, especially as the episodes of Bible history are as a rule each confined to some well marked district of the Holy Land.

Commencing, then, with the immigration of Abraham from beyond Euphrates, the first topographical question which arises is that of the exact position of the Royal Canaanite city of Ai. (Sheet XVII.)

The situation of this ancient town, afterwards entirely destroyed by Joshua, is minutely described in the Bible. It was "beside" Bethel (Joshua xii, 9), and the Hebrew has here the force of "close to," which appears fatal to the claims of various sites south and east of Michmash (or more than 6 miles from Bethel) which have been proposed. Ai lay also east of Bethel (Joshua viii, 9) with a ravine to the north (verse 11) and a desert to the east (verse 15), while to the west was a place fitted for the ambush which the Israelites set. These indications were so definite that but little doubt could exist as to the approximate situation of the town. Travellers visited and described a ruin called *et Tell*, "the mound," which seems first to have been pointed out by Vandevelde, and the somewhat fanciful conjecture was advanced that this place derived its name from the fact that Joshua made of Ai "a heap (*Tell* in the Hebrew) for ever." (Joshua viii, 28.)

To this view there were, however, objections. There is no certain indication that the hillock of *et Tell* was ever the site of a city, and the expression "for ever" should be taken rather as an indication of the early date of the Book of Joshua, for Ai reappears as a town in the later Jewish Books. (Nehemiah xi. 31; Isaiah x, 28.) Fortunately the survey party were able to suggest a better explanation through the discovery of the



ancient ruins of *Haigán* immediately south of *et Tell*. The name recalls the Aina of Josephus (equivalent to Ai, Ant. v. 3, 9) and the existence of large rock-hewn reservoirs with tombs and cisterns proves the site to be of importance and antiquity. To the north is a rugged ravine, to the east the desolate desert of Bethaven. To the west is Bethel, 2 miles distant, and between the two sites is the open ravine called "the valley of the city," where unseen, yet close at hand, the ambush may have lain concealed beneath the low cliffs or among the olive groves after creeping across from the northern valley behind the rough rocky swell which runs out to the mound of *et Tell*.

It was from the flat ridge which rises between Bethel and Ai that Abraham and Lot looked down on the Cities of the Plain and on the "circle" of Jordan, and the view from this point over the desert ranges and the Jordan valley to Nebo and Moab is still striking and picturesque.

As regards the position of these famous cities which Josephus believed to have lain beneath the waters of the Dead Sea, but which modern students place in the Jericho Plain or in the corresponding basin (Ghôr es Seisebân) east of Jordan, the survey results were rather of negative than of positive value. A very close and careful examination of the ground showed that no traces of the sites of any towns occur between Jericho and the Dead Sea shore, the remaining ruins belonging only to mediæval monastic establishments, and that no springs suitable for the supply of even small villages exist, or probably ever existed, in this district. Thus, although an apparently successful attempt has been made by Dr. Selah Merrill to recover the site of Zoar, our information as to the other four cities the destruction of which is described in the Book of Genesis (chapter xix) remains indecisive. Lieutenant Conder has, however, pointed out that the term "plain" (*Ciccar*) is applied in the Bible to the Jordan valley as far north as Succoth, which renders it not improbable that Admah, one of the lost cities, is identical with Adam, a city of Jordan (Joshua iii, 11), the name of which still survives at the *Damich* ford east of Shechem. (Sheet XV.)

Among the nations inhabiting Palestine in the time of Abraham the Kenites—a tribe as yet unidentified—are mentioned (Gen. xv, 19). They inhabited a strong fortress in the southern part of the country and survived until the time of David. Lieutenant Conder proposes to identify this site with the town of Cain which Vandevelde found in the present ruin of *Yekín*. This affords an interesting illustration of the Old Testament narrative. *Yekín* perched on the edge of a steep cliff dominating the desert plateau west of the Dead Sea, is one of the most conspicuous objects against the sky-line looking from the east. To Balaam, on the summit of Nebo, it was in full view, and the words of his prophecy thus receive fresh force and significance, "strong is thy dwelling place, and thou puttest thy nest in a rock." (Sheet XXI.)

The history of the late Patriarchs Isaac, Jacob, and his sons is mainly connected with the district called *Negeb* or "Dry" in the Bible Beersheba, Gérar, Rehoboth, and the unknown sites of Esek and Sitna, are all to be found in this part of the country. The reason of this choice

of country is plainly shown by the survey. The high hills of Hebron, with their steep, rocky valleys, rich soil, and numerous springs, are suitable for agriculture and the growth of the olive and the vine; the low chalky hills and the healthy Beersheba plateau form a pastoral district still capable of supporting large flocks and herds. The Hittite mountains round Kirjath Arba (or Hebron) were already inhabited by an agricultural population in the time of Abraham, and the nomadic Hebrews found a suitable home in the pasture lands of the Philistines and Amalekites in the "dry district," of which the distinctive character remains unchanged. Where the Patriarchs once spread their tents the great tribes of the Azazimeh and Henajereh now pasture their flocks; and in the mountains of the sons of Heth the modern Fellahin lead an agricultural life.

The site of Gerar was discovered before the survey, but was visited by the party from Gaza. There is little to describe beyond a gigantic mound on the side of a deep broad watercourse in the midst of rolling plains.

The question of most interest was that of rediscovering the wells which Isaac dug again in the valley of Gerar after those made by Abraham had been filled in by the Philistines. (Gen. xxv, 18.) No great masonry wells such as those of Beersheba were discovered; and, indeed, at Beersheba itself the survey party were able to show that the masonry once thought to have been the work of Abraham dates only from Arab times. It was ascertained, however, that a strong underground stream flows down the great valley which, rising near Hebron, runs southwards to Beersheba, and thence westwards to the sea, passing by the site of Gerar. The Arabs camping round this latter site are in the habit of making excavations in the bed of the valley, from which the water wells up, and which are called by the Hebrew name *Hufr*, or "pit." If the wells dug by Abraham were of this description they might easily have been filled in by the Philistines and reopened by Isaac; while the loss of the sites of Esek and Sitnah is on the same supposition naturally explained.

The later books of the Pentateuch contain but little information concerning the topography of Palestine proper. A few notes of interest may, however, be here given in connection with the survey.

According to the Law of Moses the scapegoat was set free in the wilderness (Levit. xvi, 9), but at a later period an evasion or modification of this command was introduced by the Jews; the goat was conducted to a mountain named Tzuk situated at a distance of ten sabbath days' journey, or about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  English miles from Jerusalem. At this place the Judean desert was supposed to commence, and the man in whose charge the goat was sent out, while setting him free, was instructed to push the unhappy beast down the slope of the mountain side, which was so steep as to ensure the death of the goat, whose bones were broken by the fall. The reason of this barbarous custom was that on one occasion the scapegoat returned to Jerusalem after being set free, which was considered such an evil omen that its recurrence was prevented for the future by the death of the goat, as described in the tract Yoma of the Mishna.

The distance given between Tzuk and Jerusalem seems to indicate a

lofty hill top now called *el Muntâr*, "the watch-tower," which dominates the desert west of Jericho. An ancient road leads from Jerusalem to this point, and beside the road is an ancient well preserving the name Tzuk in the Arab form *Sûk*. The eastern slope of the hill is steep, and falls unbroken to the stony valley beneath. The goat, dashed on the rocks, in its fall must inevitably have been destroyed, while the mountain may well claim to be considered the entrance to the dreary desert which stretches beneath its summit. (Sheet XVIII.)

Another discovery of some interest was the identification by the survey party of one of the species of deer mentioned in the Pentateuch. In the English version the Hebrew word *Yakhmor* is rendered "fallow deer," but this interpretation has not been accepted by modern scholars. It now proves that the roebuck as well as the fallow deer is to be found in the Carmel thickets, and it has been ascertained that the old Hebrew name *Yakhmor* is still applied by the natives to the former species—the English roebuck.

The researches of Egyptologists have thrown considerable light on the condition of Palestine and Syria during the time of the Hebrew bondage in Egypt and during the time of the Judges. The records of the great conquerors Thothmes III and Rameses II give long lists of places situated in the Holy Land and in the country of the Hittites. The reason why the children of Israel entered Palestine from the east after their long sojourn in the Sinaitic desert appears to have been that the Egyptian Government was then firmly established in the Plain of Sharon. This agrees with the Bible account of the Philistine immigration into the southern plains from Egypt, and in this, as in so many other instances, the records of the Egyptian monuments fully coincide with the history of the Old Testament.

Attempts have been made by Mariette, Brugsch, Rougé, Chabas, and other Egyptologists to identify the towns mentioned in the records of Egyptian conquests in Palestine. Many have been recovered with certainty, but it was not until the survey had been completed that it became possible to study the subject exhaustively. Many existing ancient sites not mentioned in the Bible are found to agree exactly with the Egyptian lists, and the probable correctness of the identifications thus obtained is evinced by the ease with which the lists are shown to preserve a proper consecutive order, while the districts occur along the very line of march which we know, from other inscriptions, to have been followed by Thothmes and Rameses. The number of identifications proposed within the country covered by the survey may also be contrasted with our almost entire ignorance of the topography of the Hittite towns lying north of Damascus, of which scarcely six are known out of a total of over 100 noticed on the monuments.

The Book of Joshua is the central focus of Biblical topography, and the elucidation of this Book has been materially advanced by the survey. Several important cities before unknown have now been fixed with considerable certitude, and the boundaries of the tribes have been traced in a satisfactory manner.

The survey officers were able to confirm entirely the discoveries of M. Clermont Ganneau respecting the sites of Adullam and Gezer, and to these important towns they add the identification of Hazor and Debir, with a large number of less famous names. The site of Gilgal, discovered east of Jericho by the German traveller Herr Schokke, was fixed by the surveyors, who found the name *Jiljâlich* still surviving. The site of Makkedah fixed by Colonel Warren, R.E., at the present village *el Mughâr*, "the caves," has been adopted by the surveyors, who found that at this site only of all the possible sites for Makkedah in the Philistine plain do caves (*see* Joshua x, 22) still exist. The position also agrees well with the identification of the towns Gederoth, Beth-Dagon, and Naamah mentioned in the same group with Makkedah. (Sheet XVI.)

The site of Joshua's tomb has long been sought, the identification with the rock sepulchre at *Tibneh*, north-east of Lydda, being unsatisfactory for several reasons. Joshua was buried at a place called Tinnath Heres, in Mount Ephraim, and there is a remarkable consent of Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian tradition, traceable from the fourth century downwards, which points to a village called *Kefr Hâris*, south of Shechem, as representing the burial place of Joshua. Lieutenant Conder ascertained that this tradition is still extant among the Samaritans, and although it appears little understood by the peasantry, a sacred shrine exists outside the village of Kefr Hâris to which the name *Neby Lush'a* (no doubt a corruption of Yehusha, or Joshua), is applied. Ancient tradition also places the tomb of Nun at this same village, and a second sacred place called *Neby Nûn* was found close to the supposed site of the tomb of Joshua.

The Priests Eleazar and Phinehas, the successors of Aaron, were also buried in Mount Ephraim. The traditional site was sought in vain by the great American explorer Robinson, but the surveyors were more fortunate, and have visited and minutely described the tombs which according to Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian tradition alike, are said to be those of the sons of Aaron. The monument of Phinehas appears to be of great antiquity, but that of Eleazar has been rebuilt. They are both close to the village of Awertah, which the Samaritans identify with the Biblical Gibeah Phinehas. (Joshua xxiv, 33.) (Sheets XIV and XI.)

There is no room in a paper like the present to go very deeply into the question of the boundaries of the tribes. Several important survey discoveries have been cordially accepted by students of the subject, and several very important modifications have resulted from the survey in the lines of the borders as formerly laid down. The general results of the new investigation appear to be as follows:—

1st. The boundaries are shown to be almost entirely natural—rivers, ravines, ridges, and the watershed lines of the country.

2nd. To many of the tribes were assigned distinct districts of the country. Issachar had the great plain, Zebulon the low hills north of it. The sons of Joseph held the wild central mountains, and Naphtali those of Upper Galilee. Dan and Asher occupied the rich Shephelah (or lowland) and maritime plain. Simeon inhabited the desert, while Judah, holding the

largest share of territory, had both mountain and Shephelah plain and desert in its portion.

3rd. The enumeration of towns follows always an order roughly consecutive, and all those of one district are mentioned together.

4th. The proportion of territory to population is calculated to vary exactly in accordance with the fertility of the district. Taking as a basis the tribe populations (Numbers xxvi), it appears that the ancient populations must have been most dense exactly in those districts in which the greatest number of ancient ruins is now found, and which are still most thickly inhabited.

Among the most important discoveries concerning the tribe boundaries are the following: the waters of Nephtoah (Joshua xv, 9) are now placed at the pools of Solomon (so called), besides which the spring 'Atáu, the Talmudic Etam, or Nephtoah, still exists. Formerly they were identified with the spring near Lifta west of Jerusalem, probably Eleph of Benjamin; but this theory renders the topography very confused, whereas the new proposal when joined to the new identification of Kirjath Jearim makes the boundary line of Judah follow a natural watershed.

On the north-west border of Benjamin, Aaroth Adar (*ed Dârieh*), and Archi (*ʿAin Arîk*) have been recovered in exact accordance with the words of the Bible (Joshua xviii, 13), which define the position of the former with the greatest minuteness. The course of the brook Kanah, (Wâdy Kânah) has now for the first time been correctly laid down, thus fixing the boundaries of Ephraim and Manasseh; and the discovery of Rabbith and other sites has for the first time defined the border of Issachar. Many new identifications are proposed for the towns of Dan and Asher, and a group of places belonging to Naphtali has been fixed in an apparently satisfactory manner in the plateau immediately west of the Sea of Galilee.

Let us now pass to the elucidation which has been effected, through the survey, of the episodical histories of the Book of Judges,—the adventures of Caleb, Sisera, Gideon, and Samson.

The site of the city Debir, for the conquest of which the valiant Othniel was rewarded by the hand of Achsah, Caleb's daughter, had long been sought in vain. Many towns of the group surrounding it had been identified. It was known to stand in the Negeb, or "dry," country south of Hebron, and that certain springs should be found not far off. The name signifies "back," suggesting that the city stood on a ridge, and Lieutenant Conder was the first to point out the probable identity with the ancient village *Dhâherîjeh* ("of the back"), standing in a conspicuous position among ancient tombs and quarries close to the other towns of the group, while, at a short distance to the north, a valley was discovered full of springs, some on the hill side, some in the bed of the ravine, answering in a most satisfactory manner to the "upper and lower springs" for which Achsah besought her father. (Judges i, 15.) (Sheet XXV.)

The topography of the Scriptural episode of the defeat and death of Sisera has been as yet very little understood. The scene of the battle has

often been placed on the south-west of the great Esdraelon plain, and the defeated general has been supposed to have fled a distance of 35 miles over the high mountains of Upper Galilee. The scene may, however, be now confined to a very small area (*see* Judges iv).

The forces of the Hebrews under Barak were assembled on the slopes of Mount Tabor, and the conflict took place on the plain south-west of the mountain near Endor. (Psalm lxxxiii, 10.) The pursuit of the main body was westwards towards Kishon, and as far as Harosheth (el Harithîyeh) evidently through the plains, because chariots are mentioned. Thus the battle was almost exactly identical in locality with the famous battle of Tabor, in which Kleber repulsed the Turks, driving them into the treacherous quagmires, which now, as in 1799, or as in the time of Sisera, nearly 24 centuries earlier, fringe the course of the apparently insignificant stream of Kishon. (Sheets VI and VIII.)

The flight of Sisera himself took an opposite direction to the plain of Zaanaim. The Jewish commentators have made it clear that this name should be translated not "by Zaanaim" but Bitzaanaim, "the marshes," and the occurrence of the same name in a group of towns west of the Sea of Galilee seems to show pretty conclusively that the neighbourhood of *Bessâm*, with its marshy springs east of Tabor, is intended. The Kedesh of the passage is probably a site so called south of Tiberias, and the tent of Heber the Kenite would thus have been spread on the open plateau within 10 miles of the site of the battle.

Among the graphic episodes of Hebrew history there is, perhaps, none more picturesque than that relating to Gideon's victory over the Midianites. The general scene is known, the Valley of Jezreel, now Wâdy Jâlûd; but the details of the minute topography are still obscured through the loss of many sites east of Jordan. Beth-Shittah, Zererath, and Tabboth, Beth-barah, Penuel, Nobah, Jogbehah, and Karkor (Judges vii, 22; viii, 11) are still unknown, and it is only possible to say that the pursuit extended from some point below Jezreel to the mountains east of Jericho.

The survey throws light on the position of Abel Meholah, and Succoth is identified at Tell Der'ala. Suggestions may also be offered for the situation of the famous "Spring of Trembling" (En Harod), where Gideon selected his band, and light may be thrown on the curious notice of a Mount Gilead, west of Jordan, in the same connection.

It is clear from the account given by Josephus that Harod is to be sought not far from Jordan, and Lieutenant Conder has suggested that the name 'Ain el Jem'ain, "Spring of the two Companies," applying to an abundant stream at the foot of the eastern slope of Mount Gilboa, may retain a trace of the memory of Gideon's famous selection of three hundred tried men, who, as able to satisfy their thirst by water taken in the palm of the hand, were indicated as fitter to endure the trial of a long and rapid pursuit than the remaining multitude who drank more freely.

As regards the name Gilead (Judges vii, 3), it has been found that from an early period the name *Jalûd* or *Jelden* has applied to the stream flowing down the Valley of Jezreel, and it is suggested that the name Gilead,

applying according to the passage above cited to a mountain near this stream is the true Hebrew form of the modern Arab *Jalûl* and of the *Jelden* which is mentioned in Egyptian documents.

The history of Samson has been elucidated to a certain degree by the addition of the probable site of Etam to those already known, viz., Tinnah, Sorek, Zoreah, and Eshtaol.

There were several places in the south of Palestine named Etam ("The Eagle's nest"), but that which became the hiding place of Samson is described as a "rock" or "cliff." (Judges xv, 11.) The new identification is with the village of *Beit 'Atâb*, standing on a conspicuous and rugged knoll of rock above a deep valley. Under the village is a long tunnel, to which a Hebrew name signifying "Cave of Refuge" still applies, and it is proposed to recognize in this curious cavern, close to the principal spring, the cleft (wrongly rendered "top") of the Rock Etam into which the Hebrew hero descended when hiding from his enemies. (Sheet XVII.)

The site of Ramoth Lehi still remains doubtful, but, with this exception, the scenes of Samson's life are now grouped round the vicinity of Zoreah, his native home, and at this village the site of Samson's tomb, according to mediæval Jewish tradition, has been recovered at the shrine of the Prophet Samat, to which certain confused traditions still attach, in which the principal episodes of Samson's career may be recognized.

A site long sought in connection with the history of Samson, and also with the succeeding episode of the Danite conquest of Laish, is that of the Mahaneh Dan, or "Camping place of Dan," which was "behind" (*i.e.*, west of) Kirjath Jearim (Judges xviii, 12), and near Zoreah and Eshtaol. These indications could not be reconciled with the site usually proposed for Kirjath Jearim. It appeared probable that the wide corn valley east of Samson's home was the camping ground in question, but this is eight miles from Kuriet el 'Anab, where Dr. Robinson places the famous city Kirjath Jearim, the resting place for so many years of the Ark.

It has now been pointed out that this latter identification rests on no surer basis than a fifth century tradition of foreign origin, and we are left free to seek the "Town of Thickets" elsewhere. The survey identification points to a ruin on a thickly covered ridge amongst copses and thickets, to which the name *'Erma* still applies, corresponding to the latest form Arim, which took the place of the original Ya'rim, or Jearim. (Ezra ii, 25.) This ruin is distant only three miles from the great valley towards which it looks down. It lies close to the border of the lower hills and the high Judean mountains, and it shows evidence of having been an ancient site.

Close to the same vicinity the survey party fixed the situation of Deir Aban, "The Convent of the Stone," which St. Jerome identifies with the site of Ebenezer, "The Stone of Help," a name so familiar to our ears as that of the monument raised by Samuel to commemorate the great victory over the Philistines (1 Samuel vii, 12), and probably marking the final limit of the pursuit.

The situation of the site seems to render the traditional view not im-

probably correct, for the village stands at the mouth of the great valley, down which undoubtedly the Philistine hosts were driven, and just at the border which, until the time of Solomon, appears to have divided the land of the Philistines from the territory actually occupied by the sons of Judah. (Sheet XVII.)

The history of Saul is elucidated by the survey in the recovery of Bezek, the mustering place of Israel. (1 Samuel xi, 8.) Jerome and Eusebius place this site, which is known to have been near the centre of the country, at a certain distance from Shechem on the road to Beisân. At this exact distance on the ancient road the ruin *Ibzik* occurs on the survey, and this is a case which, if we take into consideration Mr. Grove's argument on the subject before this discovery had been made, may fairly be considered to be past dispute the recovery of a long lost site. (Sheet XII.)

The exact site of the great cliffs Seneh and Bozez, which Jonathan climbed with his armour bearer (1 Samuel xiv, 4), has been pointed out by the surveyors through the aid of a remarkably exact description by Josephus of the site of the Philistine camp. The name Seneh, "thorn bush," given at a later period to the intervening valley (as noticed by Josephus) is still recognizable in the present Arab name of the same splendid gorge *Wâdy Suweint*, or "The Valley of the Little Thorntree." The name Bozez, or "shining," is explained by the fact that it is that of the northern cliff crowned by a mound of white chalky marl, presenting a shining and conspicuous aspect, contrasting strongly during the daytime with the dark shadow of the southern precipice.

The fixing of this famous spot depends to a certain extent on the right allocation of Gibeah (of Saul or of Benjamin), a site which Mr. Robinson transferred to the old beacon platform called Tel el Tûl. There is not here space for the arguments connected with this question, but it may be noted that the survey shows that Tell el Fûll cannot have been the site of an ancient town.

The romantic adventures of David during the time of his exile and wanderings have received much important illustration from the results of the survey. Elab, Sechu, Adullam, Gath, Hareth, Hachilab, Sela-ham-Mahlekoth, and Choresh Ziph are now pointed out with some degree of certainty. The capital of the Cherethites (1 Samuel xxx, 14) is known and the site of Nob is fairly fixed. Visiting the ruins of the "hold" of Adullam (*Aid-el-Ma*), first identified by M. Clermont Ganneau, the surveyors found a cave close to the ruins of the ancient town, a cave sufficiently large to have been the habitation of David while his band were garrisoning the hold or fortress. Not many miles away lies the broad corn vale where the shepherd boy slew the giant with one of the smooth pebbles which still fill the bed of the winter torrent flowing through the valley. The various hiding places to which the future King of Israel retired occur in consecutive order, each south of the other, each further from his native town, each in a country more widely desolate, more difficult of access than that surrounding the preceding strongholds. The probable site of the "Cliff of Divisions," Sela-ham-Mahlekoth, is the present



Wady Maláky south of Hachilah (*el Kólak*), and close to the site of Maon (*M'ain*). Here, in full sight of the hunter, but protected by the mighty precipices of the gorge, David was rescued by the sudden Philistine invasion which compelled Saul to retreat just as the prey appeared to be within his grasp. (1 Samuel xxiii, 26.)

Among the most vexed questions of the later episode of David's flight before Absalom was that of the site of Bahurim (2 Samuel xvi, 5), where the spies lay hid in the cistern covered by the corn. (2 Samuel xvii, 7.) It has been assumed that David's flight across Olivet was directed along the road leading by Bethany, but Bahurim belonged to Benjamin, and was identified by the Jews of the fourth century (see the Targum of Jonathan) with the later Almon, or Alemeth, lying beside the ancient road which leads across the saddle north of the principal summit of the Mount of Olives. Lieutenant Conder proposes to accept this explanation, for the site of Almon (*Almüt*) is sufficiently near to the "top of the hill" to render its identity with Bahurim possible, while the existence of numerous rock-cut cisterns with narrow mouths illustrates the incident of the concealment of Jonathan and Ahimaaz, who "came to a man's house in Bahurim which had a well in his court, whither they went down, and a woman took and spread a covering over the well's mouth and spread ground corn thereon, and the thing was not known." (Sheet XVII.)

Among the illustrations of later Jewish history springing from the survey, we may notice the discovery of winepresses at Jezreel where no vines at present exist; the probable identification of Tirzah (*Teiâsir*), where the Kings of Israel were buried, and the indication of a possible site for Megiddo at the important ruin Mujedd'a. The topography of the apocryphal Book of Judith is now shown to be quite possible, and the famous city Bethulia has been located in a position answering every known requisite at the modern village of *Mithilia*. A curious but important distinction may now be made between Tiphah or Thapsacus, on Euphrates, and the Tiphah where Menahem so cruelly avenged himself on rebellious subjects. (2 Kings xv, 16.) At a time when the King of Israel was a tributary of the Assyrian monarch it seemed highly improbable that Hebrew conquests should have extended to Euphrates, and an ancient ruin called *Tafsah* still existing south of Shechem seems more probably the site of the rebellious city, which refused to submit to the usurper Menahem after his conquest of Samaria and Tirzah. (Sheet XIV.)

The victories and defeats of Judas Maccabæus are in like manner illustrated by recent discovery. The site of the great battle in which he lost his life has been variously placed near Ashdod, and north of Jerusalem. The identification of Eleasa (Hasa), Berea (Bîreh), Berzetho (Bîr ez Zeit), and Mount Azotus near the last, now show that the position which he occupied was originally intended to intercept the retreat of Bacchides by an advance from Modin—the native town of the Hasmoneans—on the narrow pass through which the road from Samaria to Jerusalem leads in the vicinity of 'Ain el Haramiyeh. (Sheet XVII.)

The site of the famous battle of Adasa in like manner is found at a spot where the two main lines of advance on Jerusalem from the north join one another; and the first campaign of Judas, as is now clearly evident, consisted in the defence of the three main passes leading from the north-west, the west, and south-west to the Holy City.

Turning from the Old Testament history to the study of the topography of the Gospels, it will be found that the survey of Palestine has not been without important results in illustration of the life of Christ. New information has been collected as to Bethabara, Emmaus, Ænon, Sychar, Antipatris, Capernaum, Cana, and Calvary.

Bethabara, "the house of the passage," was a place east of, but from its name and the fact that it was a place of baptism probably close to, the River Jordan. The ancient MSS. in many cases read Bathania (Bashan) for Bethabara; and though this may be considered to give some indication of the district intended by the Evangelist, there is sound authority in favour of the present reading, Bethabara.

This place, which we often speak of as the site of the Baptism of Christ, is noticed in only one passage as the scene of events succeeding the Temptation. Cana of Galilee was apparently at the distance of not more than a day's march (20 miles) from Bethabara, and this circumstance has given rise to much cavil on the part of commentators, who, assuming that the traditional site of Bethabara was indisputably the correct one, have argued the impossibility of a journey of some 80 miles or more having been accomplished by Christ in a single day. This objection the surveyors have removed in the discovery of the Jordan ford to which the name 'Abâra still clings, just as the name of the city Adam also still survives at the lower ford of Damieh. The newly discovered ford is only some 20 miles from the most probable site of Cana (*Kefr Kenna*), and leads over to the lands of Bashan, the Bathania of the time of Christ. Sheet IX.)

The identification of Emmaus is another instance of the importance of minute examination of the ground. The district where the supposed site is found was fairly well known, but the ruin hidden in a well-watered valley among gardens of lemon and orange had not previously been explored. It was generally recognized by scholars that the Emmaus, where Christ supped with two Disciples, could not be the same as the famous Emmaus Nicopolis where Judas conquered the Greeks.

The latter city was 160 stadia from Jerusalem, but the village Emmaus, where Herod's soldiers were settled, was both according to St. Luke, and also according to Josephus, only 60 stadia distant from the capital. The name Emmaus is a corruption of the Hebrew *Khammath*, a "hot spring," applied to medicinal springs, even when not of very high temperature, as at Emmaus Nicopolis. The ruin which has now been found at nearly the exact distance (60 stadia) from Jerusalem, is called *Khamasa*, thus representing the vulgar pronunciation of the Hebrew original. Ancient rock-cut sepulchres and a causeway mark the site as being of considerable antiquity, and the vicinity is still remarkable for its fine

supply of spring water. Among the numerous sites proposed for Emmaus there is none which has so many arguments in its favour as has the new discovery of the survey party. (Sheet XVII.)

With respect to Ænon and Sychar, the Surveyors have only confirmed the views advocated by Dr. Robinson and Canon Williams. The existence of "much water" and of open ground suitable for the assembly of a crowd has now been pointed out in the vicinity of the village Sâlin or Salem, and of the ruin 'Ainûn or Ænon.

Of the numerous sites previously proposed there is no other which unites every requisite of name and water supply. Other Ænons exist far from any Salem, and other Salems in water districts where no name Ænon is found; but in the Great Wâdy Fâr'ah, which, starting at Shechem, formed the north boundary of Judea, in the Jordan valley, we find a site which appears to satisfy every requirement and to agree well with the new identification of Bethabara. (Sheet XII.)

As regards Sychar, Canon Williams has argued in favour of the village 'Askar, close to Jacob's well—a hamlet apparently overlooked by Robinson. The survey investigations have shown that the ancient Samaritan name of this village closely approached to the Hebrew Sychar, and the error first made by the crusaders, who confounded Sychar with Shechem, and which has subsequently been adopted by Dr. Robinson, in spite of the evidence of the early travellers of the fourth to the seventh centuries, and which has found its way into the pages of Canon Farrar's *Life of Christ*, may now be corrected through the explorations which prove the antiquity and ancient name of the village 'Askar near Jacob's well. (Sheet XI.)

Antipatris, long since supposed to have stood at the great mound of Râs el 'Ain, is now proved to have been so situated through careful measurement to surrounding places and through comparison of these distances with those recorded by ancient pilgrims. As regards Bethsaida the evidence is purely negative, no trace of the name of the supposed Galilean Bethsaida having been found. The theory that two Bethsaiidas existed on the shores of the Sea of Galilee was originated by the learned Reland, and has been adopted by many authorities. Lieutenant Conder, however, agrees with Renan and Robinson in supposing that only one site of that name existed, namely, the village afterwards named Julias, east of the Jordan and not far from its mouth.

As regards Capernaum, the authorities are still divided into two parties. Lieutenant Conder and Lieutenant Kitchener agree with Robinson, Renan, and many others in placing this city at the ruin Minyeh (the "town of the Minim" or Christian heretics who are called in the Talmud "Sons of Capernaum"). Colonel Wilson, R.E., has, however, clearly shown that from the fourth century down, Tell Hûm has been the traditional site of this town, and assumes that the Christian tradition is correct. Much still remains to be done to elucidate this subject; careful levels along a line of aqueducts are required, and excavations at Minyeh are very desirable.

A site which, though not scriptural, was of much importance for the understanding of the topography of the Sea of Galilee, was recovered by Lieutenant Kitchener in the modern Sinn-en-Nábra, the ancient Sinnabris. This discovery supports the generally received identification of the important town of Tarichea (Kerak), which owing to a misconception has been placed on recent maps north instead of south of Tiberias.

The question of the boundaries of Samaria in the time of Christ is one not a little important to the understanding of His journeys through Peræa. By the recovery of Anath ('Aina), Borceos (Berkît), Antipatris, Beth-Rima, and other places, we have been able for the first time to lay down the line of the border between Judea and Samaria with considerable accuracy of detail, and to show the necessity of the journey across Jordan in passing from Galilee to Jerusalem. (Mark x, 1.)

Without entering into the famous controversy as to the site of Calvary, it should be noticed that an important piece of novel information bearing on the question has been collected during the course of the survey. The place of execution used by the Jews before the destruction of Jerusalem, and called in the Talmud Beth-has-Sekilah, or the "house of stoning," is still shown by their modern descendants outside the Damascus gate north of the city. To Christians it is known as the cliff of Jeremiah's grotto, in consequence of a tradition which is only traceable as far back as the fifteenth century. The fact that a precipice is mentioned (in the Talmudic account of the punishment of stoning) as existing at the place of execution appears to confirm the tradition. This spot has according to modern authorities always been outside Jerusalem, and some travellers think they have observed a skull-like formation in the hill-top above the cave such as the early fathers often attribute to Golgotha. That Christ was executed according to Roman custom rather than the Jewish is certain; but there is no reason to suppose that Jerusalem possessed two places of execution at the time—the conservatism of the east would indeed point to an opposite conclusion. If the Jewish tradition be trustworthy we see in the site thus recovered an identification which possesses in a high degree a claim on our attention, as one of the most important that can be expected in Palestine.

The discoveries thus far described have been mainly topographical, as must be naturally expected from the character of the work undertaken. The survey party, however, enjoyed unusual opportunities for the study of the manners and customs of the native peasantry and of the Bedawin, in districts where a Frank had sometimes never been seen before; and from this intimate intercourse many interesting results were obtained in illustration of the manners and customs of the lower classes as described in the Bible. A detailed account of many of these discoveries will be found in the last chapters of "Tent Work in Palestine," published by the Committee, which are devoted to the description of various nationalities to be found in Syria.

The antiquity of the native peasant stock is evidenced both by their language and by the peculiarities of their religion. Their pronunciation of

many letters is archaic, and approaches much closer to the Aramaic or to the Hebrew than to modern Arabic. There are also many pure Hebrew words in use among the Fellahin which are unintelligible to the inhabitants of towns who use the modern Arabic words instead. The worship of Mukâms or "Shrines" among the peasantry is also intimately connected with the old worship of trees and high places by the Canaanites, although the traditions attaching to these sacred places are traceable to crusading, Byzantine or Moslem origin as well as in other cases to an older indigenous source.

In manners, customs, and dress the peasantry recall the incidental notices of the same population in pre-Christian times. The "round tires like the moon," against which Isaiah declaimed, are still worn by the women of Samaria. Like Jezebel, they still paint their faces; like Elijah, the men still gird up their loins. The "corner of the field" is still left for the poor, and a tithe of corn for the Levite (or Derwish). The harvest customs and methods of tillage are unchanged; the olives are still beaten down with a rod. These are but single instances of the numerous scriptural expressions which are now illustrated by the customs of the Syrian peasantry. The nomadic life of the early patriarchs is in the same way illustrated by the manners of the Bedawin of the deserts, and, as above stated, the settled and pastoral districts retain the same relative position as in earlier times.

Such, briefly sketched, are a few of the principal Biblical gains accruing from the Survey. Until the voluminous memoirs have been placed before the public little idea will be gained of the amount of information and minuteness of detail which has been obtained. Many of the traditions of the country are carefully registered with the archaeological remains and the natural features of the land, and the aid of all standard works, from Josephus downwards, has been called in requisition to explain by historical connections the origin and date of every monument. Though discoveries may still remain to be made in Palestine, we are probably justified at least in saying that no such complete account exists of any other Asiatic country as is now obtained for the Holy Land.

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#### INDEX OF LIEUT. CONDER'S IDENTIFICATIONS.

N.B.—The Roman Numerals I, II, &c., refer to the Sheets of the Map.

1. *Abel Meholah*, 1 Kings iv, 12. Jerome (Onomasticon s.v., Abel Maula) places this 10 miles south of Scythopolis "in Aulone" (*i.e.*, the Jordan Valley) which indicates the present *'Ain Helveh*. (XII.)
2. *Abez*, Joshua xix, 20. Probably the present ruin *el Beida*, at the north end of the plain of Esdraelon. The Arabic exactly corresponds to the Hebrew with the same meaning, "white." (VIII.)
3. *Achshaph*, Joshua xix, 25. Wrongly placed by Robinson near Baniyas, probably the present village *el Yasif*, north-east of Acre.

It is often mentioned in Egyptian records, and the proposed site agrees both with these and with the Biblical indications of situation. (III.)

4. *Adami*, Joshua xix, 33. The present ruin *Admah*, on the plateau south-west of the Sea of Galilee, in a satisfactory position with relation to towns noticed in the context. (IX.)
5. *Adasa*, see p. 15. (XVII.)
6. *Adullam*, see p. 14. (XXI.)
7. *Aenon*, see p. 17. (XII.)
8. *Ai*, see p. 4. (XVII.)
9. *Amad*, Joshua xix, 26. Apparently the ruin called *el 'Amâd*, north of Acre, in correct relative position. (III.)
10. *Anab*, Joshua xv, 50. The ruin '*Anâb*, west of edh Dhaherîyeh, incorrectly fixed by Robinson at Deir esh Shems, east of the same. (XXV.)
11. *Anaharath*, Joshua xix, 19. The village *en Na'ûrah*, in correct relative position to other towns of Issachar. (IX.)
12. *Anem*, 1 Chronicles vi, 73. The village '*Anîn*, in the hills west of the plain of Esdraelon, in a satisfactory position within the border of Manasseh. (VIII.)
13. *Aner*, 1 Chronicles vi, 70. Possibly the present village '*Allâr*, in the hills south-west of the plain of Esdraelon.
14. *Arab*, Joshua xv, 32. The present ruin *er Rabîyeh* in suitable relative situation. (XXI.)
15. *Archi*, see p. 10. (XVII.)
16. *Ataroth Adar*, see p. 10. (XVII.)
17. *Baalath*, Joshua xix, 44; 1 Kings ix, 18; VIII Ant. vi, 1. Probably the present village *Bela'în*, in a suitable position west of Bethhoron and commanding the main road to Jerusalem. (XIV.)
18. *Baal Shalisha*, 2 Kings iv, 42. Probably the present villarge *Kéfr Thilth*, in suitable situation in the territory of Ephraim on the lower hills. The Arabic *Thilth* is derived from the Hebrew *Shalish* ("three"). (XIV.)
19. *Bakurim*, see p. 14. (XVII.)
20. *Berea*, see p. 15. (XVII.)
21. *Beten*, Joshua xix, 25. Is identified by Eusebius (Onomasticon s.v., Batnai), with a village, Beth Beten, 8 miles east of Acre. This seems to indicate the village *el Baneh*. (IV.)
22. *Bethabara*, see p. 16. (IX.)
23. *Beth Dagon*, Joshua xix, 27. Probably the present ruin *Tell D'aûk*, in correct relative position near the mouth of the river Behus. (Compare Dagon or Docus, near Jericho, now 'Ain Dûk). (V.)
24. *Beth Shemesh* (of Issachar), Joshua xix, 22. Possibly the ruined site '*Ain esh Shemsîyeh*, in the Jordan Valley. (IX.)
25. *Bethulia*, see p. 15. (VIII.)
26. *Betomestham* (Judith iv, 6). The present ruin *Massîn*. (VIII.)
27. *Bezek*, Judges i, 5. Probably the ruin *Bezkeh*, south of Lydda. (XIII.)

28. *Bezok*, 1 Samuel ii, 8. See p. 13. (XII.)
29. *Calvary*, see p. 18. (XVII.)
30. *Charashim* (Valley), 1 Chronicles iv, 14, mentioned in connection with Lod and Ono (Nehemiah xi, 35). The name survives at *Kharbet Hirsha*, on the bank of the great valley east of Lydda. (XVII.)
31. *Chezib*, Gen. xxxviii, 5; Joshua xv, 44. The name appears to linger at the spring *'Ain Kezbeh*, near Beit Nettif, in a satisfactory position in relation to other towns of the same group. Jerome (Onomasticon s.v.) makes Chasbi a ruined site near Adullam, which agrees. (XXI.)
32. *Choba* or *Chobai*, Judith iv, 4. The Pentinger Tables place Coabis 12 miles south of Scythopolis. This points to the ruin called *el Mekhobby*, on the ancient road from Shechem. The name has the meaning "hiding place." (XII.)
33. *Chozeba*. 1 Chronicles iv, 22. Possibly the ruin *Kuiczba*, north-east of Hebron. (XXI.)
34. *Dannah* ("low ground"), Joshua xv, 49. Probably the village *Idhnah* in the low hills. The position appears suitable. (XXI.)
35. *Debir*, see p. 10. (XXV.)
36. *Diblath*, Ezekiah vi, 14. Apparently the village *Dibl*, in Upper Galilee, unless it be an error for Riblah. (IV.)
37. *Ebenezer*, see p. 13. (XVII.)
38. *Edrei*, Joshua xix, 37. Apparently the present village *Fater*. The relative position is suitable, and the letters T and D often interchanged. (IV.)
39. *Eleasa*, see p. 15.
40. *Eleph*, Joshua xviii, 28. The present village *Lifta*, west of Jerusalem. The situation agrees with the boundary of Judah. See p. 10.
41. *Elon*, Joshua xix, 43. Probably the present village, *Beit Ellâ*. The relative situation is satisfactory. (XIV.)
42. *Elon Beth Hanan* ("plain of B. Hanan"), 1 Kings iv, 9. Probably the village *Beit 'Anân*, in the low hills east of Lydda. The situation agrees with the context. (XVII.)
43. *Emmaus*, see p. 16. (XVII.)
44. *Eltekeh*, Joshua xix, 44. Apparently *Beit Likia*, in the territory of Dan. In the list of the victories of Sennacherib (Assyrian Discoveries, pp. 302-305), the "plains of Eltekeh" are mentioned with towns of Dan. This agrees with the situation of the modern village. (XVII.)
45. *Enam*, Joshua xv, 34. Possibly the ruin *Allûn*, in the low hills south-west of Jerusalem. The relative situation appears satisfactory. The change of N to L and M to N is not unusual. (XVII.)
46. *Engannim* (of Judah), Joshua xv, 34. Apparently the present ruin *Umm Jina*. The relative situation is satisfactory. (XVI.)
47. *Enhaddah*, Joshua xix, 21. Probably the present ruin *Kefr Adân*, south-west of the Plain of Esdraelon. The situation appears probable. (VIII.)
48. *Eshean*, Joshua xv, 52. Possibly the ruin *es Sîmia*, near Dumah (Dômeh), south of Hebron. The situation is satisfactory, and the site ancient. (XXI.)

49. *Esora*, Judith iv, 4. Probably the village 'Asîreh, north of Shechem. The situation is suitable. (XI.)
50. *Etam*, 2 Chronicles xi, 6. The present ruin 'Aitân, south-west of Hebron. The situation agrees with the context. (XX.)
51. *Etam* (Rock). See p. 13. (XVII.)
52. *Ether*, Joshua xv, 42. Probably the ruin *el 'Atr*, near Beit Jibrin, on the west. The situation appears satisfactory. (XX.)
53. *Gallim*, 1 Samuel xxv, 44 ; Isaiah x, 30. Possibly the village *Beit Jâlu* near Bethlehem. (XVII.)
54. *Gederah*, Joshua xv, 36. (Mentioned in the Onomasticon, s.v. Gedor, as 10 miles from Eleutheropolis, on the road to Diospolis), the important ruin of *Jedîreh*. The situation appears to agree with the context. (XVI.)
55. *Gederah* (of Benjamin), 1 Chronicles xii, 4. The present ruin *Jedîreh*, north of Jerusalem. (XVII.)
56. *Gederoth*, Joshua xv, 41. Probably from its situation the present village *Katrah*, near Yebnah, as proposed also by Colonel Warren, R.E. (XVI.)
57. *Gezer*, see p. 8. (XVI.)
58. *Gibbethon*, Joshua xix, 44. Probably the present village *Kibbiyah*, at the foot of the hills near Lydda. The situation agrees with the context. (XIV.)
59. *Gibeah*, Joshua xviii, 28. The present ruin *Jibû*, in the territory of Benjamin. (XVII.)
60. *Gibeah-ha-Elohim*, 1 Samuel x, 5 ; and 1 Samuel XV, 3. See p. 14.
61. *Gibeah Phinehas*. See p. 9. (XII.)
62. *Gilead Mount*. See p. 12. (IX.)
63. *Gilgal*. See p. 8. (XVIII.)
64. *Giloh*, Joshua xv, 51. Probably the ruin *Jâlu* in the Hebron Mountains. The situation appears to agree with the context. (XXI.)
65. *Hachilah* (Hill). See p. 14. (XXI.)
66. *Hammon*, Joshua xix, 28. Apparently the ruin *Hîma*, south-east of Tyre. The situation appears to be satisfactory. (III.)
67. *Hannathon*, Joshua xix, 14. On the boundary of Zebulun and Naphtali. The present village *Kefr 'Anân*. (VI.)
68. *Haphraim*, Joshua xix, 19. In the Onomasticon, s.v., the village Afforea is placed 6 miles north of Legio (*el-Lejjân*) ; this fixes it at the ancient ruined site *el Farrîych*, which appears to be a suitable position for the Biblical town. (VIII.)
69. *Hareth*. See p. 14, now *Khurâs*. (XXI.)
70. *Harod*. See p. 12. (IX.)
71. *Hazor*, Joshua xi, 1. See p. 8, *Hadîreh*. (IV.)
72. *Hazor*, Nehemiah xi, 33. Evidently the ruin *Hazzâr* north of Jerusalem. (XVII.)
73. *Horem*, Joshua xix, 38. Apparently the ruin *Hârah*. The situation seems possible. (IV.)



74. *Hozah*, Joshua xix, 29. Apparently the present ruin *Ozzîyeh*, on the coast south of Tyre. The situation is satisfactory, and the changes of 'Ain for *Kheth* and of *Zain* for *Tzadi*, are both recognized. (III.)
75. *Ijon* ("ruin"), 1 Kings xv, 20. Possibly *Khiyâm*, in the *Merj 'Ayûn*, west of Banias. The name survives in the latter title, but the former may be a corruption and represent the exact site. (II.)
76. *Irpeel*, Joshua xviii, 27. Probably the village *Râfât*, north of Jerusalem. The name is derived from a similar root, and the situation is satisfactory. (XVII.)
77. *Jabneel*, Joshua xix, 33. A town of Naphtali stated in the Jerusalem Talmud (Megillah i, 1) to have been called at a later period *Caphar Yama*. This indicates the ruin *Yemma*, and the situation agrees with that of the other towns in this group. (VI.)
78. *Janoah*, 2 Kings xv, 29. The present village *Yanâh* in the hills south-east of Tyre. The situation appears satisfactory as within the territory of Naphtali. There is a second *Yanâh* further south. (II.)
79. *Janum*, Joshua xv, 53. Probably the village *Beni Naim*, east of Hebron. The situation appears to agree with the context. (XXI.)
80. *Jeshanah*, 2 Chronicles xiii, 19. The situation points to the identity of this site with the ancient village 'Ain *Sinia*. (XIV.)
81. *Jeshua*, Nehemiah xi, 26. Probably the present ruin *S'awi*, east of Beersheba. The situation is relatively satisfactory. (XXV.)
82. *Jethlah*, Joshua xix, 42. Probably the ruin *Beit Tâl*, in the low hills west of Jerusalem. The situation appears probable. (XVII.)
83. *Joktheel*, Joshua xv, 38. Belonging to a group of which little is yet known. Possibly the large ruin *Kutlâneh*, south of Gezer. The words are from similar roots. (XVI.)
84. *Kedesh* (in Issachar), 1 Chronicles vi, 72. Possibly the ancient site *Tell Abu Kuleis* near Lejjûn. (VIII.)
85. *Kibzaim*, Joshua xxi, 22. The name is radically identical with that of *Tell Abu Kabâs*, near Bethel. The situation is not impossible. (XVII.)
86. *Kirjath*, Joshua xviii, 28. The present *Kuriet el 'Anab* is more generally known to the natives as *Kurieh*. The situation agrees well for *Kirjath* of Benjamin, but not for *Kirjath Jearim*. (XVII.)
87. *Kirjath Jearim*. See p. 13. (XVII.)
88. *Lachish*, Joshua x, 3. (In the *Onomasticon*, s.v., this city is placed 7 Roman miles south of Eleutheropolis (B. Jibrîn). The site of *Tell el Hesy* nearly agrees with this, and is more satisfactory than *Umm Lakis* proposed by Robinson. The identification supposes the change of *Caph* to *Kheth*, of which we have an accepted instance in the case of *Michmash*. (XX.)
89. *Lahmam*, Joshua xv, 40. Possibly the ruins *el Lahm*, near *Beit Jibrîn*. The situation appears satisfactory, the site is ancient. (XX.)
90. *Lasharon*, Joshua xii, 18. Apparently in Lower Galilee. Possibly the ruin *Sarôna*, west of the Sea of Galilee. Jerome (*Onomasticon*, s.v.) says that the plain east of Tabor was called *Sharon* in his time. (VI.)

91. *Luz*, Judges i, 26. Possibly the ruin Lueizeh, west of Baniyas, on the border of the Hittite country. (II.)
92. *Maurath*, Joshua xv, 59. Probably from its relative position the present village *Beit Ummar* (the Bethamari of the Onomasticon). (XXI.)
93. *Madmannah*, Joshua xv, 31. Possibly the ruin *Umm Deimneh*, north of Beersheba. The situation appears satisfactory. (XXIV.)
94. *Madon*, Joshua xi, 1. Apparently in Lower Galilee, perhaps the ruin *Madin* close to Hattin. (VI.)
95. *Mahanah Dan*, see p. 13. (XVII.)
96. *Makkedah*, see p. 9. (XVI.)
97. *Manahath*, 1 Chronicles viii, 6. Possibly the village *Málhah*, southwest of Jerusalem, which appears to be the Manocho of Joshua xv, 60 (inserted passage in LXX). The change of L for N is common.
98. *Maralah*, Joshua xix, 11. According to the description of the boundary of Zebulon, this would occupy about the position of the present village *Malál*. The L and R are easily convertible. (VIII.)
99. *Mearah*, Joshua xiii, 4. Apparently *Mogheiriyeh*, north of Sidon.
100. *Megiddo*, see p. 15. (IX.)
101. *Meremoth*, 1 Chronicles xxvii, 30. Possibly the ruin *Marrina*, in the Hebron hills. (XXI.)
102. *Mishael*, Joshua xix, 26. Probably the ruin *Maísleh*, near Acre. The situation is suitable for a town of Asher. (III.)
103. *Mozah*, Joshua xviii, 26. According to the Jerusalem Talmud, was called Kolonia. A ruin called *Beit Mizzeh* exists near Kolónia, west of Jerusalem, in a suitable situation. (XVII.)
104. *Naanath*, Joshua xv, 41. Probably *Ná'aneh*, south of Ramleh, as proposed by Colonel Warren, R.E. The situation is suitable. (XVI.)
105. *Nahallal*, Joshua xix, 15. According to the Jerusalem Talmud (Megilla i, 1) this place was called, at a later period, Mahlul. This seems to indicate the village *'Ain Mahil*, in a suitable position. (VI.)
106. *Nebo*, Ezra ii, 29. Perhaps *Nába*, south of Jerusalem. (XXI.)
107. *Neiel* (Han-N'aial), Joshua xix, 27. The ruin *F'anin* is found in the required position. The change in the position of the guttural and of N for L is not unusual. (V.)
108. *Nekeb*, Joshua xix, 33. The Jerusalem Talmud (Megilla i, 1) gives the later name of this site as Siadetha. This points to the ruin *Seiyada* on the plateau west of the Sea of Galilee, a position agreeing with the context. (VI.)
109. *Nephtoth*, Joshua xv, 9 (a spring). The Talmud of Babylon (Yoma 31a) identifies this with the En Etam, whence an aqueduct led to the Temple. This indicates *'Ain 'Atán*, south of Bethlehem. See p. 10. (XVII.)
110. *Ophrah*, Judges vi, 11. Probably Feráta, near Shechem, the ancient name of which was Ophrah (see Samaritan Chronicle). (XI.)
111. *Pirathon*, Judges xii, 15, and Pharathon (1 Macc. ix, 50).

- Possibly *Fer'ôn*, west of Shechem. The loss of the T is not unusual, and the present name retains the guttural. (XI.)
112. *Rabbah*, Joshua xv, 60. Possibly the ruin *Rabba*, west of Beit Jibrîn. (XXI.)
113. *Rabbith*, Joshua xix, 20. The present village *Râba*, south-east of the plain of Esdraelon, appears to be in a suitable position. (XII.)
114. *Rakkon* ("shore"), Joshua xix, 46. The situation of *Tell er Rakkeit* appears suitable, north of Jaffa, near the mouth of the river Anjeh (probably Mejarkon). (XIII.)
115. *Sarid*, Joshua xix, 10. The Syriac version reads Asdod, and the LXX reads Seddouk (Vat. MS.). The original may be thought to have been Sadid, in which case *Tell Shadûd* occupies a very probable position for this site (compare Maralah). (VIII.)
116. *Seacah*, Joshua xv, 61. In the Judean desert. Possibly the ruin *Sikkeh*, east of Bethany. (XVII.)
117. *Sechu*, see p. 14. (XVII.)
118. *Sench* (Rock), see p. 14. (XVII.)
119. *Shaara'im*, Joshua xv, 36. The ruin *S'âreh*, west of Jerusalem, occupies a suitable position. (XVII.)
120. *Shamir*, Joshua xv, 48. Probably the ruin *Sómerah*, west of Dhâheriyeh, the situation being suitable to the context. (XXIV.)
121. *Sharahen*, Joshua xix, 6. Probably *Tell esh Sher'ah*. The position is suitable, and the conversion of the guttural Kheth to 'Ain is of constant occurrence, as is also the loss of the final N. (XXIV.)
122. *Sorek* (Valley). The name *Sur'k* was found applying to a ruin north of this valley, as mentioned in the Onomasticon. (XVII.)
123. *Thimnatha*, Joshua xix, 43. Generally identified with Timnah of Judah, appears more probably to be *Tibneh*, north-east of Lydda, on the border of Dan. (XIV.)
124. *Timnath Heres*, see p. 9. (XIV.)
125. *Tiphzah*, see p. 15. (XIV.)
126. *Tirzah*, see p. 15. (XII.)
127. *Ummah*, Joshua xix, 30. The ruin *'Alma* occupies a suitable position in the territory of Asher. The L represents the Hebrew M and the guttural is preserved. (III.)
128. *Uzen Sherah*, 1 Chronicles vii, 24. Mentioned with Bethhoron. Possibly *Beit Sîra*, south-west of the site of Bethhoron. (XVII.)
129. *Zaanaim*, see p. 11. (VI.)
130. *Zartanah*, 1 Kings iv, 12. Mentioned as "beneath Jezreel." Probably the large site of *Tell Sârem*, near Beisân. (IX.)
131. *Zereda*, 1 Kings xi, 26. In Mount Ephraim. Probably the present *Surdeh*, west of Bethel. (XIV.)
132. *Ziz* (Ha Ziz) (ascent of), 2 Chronicles xx, 16. Probably connected with the name Hazezon Tamar, for Engedi, Genesis xiv, 7; 2 Chronicles xx, 2. The name *Hasâsah* was found to apply to the plateau north-west of Engedi. (XXII.)

This list contains 132 names. Out of about 620 topographical names mentioned in the Bible in Western Palestine, about 430 have now been identified (or about two-thirds). Out of these 430 a total of 132, as above shown (or about a third), are thus due to the Survey.

On the other hand, out of about 200 names of the places in the Sinaitic Desert, or in the country east of Jordan, 70 only are known, including the latest identifications of the American survey and of Lieutenant Conder (*Handbook to the Bible*), being a proportion of little over one-third. Many important sites, such as Mahanaim, Jabesh Gilead, &c., remain still to be recovered east of Jordan.

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### SUPPOSED CLIFF IN THE HARAM.

CONSIDERABLE importance has been attached to the question whether the rock on the western slope of the Temple Hill may be supposed to fall with an uniform slope, or whether beneath the surface and within the west wall of the Haram, a cliff exists hidden by the filling-in which forms the present interior plateau.

In discussing the paper which I had the honour to read to the Royal Institute of British Architects, on 2nd December, 1878 (see "*Transactions R.I.B.A.*," No. 3, p. 41), Mr. James Fergusson said:—

"So far as I can make out, and I believe I may state that Colonel Wilson entirely agrees with me in this: the rock rises gradually, though irregularly, from the valley of Jehoshaphat to a ridge terminating westwards in something very like a cliff, where I believe the tower of Antonia to have been, and just behind the Holy of Holies of the Temple where I place it."

This passage explains the reason why importance is held to attach to the question, for if no such cliff should exist, then the Temple as restored by Mr. Fergusson must have rested on foundations of great depth, or on vaults as yet undiscovered, and not described by any ancient author.

The difference of opinion as to this cliff is also shown in the plans published in the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement* for 1880, pp. 9 and 20, where Colonel Wilson shows the rock as rising much more rapidly than according to Colonel Warren's section would be the case.

As regards these plans it may be noted in passing that a slight misapprehension occurs in the Editor's note, p. 97, by which I am supposed to be responsible for the first-mentioned plan, and am said to differ from both of the above-mentioned authorities respecting the lie of the rock in this part of the Haram. My plan, constructed in 1873, was taken from Colonel Warren's "*Recovery of Jerusalem*," p. 298, so far as the contours within

the West Haram Wall are concerned, and any discrepancies in the lithograph would have been corrected had not the proof unfortunately failed to reach me before publication.

The main reason for supposing the existence of a cliff in this part of the mountain is a geological one. The strata beneath the Haram, as in other parts of Jerusalem and its vicinity, having a dip of about 10 degrees E.S.E., as described in the "Ordnance Survey Notes" (p. 3), so that a "crag and tail" formation, as it is termed, might be formed by the beds as exposed on the hill-sides; the "crag" or cliff being always on the west, and the "tail" or gentle slope on the east.

Cliffs, due to this position of the strata, occur towards the bottom of the western slope of Olivet, and are commonly found in Palestine in places where the hard crystalline lower beds are visible.

A closer inspection of the geological question seems to me, however, to be less favourable to the theory, and a few words are necessary to explain the problem more clearly.

The Mount of Olives consists mainly of soft chalky beds, the total thickness of which is given by Colonel Wilson at 291 feet, out of a height of some 400 feet from the present Kedron bed to the summit of the hill. The lower strata of the chalky beds are referred by L'Artet to the Upper Cretaceous Period, while near the summit of the mountain, separated by bands of flint, occur beds belonging to the Nummulitic or Middle Eocene period. Beneath the white chalk occurs a hard limestone, containing fossils and flints, with a total thickness of 71 feet; and beneath this, again, for a depth of 40 feet, the soft white Malaki beds, whence the best building stone is obtained; while, lower still, occurs the hard Dolomitic limestone, without flints or fossils, which extends lower than the Kedron bed.

According to these measurements the levels of the beds on the western slope of Olivet are as below:—

	Above the Sea.			
Soft white chalk, bottom of bed	....	....	....	2,350
Fossiliferous limestone	....	....	....	2,279
Soft white limestone	....	....	....	2,239

On turning to the Ordnance Survey Map ( $\frac{1}{25000}$ ), it will be observed that the level of the top of the cliffs in which the so-called Tombs of Absalom, St. James, etc., are cut, is shown as 2,235, or about the level of the junction between the hard underlying Dolomite and the soft chalky Malaki beds.

Above this level no cliffs occur. The Malaki has been worn by denudation to an even slope, and the soft chalk beds higher up the mountain present in the same manner an uniform slope instead of a cliff. The action of denudation has in short effaced the "crag and tail" formation which may have resulted from the original upheaval.

These observations may now be applied to the Temple Hill. The top formation within the Haram is the *Mezzeh* or fossiliferous limestone, and the cisterns are cut in the *Malaki* beneath it. Colonel Wilson describes the beds as dipping 15° N. and S., and about 10° E. and W. ("Ordnance Survey Notes," pp. 31-33). Near the north-west angle the Mezzeh beds have been removed to a depth of some 30 feet (compare Ordnance Survey Map and "Notes," p. 31). The Sakhrab consists of Mezzeh (p. 34), and near Tanks 12, 13, 14, there is only one bed of Mezzeh above the Malaki (p. 31), the surface level being 2,406.

The Mezzeh and the Malaki both belong to the Neocomian series, and are conformable with one another. The thickness of the Malaki where covered by the harder stratum is therefore most probably the same on the Temple Hill as on Olivet, viz., 40 feet.

From these data may be constructed sections to a natural scale with the following result as to the levels of the beds on the west side of the Haram:—

East and west section, through Sakhrab	East and west section at Prophet's Gate.
Bottom of Mezzeh, 2,435 ft. above sea	2,370 feet above sea.
Bottom of Malaki, 2,390         "	2,330         "
Thickness of Dolomite above valley bed	40 feet         10 feet

These sections depend on the levels of the Sakhrab and the Tanks 12, 13, and 14; but if they were based on the observations in the north-west angle the level of the Dolomite junction with the Malaki would be made yet lower.

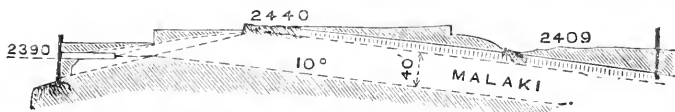
The levels near the Bâb es Silsileh, where Mr. Fergusson places Antonia, are as given below, on the same construction as the preceding:—

Bottom of Mezzeh	....	....	....	2,380 feet above sea.
Bottom of Malaki	....	....	....	2,340         "
Thickness of Dolomite above bottom of valley	....	....	....	10 feet

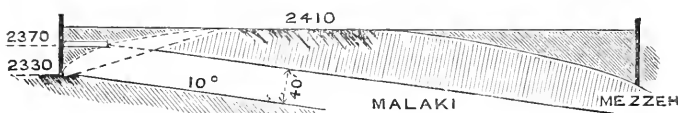
Now, as we know that the action of denudation on the Malaki and Mezzeh beds produces uniform slopes, and that cliffs are found only where the Dolomite comes to the surface—as observed on Olivet—we might expect a cliff near the base of the Haram Wall, and a gradual slope above it, where the soft chalky Malaki beds occur. The maximum height of the cliff would be only 40 feet (west of the Sakhrab), its top being 50 feet below the Sacred Rock. But at the points where Mr. Fergusson places Antonia and the Holy of Holies, the cliffs would be apparently only 10 feet high, and their tops respectively 90 feet and 100 feet below the Sakhrab. Thus if the dip of the strata is uniform, the mean height of cliff would be only about 20 feet, its top being 70 feet below the mean surface, and 100 feet below the Sakhrab. The existence of such a cliff would consequently have little bearing on the question of foundations.

## GEOLOGICAL SECTIONS THROUGH HARAM.

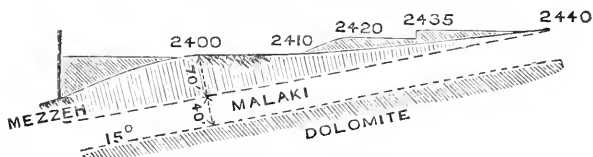
Natural Scale.



Section east and west through Sakhrāh.



Section east and west through Prophet's Gate.



Section due south from Sakhrāh.

Several indications may be noted as confirming this view with respect to the unseen portion of the Temple Hill.

1st. The tanks and galleries running in from the West Haram Wall, are lined with masonry, whereas, further east, where the rock is higher, they are simply cemented over the rough rock. This seems to indicate that the Western Tanks are not rock-cut, but only built in the made earth, and that the rock is consequently lower than the floors of these galleries.

2nd. It seems reasonable to suppose that had such a cliff as is conjectured to exist on the west side of the Haram actually occurred, the West Haram Wall would have been built upon it, rather than in the valley bed to the west of it.

3rd. Colonel Warren's shafts along the south wall indicate a gradual fall of the rock outside the Haram, and no cliff was found towards the west.

4th. In Tank No. 24 (the only one towards the west where a rock floor has been found), the rock falls westwards at an angle of  $30^\circ$ , which if continued would strike the level of the Tyropœan bed within the West Haram Wall, without necessitating any cliff or steeper dip.

This curious question has perhaps attained to greater importance than really belongs to it, for the top of the supposed cliff, if it existed, would be at least 50 feet lower than the Sakhrāh, and 70 feet below the Barrack Scarp, but the problem has a controversial interest, and the objection briefly stated to the cliff theory is that the action of denudation on

soft chalky limestone would render the preservation of a cliff highly improbable.

Edinburgh, Oct. 20th, 1880.

C. R. C.

### NOTE ON KADESH BARNEA.

THE recovery of the site of Kadesh Barnea is the most interesting question of the topography of the Sinaitic Desert, and any indication leading to a clearer understanding of the question will be of some value.

In the account of the southern boundary of Palestine (Numbers xxxiv, 4; Josh. xv, 3), this site is noticed next to the Maaleh Akkrabbim, and the next points to the west are named Hezron and Adar, or according to the earlier passage Hazar Addar.

The Maaleh Akkrabbim has been recognised to be some part of the ascent from the southern shores of the Dead Sea, towards the plateau of the Negeb, and although the name has not been recovered, the great feature called Wâdy Fikreh appears to answer to the "Ascent of Scorpions" (Maaleh Akkrabbim) and to the later Acrabbatene (1 Macc. v, 12; Ant. 812 Ant. VIII), where Judas Maccabæus defeated the Idumeans.

It is curious that the identification of Hezron should have escaped even careful writers, but so far as I am aware, and so far as can be gathered from Mr. Grove's articles in Smith's "Dictionary to the Bible," this site has not been recognised as yet.

The name Hezron is derived from the same root with Hazor, signifying "an enclosure," and the Arabic equivalent is properly speaking *Hadîreh*, having the same meaning and spelt with the *Dal*, which is one of the two Arabic equivalents of the Hebrew Tzadi, represented by the Z in Hazor (more correctly Khatzor), the other equivalent being the Arabic *Sad*.

There are two cases in which the name Hazor is similarly preserved in Arabic, one being 'Ain Hadîreh, representing the Hazeroth (plural of Hazor) which was one of the Israelite camps (Num. xxxiii, 17); the other being the Royal Hazor of Galilee, the name of which still survives, as discovered by the Survey Party, in the present Merj Hadîreh, west of the Waters of Merom.

We should, therefore, expect Hezron to appear in modern Arabic under the form Hadîreh (plural Hadâir), and on consulting the map it will be found that the prominent ridge north of the head of Wâdy Fikreh and west of the main route from Petra to Beersheba is called *Jebel Hadîreh*. (See Murray's Map, or the map opposite p. 238 of Conder's "Handbook to the Bible.")

If this identification be accepted, agreeing as it does very completely with the boundary line as usually laid down, then the site of Kadesh Barnea should be sought to the east of *Jebel Hadîreh*, probably on the main route which ascends by the well-known pass of the Nukb es Safa, which Robinson strove to show to have been the Zephath of Judges i, 17, and the Hormah of Deut. i, 44. It is, however, by no means certain that the Hormah ("destruction") of the latter passage, is the same place.



while Zephath if identical with Zephathah (2 Chron. xiv, 10), is to be sought much further north near Mareshah.\*

This identification of Hezron would appear to be fatal to the claims of 'Ain Kades as representing Kadesh, and there are, on the other hand, many indications which seem to place Kadesh Barnea on the route from Petra to the vicinity of Tell el Milh (Malatha), Arad (Tell 'Arád) and Hebron.

(1.) Kadesh lay between the deserts of Paran and Zin (Num. xiii, 26 and xxx, 1), whereas 'Ain Kades must have been in the Desert of Shur—the most western desert district, extending from Beersheba towards Egypt. Shur is translated Khalusa by Rabbinical writers, in reference to the important town of that name (now Khalisa, the Roman Elusa) north-east of 'Ain Kades.

(2.) Kadesh was on the border of Edom (Num. xx, 16), as was also Mount Hor (verse 23), whence the vicinity of Kadesh Barnea to Petra might be inferred, and indeed the Targum of Onkelos translates the name Kadesh by "Valley of Rekem" (or of Petra).

(3.) Kadesh was evidently not far west of the Dead Sea, as its name occurs second on the border line as described from the Salt Sea westwards.

(4.) After the defeat of Israel at Kadesh by the Amalekites, the pursuit extended to Seir (Deut. i, 44), or the ridge of Mount Hor.

(5.) The King of Arad attacked Israel (Num. xxi, 1), which agrees with the supposition that they were advancing from Mount Hor towards Palestine by the great route which leads up the Nukb es Sufa towards Tell 'Arád.

(6.) The Israelites journeyed from Ezion Geber—at the head of the Gulf of Akabah to Kadesh, and thence to Mount Hor (Num. xxxiii, 35-37), their most probable route thus lying up the Arabah, which is both the easiest and the best-watered line of march towards the Palestine hills.

It is evident from a comparison of two accounts that Kadesh lay at the foot of a pass from the highlands. The Amalekites "came down" (Num. xiv, 45) from the "mountain" in which they dwelt (Deut. i, 44), and the site should thus perhaps be sought further north than the 'Ain el Weibeh of Robinson, or at the foot of the Nukb es Sufa, east of Jebel Hadireh on the main route. I may perhaps venture to suggest that *Jebel Maderah*, facing the Nukb es Sufa on the south, may represent Adar near Hezron (Josh. xv, 3). A visit to this pass would be of great interest, and the names Kadesh (*Kades*), Mishpat (*Mishafât*), and Meribah (*Meribeh* or *Umm Rîba*) should all be sought for below the pass of es Sufa near the junction of Wâdy Fikreh with Wâdy el Yemen.

C.R.C.

\* The valley (Gia) of Zephathah is mentioned (2 Chron. xiv, 10) as "at Mareshah." On the survey a ruin called *Sâfieh* will be found  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles north-east of *Mer'ash* (Sheet XX), close to the narrow valley above which stands Deir Nakhkhâsh. The name *Sâfieh* ("Shining,") is radically the same as Zephathah, and has the same meaning, and it seems clear that the "Ravine (*gia*) of Zephathah," is thus identical with the narrow valley below this ruin.



THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

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NOTES AND NEWS.

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DEPARTURE OF THE NEW EXPEDITION.

THE preparations for the new expedition to the East of the Jordan have occupied the Committee since the beginning of the year. The Secretary of State for War has granted the services of Lieutenants Conder and Mantell, of the Royal Engineers, for this special service. The Society are fortunate in securing for their new Survey the experience and skill of the officer who executed so large a part of the former work. Lieutenant Mantell is a young officer who has gained great distinction during his Woolwich course. Permission has been also accorded to Pensioners (formerly Sergeants) Black and Armstrong to serve upon the Survey, and to draw their pensions while in Palestine. Thus the New Survey will not only be carried out by the same officer who did most of the work on the western side of the Jordan, but the same two surveyors, Black and Armstrong, who measured the base line and began the triangulation in December 1871 will also begin the new work. At a meeting of the Committee called for the purpose on March 15, 1881, the officers received their final instructions, and started the same evening to carry out the next portion of the great work of the Society,—the Survey of the Holy Land. The two Surveyors followed a week later. The good wishes of all who read this announcement must be with them. They have begun a work which is full of peril and anxiety; it is for their friends at home to see that they are at least supplied with the necessary funds.

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The total cost of the expedition, including the printing and circulation of Lieutenant Conder's reports, &c., will amount to about £3,500 or £4,000 a year. It has been proposed that the Honorary Secretaries of the various towns where there is a branch of the Society shall invite their people to raise a certain sum yearly. The whole amount is a comparatively small one, and there should be no difficulty in getting it together. The earlier in the year subscriptions are paid the more convenient it will be for the Committee. In the present appeal for assistance,

the Committee do not, as before, ask their friends to give in faith, because they have now their great and splendid map to show as an earnest of the future. What has been done for Western Palestine shall be done, if possible, for the East.

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Letters and reports from Lieutenant Conder may be expected about the middle of April. In order to meet the wishes of a great many subscribers, paragraphs of intelligence will be sent to all the principal papers.

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M. Clermont-Ganneau, who arrived in Jaffa in February, had proposed to visit Jerusalem immediately on his arrival in order to examine the newly found inscription in the Pool of Siloam; but he has unfortunately been laid up with an attack of fever, therefore we have not yet received any of his promised letters.

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Professor Sayce, however, has sent the translation of part of it to the *Athenæum*. His reading will be found on p. 72, together with a *fac-simile* of the copy sent by Dr. Chaplin to the Committee.

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A remarkable illustration of the destruction of ancient monuments which sets in with every improvement in Syria, is illustrated by the "note" from the Rev. H. D. Rawnsley, published on p. 124. The Temple of Kades is now pulled down and destroyed. The ruins which have survived the violence of Romans, Jews, Christians, Saracens, and Crusaders, are gone to make foundations for a cotton store. The Temple and the sarcophagi are figured and described in the first volume of the "Memoirs."

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Mr. William Dickson, F.R.S.E., has accepted the post of Honorary Secretary, with the Rev. Lindsay Alexander, D.D., and Mr. T. P. Johnston, for Edinburgh. Mr. W. J. Janson (the Close, Croydon), has accepted the post of Honorary Secretary at Croydon. The Rev. W. Walmsley has undertaken to act with the Rev. Canon Hornby at Bury.

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It is matter of great regret that so many delays have occurred in the issue of the next edition of the map and of the Memoirs. As regards the former it will be delivered to those who are waiting for it in the course of a fortnight beginning about April 25th. The first volume of the Memoirs will be ready at the same time. It is also hoped to get out the next two volumes, namely, that of the Name Lists, and that of Special Papers by the end of May. The reduced map is also nearly completed, and the first edition will be ready for issue about the end of April. The price to subscribers, *by application to the Central Office only*, will be 6s. 6d. To the general public the price will be 12s. 6d.

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The income of the fund from all sources from December 13, 1880, to March 16th, 1881, was £1,229 10s. 9d. The amount in the hands of the Committee at their meeting of the 15th, was £1,800 15s.

Mr. Saunders's "Introduction to the Survey of Western Palestine" is now completed, and will be published immediately. Its history has been already told. Mr. Saunders was asked to write a pamphlet on the Physical Geography of Western Palestine from the Great Map. He undertook the work, which, it is unnecessary to explain, had been impossible before for want of such a map. But the pamphlet became a book, and the description has swollen into a detailed examination of the country, which is the most important result yet obtained from the Survey. It was intended to present the pamphlet to all those who asked for it. The book will be sent free, therefore, to *all who up to this date (April 4th) have asked for it, but to no others.*

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It is most desirable on all accounts that the Map and Memoirs should have as wide a circulation as possible. The Subscribers to the Fund may greatly assist in this object by advising that they be placed in public libraries, school and college libraries, and institutions.

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It is also greatly desired that *all* those whose contributions have enabled this great work to be completed, may have an opportunity of seeing it. Arrangements have been made with the Rev. James King, of Berwick, for explaining and lecturing on the Map and its uses. The Rev. Henry Geary is also ready to give one evening in every week to the Society, provided he be not invited to go too far from London. The Rev. Horrocks Cocks, Egham, has also kindly offered services in lecturing on the work of the Society.

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A Cheap Edition of "Tent Work in Palestine," has been published by Messrs. Bentley and Son. All the small illustrations which were in the Library Edition, and two of the full-page drawings, will be found in the new Edition, which has been carefully revised by the author. An additional chapter has also been added on the "Future of Palestine." The work will be read with greater interest now that the progress of the Survey may be followed on the Map.

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It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and the most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

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Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

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While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that these rest solely upon the credit of the respective authors, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee neither sanction nor adopt them.

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## MEETING IN EDINBURGH.

A very crowded meeting was held in the Masonic Hall, George Street, Edinburgh, on Tuesday, February 22, on the Proposed Survey of Eastern Palestine. The Chair was taken by Sir James Gardiner Baird, and among those who were present were:—

The Rev. Dr. Main, Moderator of the Free Church; Principal Rainy, Bishop Cotterill, Rev. Dr. Teape, Rev. Dr. A. Thomson, Rev. Professor Blaikie, Rev. Dr. R. Macdonald, Rev. Dr. Taylor, Rev. Dr. Robertson, Rev. Professor Duns, Rev. Dr. Goold, Rev. Dr. Cazenove, Rev. Dr. Lindsay Alexander, Rev. Dr. Wylie, Rev. Alex. Whyte, M.A.; Rev. T. B. Johnstone; Rev. W. Turner, Rev. C. G. Scott, Rev. Thomas Brown, Professor MacIagar, Dr. Robert Young, Charles Cowan of Westerlea, John Scott Moncrieff, William Dickson, Surgeon-General Fraser, C.B.; John Rogerson, Merchiston Castle; John M'Candlish, John Miller of Leithen, Edward Caird of Finntart, James Sime, Craigmount; T. B. Johnston, Jown Cowan, Beeslack, William Ferguson of Kimmundy, W. F. Burnley, D. G. Thomson, John Drybrough, Colonel Young, R. P. Simpson, and others. There was a good attendance of the public.

Dr. Main having opened the meeting with prayer,

The CHAIRMAN intimated that apologies for absence had been received from Sir John D. Wauehope, Mr. Macfie of Dreghorn, Rev. Principal Cairns, Rev. Dr. Horatius Bonar, Professor Grainger Stewart, General Nepean Smith, Mr. Stuart Gr. y of Kinfauns, Mr. G. F. Barbour, and others.

Dr. LINDSAY ALEXANDER, one of the Honorary Secretaries of the Palestine Exploration Fund, after reading a letter of apology for absence from Sir R. Christison, explained that the meeting had been convened by the Committee of the fund to enable Lieutenant Conder to explain what he had already done, and what he hoped to do in his future explorations. The fund had been successful in securing the services of the officers of the Royal Engineers in their Survey of Palestine, and how satisfactorily they had done their work they well knew. They now possessed a full and accurate map of Palestine—of that part lying to the west of the Jordan. In referring to Lieutenant Conder's share in that work and the eminent qualifications he possessed for it, Dr. Alexander remarked that he had been successful in identifying more than 100 places which were mentioned in the Bible, but of which hitherto we had known nothing but the names. He hoped Lieutenant Conder would receive a hearty encouragement to go forward with his work, and enter on his new enterprise, knowing that he had the sympathies of the Edinburgh public with him. (Applause.)

Lieutenant Conder, who was received with applause, said that he desired to say something in illustration of the work already done and the expectations they had for the future. The credentials he brought consisted of the map of Palestine before them. It took seven years in execution—four years in the field and three in England—and showed the whole of Palestine from Dan to Beersheba, west of the Jordan. It might appear to those who did not study the historical books of the Bible, neither interesting nor important that a large scale map of Palestine

should be made, but every student knew that there was a very great deal of minute topography in the Bible which it was most necessary to investigate, and the Survey afforded a guarantee that every corner of the country had been seen and explored by one of the officers. The object for which it was determined that the Survey should be undertaken was mainly this, that although many travellers had gone through the country they always followed the same route, and it had been desired that every part of the Land should be explored with equal care and caution. One result of what had already been done was, that they were now able to lay down the tribal boundaries west of the Jordan with an amount of accuracy which formerly would have been quite impossible. The comparative sizes of the districts allotted to each of the tribes had thus been calculated, and when the population was compared with the areas, they found that the ancient population of Palestine must have been much the same as now. The populous parts of the Bible were the populous parts still; the thinly-populated Bible districts were the sparsely-peopled districts now. Where the population had been thick, there were enormous quantities of ruins and ancient sites. They had identified 140 towns on the west of Palestine—towns in regard to which no question had been raised as to their identification. There were others which were still open for reconsideration—but as to all the important sites in the Bible there was now no doubt about them. 620 towns were mentioned in the Bible; 430 of these had been fixed, and of these 140 had been identified by the survey. To the east of the Jordan there were about 200 Bible sites, and of these only 70 were yet known. The work still to be overtaken was important, and though it was said to have a greater scientific interest and less Biblical interest than the west, there were many important Biblical incidents and places associated with the east—the flight of the Midianites, the flight of David from Jerusalem, the wood of Ephraim, Ashtaroth, Penuel (which took its name from the vision of Jacob), and many other Old Testament sites, of which they knew nothing as yet. The survey of the east of Jordan would include an area of 5,000 square miles; it was expected to occupy three seasons in the field, and probably two years to work out at home, so that in the course of five years they hoped to have the companion survey of Palestine east of the Jordan. But the question of topography was not the only one that came within the limits of their explorations. He referred to the probability of obtaining ancient inscriptions on stones, and a great deal of interest and light might be thrown on Bible times by a greater knowledge of the habits, customs, and language of the present inhabitants of the country. They had found during their past survey so much in common between the present peasantry and the ancient Canaanites that they expected even greater results to the east of Jordan, where the tribes were less under Jewish control.

The Rev. Alexander Whyte, Free St. George's, moved "that this meeting cordially approve of the resolution of the Palestine Exploration Fund Committee that the survey of Eastern Palestine be proceeded with without delay, and they resolve that efforts be made to increase the interest taken and the contributions to the fund in this city." Mr. Whyte pointed out that great and valuable results had already been gained, but that the work was little more than half finished, and it would be a shame to stop until all that country had been surveyed. He had been astonished to find that all the operations of the fund had been carried on at so small a cost as £3,000 a year; and he hoped that after this meeting

the contributions from Edinburgh would bulk more largely than they had ever done before.

The Rev. Dr. Andrew Thomson seconded the motion, which was adopted.

The Rev. Dr. Cazenove moved that the thanks of the meeting be given to Lieutenant Conder for his interesting and instructive address, with a respectful expression of our earnest wishes for his welfare, safety, and success in the important work to which he has again been called. (Applause.)

Principal Rainy seconded the motion, urging the community of Edinburgh to take a practical and creditable interest in the work by giving pecuniary support to the Society, and enabling them in a suitable manner and with suitable energy to carry it through. It was a work in which every Christian of every name could and ought to join together as with one heart and one soul. (Applause.)

Lieutenant Conder having briefly replied, thanks were awarded, on the motion of Mr. John Miller, to Sir James Baird for presiding, and the meeting separated.

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Other meetings have been held at Croydon, when the Rev. Henry Geary delivered an address on the new Map; and at Bolton, where the Rev. James King spoke on the general work of the Society. Meetings are also arranged for Romsey, Cardiff, Winchester, and other places.

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## THE INSCRIPTION AT THE POOL OF SILOAM.

IN the month of August last year the Committee received from Jerusalem an announcement of the discovery of an inscription in the passage leading from the Pool of Siloam to the Virgin's Fountain. A squeeze accompanied the letter, but this was imperfect, and only a few letters here and there could be made out. The Committee immediately authorized Dr. Chaplin to draw upon them for such money as might be necessary to get the water lowered, and a better copy taken. This work was entrusted to Herr Schick, but it was not until January that he succeeded in procuring a copy of the inscription; this was not a squeeze, but a so-called *fac-simile*, in other words it had been copied from the rock by the light of a candle. Tracings were made of the *fac-simile* and sent to various scholars, but no one ventured from such slender materials to attempt a reading. Meanwhile M. Clermont-Ganneau, who had been appointed French Consul at Jaffa, started for that place early in February with the intention of proceeding immediately to Jerusalem for the examination of the inscription. Unfortunately he has been laid up with illness. Another and an improved transcript of the inscription arrived on the 1st of March, which was also copied and circulated, but with no result. This second copy is published with this number.

Professor Sayce, however, has been able to examine and copy the inscription on the spot, and has sent an important letter on the subject to the *Athenæum*, a portion of which (by permission of the proprietors) we extract.

### I.

An accident which befel me in Cyprus has brought me unexpectedly to Jerusalem, and given me the opportunity of examining the inscription lately discovered in the conduit of the Pool of Siloam by Herr Schick. The inscription is the most important yet found in Palestine, as it belongs to the period of the kings, and is written in the oldest known characters of the Phœnician alphabet. As the readers of the *Athenæum* are already aware, the inscription is incised on the lower part of a tablet formed by cutting the rock wall of the conduit to the depth of about an inch. It is engraved on the east side of a rock-hewn passage, through which the water is conducted from the north into the Pool, and about twenty-five paces from its entrance.

I have paid two visits to the inscription, and succeeded in copying the greater portion of it. The task of copying, however, is a difficult one. The water flows past the foot of the inscription to a depth of over four

INSCRIPTION FOUND AT THE POOL OF SILOAM.

יְהוֹשֻׁעַ בְּנֵי יוֹסֵף  
 עָשָׂה אֶת-הַמַּעֲשֵׂה הַזֶּה  
 לְבָנֵי יוֹסֵף  
 וְעַתָּה הֵנִי עֹשֶׂה  
 אֶת-הַמַּעֲשֵׂה הַזֶּה  
 לְבָנֵי יוֹסֵף  
 וְעַתָּה הֵנִי עֹשֶׂה  
 אֶת-הַמַּעֲשֵׂה הַזֶּה  
 לְבָנֵי יוֹסֵף  
 וְעַתָּה הֵנִי עֹשֶׂה  
 אֶת-הַמַּעֲשֵׂה הַזֶּה  
 לְבָנֵי יוֹסֵף

inches, and in order to copy it I have had to sit in the water in a cramped position for more than an hour at a time, making out the letters, which are filled with silica, by the dim light of a candle. Had it not been for the kind offices of my companion, Mr. John Slater, who held the candle for me while I copied the characters, I should have found the work even more troublesome than I actually did.

The upper part of the tablet is smooth and plain, though a *graffito* of three lines is scratched upon one part of it. Whether this is in any intelligible system of writing I cannot say; some of the letters look like cursive Greek, but at the beginning of two of the lines the Arabic ciphers 1843 seem to occur. The lower part of the tablet is occupied by the ancient inscription, which consists of six lines of about thirty-five letters each. The letters are of a considerable size, and must originally have been very clear. Now, however, in consequence of the silex with which they are filled, the difficulty of obtaining sufficient light to see them, and the friction of the water, it is by no means easy to make them out. On the left side a fracture of the rock has caused the loss of several of the characters in the first three lines. Below the inscription comes an ornamental finish in the shape of two triangles, which rest upon their apices, with an angle between them similarly resting upon its apex.

*The forms of the characters are identical with those of the Moabite Stone*, and the words are similarly divided from one another by points. One of the characters, which occurs at least three times, is new to me; I conjecture that it may represent the missing *teth* of Mesha's inscription. The first line begins with the word **הנקבה** (ה); then follow, after two words which I cannot read with certainty, .....(? **רעכר**). In the second line I can make out only the words **אל רעד..... שלש אמה**. The third line ends with the word **בירה**. The fourth line begins with the word **נקב**; then come, after a few doubtful letters, **גרה** (ג), and the line ends with **וילכו**. The fifth line reads: **מן המים מן המזר..... אל הברכה בנאתי**. The sixth line has been so much injured by the friction of the water that the only words in it which I can make out with certainty are **על ראש**. I can find no words in the inscription for Jerusalem, Judah, or king (מלך), nor any proper names. But the forms of the letters prove that it cannot be later than the time of Hezekiah, and the "three cubits" mentioned in the second line, as well as the "thousand cubits" of line 5, will probably afford a clue to the meaning of the inscription. It is clear from the word **בנאתי** in the fifth line that the constructor of the conduit speaks in the first person.

February 7, 1881.

## II.

The weather detained me at Jerusalem a day longer than I had intended to be there, and I accordingly paid another visit to the inscription about which I have already written. It was well that I did so, as it enabled me both to correct my previous copies and to fill in some of the lacunæ in them. In fact, I may say that I now have as perfect a copy of the inscription as can well be obtained; very little of it is missing, except where a fracture of the rock has occurred on the left hand side of the first three lines. I hope to place my copy, along with a translation of it, at the disposal of the Palestine Exploration Fund upon my return to England.

Meanwhile I must correct some of the statements I made in my previous letter. The more perfect copy I now possess shows that the inscription is not in Hebrew, as I imagined, but in Phœnician. The Phœnician relative pronoun **אש** occurs more than once, and there are other peculiarities in the language which indicate that the author was a native of the Phœnician coast. On the other hand, as I have already stated, the forms of most of the letters are identical with those of the Moabite Stone, though there are two, or perhaps three, which seem to be still more archaic than those of Mesha's inscription. I do not see, therefore, how the inscription can be dated so late as the time of Hezekiah and his successors, when the destruction of the kingdom of Israel renewed the intercourse between Judah and Phœnicia, which had been broken off by the revolt of the ten tribes. Consequently I have little hesitation in assigning it to the age of Solomon, or possibly of David (2 Sam. v. 11), when Phœnician workmen were employed in the construction of the public buildings at Jerusalem. In this case it will be the earliest specimen of Phœnician writing which we possess. Of course it is just possible that the inscription may be of yet older origin, and be composed in the dialect of the Jebusites; but this is in the highest degree improbable.

The inscription is merely a record by the master mason of the excavation of the conduit in which it is found, and which leads from Saint Mary's Pool to the Pool of Siloam, a distance of 586 yards. I was wrong in stating that it was written in the first person, as the word which I read **בנאתי** is really **במאתי**, the whole sentence running—

**במאתי אלף אמה וילכו המים מן המוציא אל הברכה**

“And the waters flowed from their outlet to the lower pool for a distance of a thousand cubits.” The inscription will be of greater value to the topographer than to the historian, as it contains the names neither of royal nor of other personages. Mr. John Slater and myself attempted to walk up the conduit as far as its exit in Saint Mary's Pool, as had already been done by Robinson and others, since we thought that a second inscription might be discovered in some other part of it, now that the level of the

water running through the rocky channel has been so much reduced by Mr. Schick ; but we were stopped half-way by the lowness of the roof, which would have obliged us to crawl on all fours through a deep deposit of soft mud.

A. H. SAYCE.

February 26, 1881.

## EL-HARRAH.

By CYRIL GRAHAM.

IN the few remarks which I wish to make on the subject of the proposed exploration of those regions which either lie beyond Jordan or eastwards to the north of it, I shall confine myself to the country with which I am best acquainted, the Haurân, old Bashan cut off from the great prairie which extends to the Euphrates, and the singular district known to the Arabs as el-Harrâh, with the ridge of hills es-Safâh, which I believe never were visited by a European before me.

The summits of es-Safâh can be seen distinctly on a clear day from the Antilebanon, and were represented until 1857 as two conical *tells* or hills in the most recent of maps in the book of the then most recent of explorers, Professor Porter.

My journey revealed the fact that they were merely the highest points of a range which extended over many miles. Like the Lejah, indeed, it seems to be a duplicate of that wonderful upheaval ; it is entirely volcanic, and I well remember Sir Roderick Murchison telling me that both the Lejah and the Safâh were monstrosities of Geology.

An account of my travels will be found in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society" of 1858, and rough copies of the inscriptions to which I am going to allude presently, in a number of the "Deutsche Morgenländische Gesellschaft," 1857, and in the annual volume of our own Royal Asiatic Society for 1859.

I do not suppose, nor do I wish, that the resumption of our work should commence with Bashan and its wide outlying countries. Gilead, and Moab, more accessible, should be at first thoroughly explored, and every relic, whether of architectural structure, or of tablets or inscriptions on the stones lying *in situ* should be carefully drawn and copied ; and in the case of the latter it is of the utmost importance to philologists, and therefore to the object we have in view, to obtain rubbings or impressions from them. I need scarcely remind those who are as well acquainted as I am with the difficulty of a mere copying of unknown symbols, how tedious such a process is, and how uncertain must be the results after all the labour which has been bestowed upon it.

Amongst the places to which I think attention should be given in this southern section of our work, I pre-eminently place Kerak. Its history

from the times of the Judges, and its peculiar position, which defied the attacks of armed enemies, rendered it always a place of high strategical importance. The Crusaders considered its capture one of their greatest exploits; but neither the kings of Judah nor of Edom, the invaders from the other side of the desert who annexed all the country to the west of the Jordan, or Anushirvân, or the Saracens, or the Franks seem for any length of time to have been its absolute masters.

Still less is this the case with the present nominal owners of Moab. A firmân of the Sultan at Kerak is and has been for many a long day a worthless bit of paper, and I am ready to suppose that such as it is, the autonomy of Kerak is one of the oldest in the world. To gain access to this inhospitable crag, black mail must be paid, and to prosecute deliberate researches there, a liberal fund must always be at the disposal of our explorers. I do not mean to say that money should be as lavishly expended as it was by M. de Saulcy; but we must be prepared, in order to ensure the safety and success of our schemes, to advance a larger sum for Bakhshish than that which was found necessary in our attempts on this side Jordan.

2. Then come Pisgah and Nebo, the sites of which seem little doubtful. Good observations taken from the summit, whence Moses viewed the Promised Land, would naturally be of inestimable value.

3. Heshbon and the whole tract running up to Um el Jemâl, Beth Gamul, standing alone in the plain with its walls and its towers, and its streets, and its houses, with their stone doors and windows still nearly perfect.

This place, and numbers of others I could mention, such as Um er-Rumân, Um el-Kotein, were included in the Arabian kingdom of the Dynasty of el-Hareth, the founder of which, the Aretas of the Acts of the Apostles, was ruling there at the time of the conversion of St. Paul. And it has long been my opinion that it was in this then densely peopled Arabia, that the Apostle spent his two years in active work, preaching the Gospel, and not in solitude and contemplation in the Petrean Desert.\* At all events, history tells us that almost from the beginning these el-Hareth were Christians; they are known to Arabian Chroniclers as the Christian Dynasty, and it is not too much to assume that a large number of the subjects may have adopted the creed of their masters. The Saracenic invasion, which drove everything before it, must have scattered inhabitants of these outlying and exposed districts. We have a valuable catalogue by an Arabian geographer of the names of places both to the east and west of Jordan, but the list ends with Bozrah and Salkah and the Jebel Haurân, so that it is not unlikely that Um el-Jemâl and its neighbouring towns, and indeed all that region south and east of Salkah, had become abandoned by the end of the 7th century. If this is so, the discovery which I made of crosses painted in red upon many of the houses in Um el-Jemâl may attest the fact of the introduction there of Christianity

\* *Vide* some admirable remarks on this subject in Professor Porter's "Five years in Damascus."

at a very early period ; and indeed when I saw them I could not help saying to myself that perhaps I might have before me the marks of the first fruits of the labours of the greatest of Missionaries. However that may be, this branch of the whole subject connected with the Exploration of the East deserves our careful attention.

In the northern country Golan—el Jaulân—should be thoroughly ransacked. It is easily traversed, and hundreds of ruins, with the Semitic names attached, either to the *débris*, or if there are none, to the *tells*, which represent bygone towns, will yield us a fruitful harvest.

The Lejah Argob would employ our energies for, I must say, an indefinite period ; but while one party is examining this, the inverse of our pleasing ideal of an oasis, another might be collecting relics from the Jebel Haurân.

Were our funds unlimited, I could imagine another expedition working simultaneously with that to Bashan, in the districts to which I first referred, the Harrah and the Safâh. Nearly every stone in certain localities there is inscribed. At one place in which I passed the night, I might say that every stone was trying to tell a story of the past. The basaltic humps or blocks which crop out of the soil, or with which it is absolutely overspread, are at intervals covered with rough pictures of beasts and other objects with a cursive character surrounding them. I never shall forget my first introduction to these curious emblems. After a ride chiefly by nights, for the days had to be spent in some hollow so as to escape the observation of two hostile tribes of Arabs, one to the north, the other to the south of us—running the gauntlet of them in fact—my attention, on rounding the southern extremity of es Safâh, was attracted by a stone which had scratched upon it the representation of a palm tree, and what was evidently a legend of some kind.

I searched in vain for other indications of a like nature, and resumed my way, “coasting” the long island of basalt. Presently I came to another solitary inscribed stone, and at an equal interval upon a third. I should here remark that a line, evidently artificial, in other words a clearing, existed through this wilderness of black boulders, and from its bearings I came to the conclusion, that I was possibly on the old highway which the world pursued between Bosrah and Tadmor in the palmy days of those great cities, and that my solitary stones were “mile-stones.” Towards nightfall I reached a ruined town known to the nomads as Khirbet-el-Beida—the White Ruin.

The houses were of basalt as in the Haurân, with stone doors and windows, but it derived its name from a structure of white marble, or quasi marble, the calcareous limestone which is derived from the hills about Tadmor. It is called es-Serai, the Palace, and like everything else in that part of the world, its erection is ascribed by folklore to Chosroes, Anushirvân, or to Timurlenk !

The building was rapidly falling into decay, not from the assaults of man, but from generations and generations of summers and winters. A fine hunting scene was sculptured on one face of it, greyhounds

attacking a lion and a panther, which reminded me of an Assyrian tablet ; and I found other stone lions about the place. The legend concerning the Kirbet-el-Beida I think I gave in the number quoted of the Royal Geographical Society.

To the north of this second Argob lies Seis or Seyis, where there is water ; but for this very reason, I could not then approach it, for the wells were occupied by our enemies. I therefore struck eastwards and south-eastwards, and came, to my unexpressible delight, upon inscriptions without end. One of the most interesting spots which I visited is en-Nemâreh, where lived once upon a time, a lady and princess celebrated in Arab song as Nimret bint en-Namur, Tigress, daughter of the Tigers.

Although what I have related is on record, the materials are so old and so scattered, that I venture to think that I am doing service in recalling to the recollection of those who have read my papers, and in placing before those—the large majority of our members who have never heard of them or thought much perhaps of such outlying districts as the Harrah and the Safâh—the fact that after we shall have explored Moab, Gilead, Golan, and Bashan, another field of such an expanse will present itself as to tempt us in our enthusiasm to attack Tadmor, the Euphrates, and ultimately the Nejd.

The character on the stones represents one of those many cursive Semitic writings which are to be found in a form more or less varied anywhere between Yemen and the “Great River.”

The story of Job, so wonderfully and graphically told, belongs to the Haurân. Local tradition makes him native and Sheikh of ancient Kenath, now Kenawât. His friend Bildad the Shuhite came from Suweidah, three or four hours' ride from that place ; whilst the name of Teman still subsists, the probable birthplace or residence of Eliphaz the Temanite.

One of the greatest of geographers, the late Karl Ritter, who was one of the first to investigate my researches, went so far as to suggest to me, that the “Sabeans” mentioned in the book of Job might be the Arabs of the Safâh.

Since my time, Wetzstein, de Vogüé, Waddington, and a few others have thrown a certain amount of light on this north-eastern country.

Their works, especially those of M. de Vogüé, are of high value, and should be carefully consulted by any officer who on our behalf may enter those regions.

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## THE OLD CITY OF ADRAHA (DERA) AND THE ROMAN ROAD FROM GERASA TO BOSTRA.

By the PRESIDENT OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST.

A SHORT extract from a journal written during a tour east of the Jordan, in the year 1874, may be interesting to the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*, in view of the proposed Survey of that country. So far as I know, no other traveller has followed my route from Gerasa to Dera and Bostra. It is on the very outskirts of settled habitation, and not always safe. My escort consisted of the Sheikh of Sûf, his brother and one or two retainers ; and we encountered no difficulty.

Leaving Gerasa, we rode over a low rocky ridge, thinly sprinkled with ilex, and then up a glen which gradually narrowed into a ravine. Traces of a Roman road were visible here and there cut in the rock. About five miles from Gerasa we reached the top of the pass, and had a splendid view southward, down the glen to the valley of the Jabbok, and north-east down another glen towards the great plain of Arabia. We entered the latter glen, still following the Roman road, having wooded ridges on each side, and occasionally a few patches of cultivated ground. We saw several ruins, but no modern habitations. The calls of shepherds, and the tinkling of bells were heard amid the hills, and a mounted Arab appeared at intervals on some commanding spot, as if watching our little caravan. As we descended, the glen opened, the forest became less dense, flocks and herds were seen on the pastures, and a few husbandmen were at work in the fields.

At length we emerged from Wady Warrân, for such is the name of this beautiful valley, and entered the open plain—a vast expanse of rich pasture land, extending on the east and south to the horizon, while on the west it rises by an easy slope to the wooded hills of Gilead. A short distance to our right lay the ruins of Kubab, a small village apparently once fortified ; or it may perhaps have been one of those walled caravan-serais which one so frequently meets with on the borders of Arabia. Around its wells and watering-troughs were collected the vast flocks of the Bene Hassan Arabs, whose tents we saw in a circle out on the plain. The ground along the foot, and on the lower slopes of the hills, is extensively cultivated by them.

We rode northward, still in the line of the old road, passing a Roman milestone beside a heap of ruins. Traces of villages, now deserted, were visible everywhere. Two, near the road, named Idhamah and Usîleh, were marked by large green mounds honeycombed with caves. I observed in this region that most of the villages are, at least in part, subterranean, the houses being excavated in the calcareous rock, with nothing above ground to mark their site except mounds of rubbish. One called Sâl,

beside which we encamped a fortnight later, when on our way to Gadara, had a population of some forty families, all Troglodytes.

Two hours' smart riding from Wady Warrân brought us to Remtha, a populous village built on a little isolated hill in the midst of a cultivated plain of unsurpassed fertility. Here also were large numbers of caves, some used as dwellings, others as granaries. We now ascended a low bleak ridge, a spur from the Gilead range, and had from the top a magnificent view of the plain of Hauran, bounded on the east by the mountain range of Bashan, and on the north by Hermon. I was greatly struck with the change which had passed over that whole region since my previous visit in 1854; then most of it was desolate, now it was almost entirely under cultivation. Signs of industry and growing prosperity were everywhere visible. In a few minutes more we entered *Dera*, having been just seven hours and a-half in riding from Gerasa.

The ruins of this strange old city I estimated as about two miles in circuit. They cover a semicircle, round the arc of which sweeps Wady Zedy, a glen from 50 to 60 feet deep, with steep, and occasionally precipitous banks, and a little stream flowing through it. It is a singular fact that while the rock in the sides of the glen is either white limestone or conglomerate, the buildings are composed, like those in almost all the other towns of Bashan, of black basalt. The present village, which contained some 50 or 60 families at the time of my visit, occupies but a fraction of the old site. Most of the inhabited houses are modern; built, however, of old materials, with flat stone roofs rudely constructed, and occasionally stone doors. There are many other houses, in fact long lines of them, evidently much more ancient, but now almost completely covered over by the accumulation of ruins and rubbish. *Dera* is in this respect in part a buried city. I entered one or two of those cave-like houses, and found them similar in plan and style to those I had seen in other old cities of Bashan—massive walls, constructed of roughly hewn blocks of basalt, stone doors of the same material, and roofs formed of long slabs closely laid together. Most of these houses were originally above ground, as is evident from the position of the doors; but it is probable that there were other dwellings near them excavated in the soft rock. We found it dangerous riding over the site, as portions of the old roofs are apt to give way under the horses' feet.\* Excavation here might throw some light on the architecture and antiquities of Bashan. But *Dera* is not the only town in which some of the old houses are now buried. I have seen houses in Bozrah, Suweidch, Nejran, and other places, entombed under heaps of ruins.

In the centre of the town is a large building with an open court

\* When at *Dera* I heard nothing of an "underground city" such as is described by Wetzstein in his *Reisebericht*. There are certainly many caves, as there are at most other towns and villages in this region, which were used in part as dwellings, and in part as granaries. But *Dera* is one of those ancient sites which would well repay excavation.

surrounded by rude cloisters. On one side is an old church or mosque, the roof of which is supported by six ranges of short columns and piers, all evidently taken from more ancient structures. I saw on some of the stones and shafts, Phœnician letters rudely cut, as if masons' marks, and I also found some imperfect Greek inscriptions bearing dates of the Bostrian era.

At the western end of the town, is a large reservoir, partly hewn in the rock, and partly lined with fine masonry, apparently Roman. Beside it are the remains of baths. The water was brought to it by an aqueduct from the fountains of Dilly, about 15 miles to the north, and appears to have been conveyed across the glen through air-tight pipes or perforated stones. Another aqueduct, also apparently of Roman origin, brought water into the town from the east, but I did not follow it to its source. On Smith's map an aqueduct is represented as running from Dera across the plain by Remtha and Sâl towards Um Keis (Gadara). Of this I saw no traces whatever, and from the nature of the ground I do not believe an aqueduct could be carried along that line. In the bed of the glen to the east of the town is a well, beside which are some ancient remains, including a sarcophagus of basalt, ornamented with rude sculptures.

Dera I believe to be, not the Edrei of the Bible, the capital of the giant Og, but the Adraha of the Roman Itineraries, which is located by the Pentinger Tables, 16 miles from Capitolias, and 24 from Bostra. It became an episcopal city of the province of Arabia, and its bishop Uranius was present at the first Council of Constantinople, A.D. 337.

From Dera we took a straight course to Bostra, partly to trace the old Roman road, and partly to examine a section of the country which, so far as I knew, had been hitherto unexplored. We encountered no difficulty, although on the very outskirts of settled life. The Roman road was visible from the moment we crossed the glen, and we followed its course to the gate of Bostra, to which it runs in nearly a straight line. The ancient pavement is in places perfect; and the road crossed the Zedy by a Roman bridge of a single arch, in excellent preservation, with the ruts of chariot wheels several inches deep on its pavement. Villages, some in ruins, some partially inhabited, dotted the whole country to the right and left; and large sections of the soil were under cultivation. We saw husbandmen, and shepherds, and yokes of oxen in the fields; while away on the southern horizon we also saw the black tents of the Bedawin. We halted for a time at Ghusam, a large village with old and massive houses. The gate admitting to an ancient court-yard was still perfect. It was of stone and double, each leaf measuring 7 feet 2 inches high, 3 feet wide, and 8 inches thick; and it was so well balanced on its pivots above and below, that a man was able to shut and open it with ease.

Not the least interesting part of the Survey of Eastern Palestine will be the tracing of the Roman roads, and the exploration of the strange old cities. I venture to predict that some most remarkable discoveries will be made in the new Survey.

## SUN WORSHIP IN SYRIA. By C. R. CONDER, R.E.

THE subject of the aboriginal superstition of the Syrian tribes is one of great interest but of some difficulty, as many remains and objects supposed by travellers to be relics of Sun-worship have been found to be very modern, while millstones and oil-rollers have often been mistaken for solar emblems, and ruined limekilns for Sun Temples.

Nevertheless we know for certain that the astronomical worship of Babylon, of the Hittites, Phœnicians, and Egyptians, was also the Canaanite creed: that Saturn or Moloch was worshipped as a Sun God by human sacrifices; that the licentious rites of Ashtoreth or the Venus Pandemos were observed even in Jerusalem; and that Thammuz, the Syrian Adonis, was annually mourned both on Lebanon and in Judea. We know that the shrines of these divinities, both at Jerusalem and also at Bethel and on Carmel, stood side by side with the altars of Jehovah; and we should therefore naturally expect that some traces of this idolatrous worship should still exist in Palestine.

Taking then in order the chief centres of Baal worship we must commence first with Bethlehem, where St. Jerome assures us the rites of Thammuz were practised in his own time. Here we still find a sacred grotto which early tradition (not however supported by anything in the four Gospels) has now consecrated as the cradle of Christ. It must not be forgotten that the Sacred Cave forms a very important feature of the ritual of Sun-worship, and the connection with the legend of Thammuz can hardly be accidental. Not only was the cave of Mithrah an essential feature of the rejoicings of the *Dies Natalis Inviecti Solis*, but the Chapel of Moloch (mentioned by Kimchi in commenting on Mishna Sanhed vii, 7) seems to have been a similar subterranean sanctuary; while the idea of the sun issuing from a cave is traced back even earlier than the Babylonian times to the Accadian name for the winter solstice month, "the Cavern of the Dawn." The peculiar rites which are celebrated at the Latin Christmas ceremony at Bethlehem—like the Holy Fire issuing from the Cave-tomb at Jerusalem—have striking affinities with the ritual of Mithra; and we shall find that throughout Syria the Sacred Cave almost always occurs in connection with Sun Temples.

At Jerusalem itself the Temples of Ashtoreth and Chemosh (Venus and Saturn) stood on Olivet in Solomon's time; and the rounded summit of this mountain still supports a round building in a round court covering the sacred footprint now said to have been that of Christ. Beneath this sanctuary there is a sacred vault or cave called *Rahibat Bint Hasan* by the Arabs, the Cave of Huldah among the Jews, or of St. Pelagia among the Christians—in each case a female deity. The site thus chosen for the Ascension does not agree with the words of St. Luke (xxiv, 50) where the event is recorded as having occurred near Bethany; and it is perhaps more probable that the old Sun Temple of Chemosh stood on this hill-top. The

modern name of Olivet is *et Tôr*—a Chaldee word from a root cognate with *Tzar* (“a rock”) and not to be confused with *Thôr*, a bull. *Tor* is the term applied to rounded or isolated hill-tops throughout Palestine, as for instance at Gerizim and Tabor, and most of these *Tors* are still, and have from remote antiquity been, sacred mountains. The sacred footprint is moreover not an invention of mediæval monks, but a common feature of Indian nature worship (see note below). In Jerusalem we have another sacred rock with a sacred footprint, namely, the *Sakhrah* with the *Kadam en Neby* or “prophet’s footprint,” which in the 12th century was called the footprint of Christ. Here also we find a sacred cave; and in the *Aksa* mosque is another footprint, namely the *Kadam Sidna ’Asia*, which has been described in its present position since 600 A.D.

North of Jerusalem we find the site now generally recognised as *Nob*; namely, the village of *Sh’afât*, where Jewish tradition states that the Tabernacle once stood (see *Mishna Zebakhim xiv*). The name *Nob* is radically identical with *Neby*, and also with *Nebo* the Assyrian Mercury. This deity was symbolised by a stone or a stone-heap, and he was one of the gods of the pre-Islamite Arabs, who worshipped stones (*baetuli* or stone-heaps) as representing *Allah* and sacred trees (the *’Asherah* or “grove” of the Canaanites) as symbolic of *Allât* the female deity. The worship of Mercury included the throwing of stones on a heap as mentioned in the *Talmud* (*Sanhed vi, 7*) and also by classic authors; and it is of interest to point out that there is a most remarkable natural monument such as was understood by the name *Zikr* or *Ed*—a high conical rock peak (as noticed under the title *Khûrbet es Som’a*, “ruin of the heap,” in the *Memoir* to sheet 17) immediately east of the road to Jerusalem at *Sh’afât*.

*Bethel* was also a centre of idolatrous worship side by side with the “School of the Prophets.” The Altar of the Golden Calf stood here, as well as the cairn which Jacob raised and anointed. Colonel Wilson was, I believe, the first to point out the curious circle of stones immediately north of the village (see P. E. F. Photograph) which though much decayed reminds one irresistibly of the rude stone temples of our own country.

At *Shiloh* we find no marks of Sun worship, but the lofty mountain called *Tell ’Asûr* north of *Bethel* is no doubt the old *Baal Hazor* or “*Baal of the enclosure*,” an ancient circle of stones now destroyed. Traces of a similar circle were observed south-east of *Jenin*, and a rude stone monument described in the *Memoir* (sheet ix, *Deir (Huzâleh)*) has every appearance of being an ancient altar. A second altar west of the great plain at *Abu ’Amr* is built of undressed stones, and beside it is a sacred tree and tomb and a cave with steps leading down.

As we approach Galilee we find other centres on *Tabor* and *Carmel*. The ancient *Tabor* (“umbilicus”) is the modern *Jebel et Tôr*; *Josephus*

NOTE.—I should mention that I am indebted for this piece of information to General Forlong, whose learned work on ancient religions is shortly to be published, and who has directed my attention to the question of Syrian idolatry generally, and given me much valuable assistance in understanding it.

calls it Itabyrium, and another mountain of that name in Rhodes was consecrated to Jupiter. It is thus perhaps that the scene of the Transfiguration has been shifted from its proper site near Banias to the sacred mountain of Tabor. On Carmel we find the altar of Baal beside the ruined altar of Jehovah in the time of Elijah. The great peak of el Mabarakah ("the place of Sacrifice") at the south-east end of Carmel is still revered by the Carmelite Monks and by the Druses of Estia, and appears to have been the place visited by Julian the Apostate when he sacrificed to the God Carmel, who had no temple but only an altar. The peak is admirably adapted for a sanctuary of the Sun God, and stands up conspicuously, being visible from near Jaffa in fine weather. Beneath is a sacred tree beside a well.

It is very remarkable that the tomb of Joseph is flanked by two pillar-like altars, on which sacrifices are still offered by fire. Such pillar-like altars are known to have belonged to the ritual of sun or fire-worship, like the fire towers of the Guebres; and it might be suggested that the extraordinary conical mounds at *Málhah* near Jerusalem, one of which is 30 feet high, and 20 feet diameter at the top, and even the great conical hillock of Tell el Fúl, structures for which no date and no good explanation has yet been offered, may be remains of ancient altars or sacred beacons. In Galilee we find the sacrifice of articles by fire still observed by the Jews at the tomb of Bar Jochai, on the side of Jebel *Jermák*, the highest mountain of the district, and a sacred cave occurs close by. Of the rude cromlechs discovered by Lieutenant Kitchener in this district, one is called *Hajr ed Dumm*, "the stone of blood," no doubt from a tradition of sacrifices there offered.

Many sacred stones occur throughout the country, as the *Hajr Dabkan*, near Mar Saba, the traditions concerning which were collected by Mr. Drake, and the *Hajr Sidna 'Aisa* on the side of the conical mountain called Neby Duhy, and the *Hajáret en Nusára*, or "Christian's Stone" above Tiberias, now connected with a monkish tradition. Nor must we forget the *Mesháhed* (bætuli Edoth or "Witnesses") which pious pilgrims erect whenever they come within sight of a famous shrine. The Survey Cairns were occasionally thought to be sacred structures, as at Jeb'a, where the Dervish volunteered to "pray for the pillar in the day of our journey." Among the ancient Arabs such stones were at once the bodies of divinities, and also altars on which their victims were offered.

The great centre of sun worship was, however, apparently on Hermon, and the numerous temples which were built on this holy mountain, as late as the 2nd century A.D., were found by Colonel Warren to face the rising sun, seen to such advantage from the summit.

On the top of Hermon is a plateau, and from this rises a sort of peak or natural altar, round which a circle of masonry has been built, while a small pit is sunk in the top of the rock. There was no temple actually on the summit, though a small one remains outside the circle on the south. On the north is a sacred cave with a flight of steps. Other caves

lower down the mountain are used by the Druses for the retreat of their initiated, and the Druses are known to preserve the rites of the Gnostics, to whom sun worship was familiar.

At Tyre, on an isolated hillock, stands the fane of Neby M'ashúk, "the beloved of women," no doubt the ancient Adonis or Melkarth, and the tradition of this local sun god is preserved in the annual festival of St. Mekhlár, observed in this city, when his votaries descend to fish for the purple-shell or Chilzon, which is mythically connected with the history of the Tyrian Hercules, or Melkarth.

The great shrine of Venus and Adonis at Aphéka, lately described by Mr. Lawrence Oliphant, was destroyed by Constantine; but many practices belonging to this worship survive among the Nuseiriyeh and Ism'aileh, who worship the sun, moon, and elements in the northern Lebanon, and even human sacrifice is said by the Maronites to be one of their customs; a relic of the human sacrifices of Baal, Moloch, or Saturn among the Canaanites and Phœnicians, and a certain indication of sun worship. In connection with this question, it is curious to note how persistent this tradition of secret human sacrifice is in the Levant. Gibbon describes the charges of this kind brought by pagans against the early Christians, and St. Epiphanius gives a detailed account of the "Perfect Passover" of the early Gnostics—the sacrifice of a child. The same charge was brought against the Templars in the 13th century, and it is yet a common imputation against the Jew in the East, as is shown by the following passage in one of the Sultan's proclamations quoted by Mr. Oliphant.

"We cannot permit the Jewish nation (whose innocence of the crime alleged against them is evident) to be vexed and tormented upon accusations which have not the least foundation in truth," viz., "that they were accustomed to sacrifice a human being, to make use of his blood at their feast of the Passover."

East of Jordan some traces of the worship of Ashtoreth should be found at her famous shrine. Mr. Oliphant has already described the curious pillar of Job, which had never been visited since the 5th century; but I believe no explanation has been offered of the occurrence of solitary pillars, as for instance, north of Aere, and near Baalbek. There seems every probability that they are columns on which the hermits who imitated St. Simeon Stylites used to seat themselves—a practice much older than Christianity, and directly connected with the worship of the Sun's creative power. Many of these hermits lived in the 5th century in Syria, more especially near Aleppo, where are the ruins of the great Cathedral of St. Simeon. Similar practices are recognisable among the Hermits, who by contemplating their own stomachs (like the Therapeutæ, or the Indian Fakirs) at length beheld the sacred "Light of Tabor."

It is not too much to say that every isolated round or conical mountain top in Palestine, was once a seat of sun-worship. Thus at *Sheikh Iskander*, west of the Plain of Esdraelon, on a conical volcanic peak, we find the shrine of a prophet, who is described as contemporary with Abraham, and as having rams' horns like the sun-god Jupiter Ammon

Neby Duhy is a similar conical peak north-east of the last, and has a domed shrine on the top. The legend attached states that the bones of the saint were carried there by his dog, which reminds us of the Parsee veneration of dogs (the companions of Mithra), who to the horror of Greek writers were permitted to devour the bodies of the most noble among the Persian fire-worshippers.

The translation of bones or relics is a common Moslem tradition. Thus on Ebal we have the sacred shrine of the *'Amād ed Dîn*, "pillar of the faith," and near it the sacred cave of *Sitti Islāmīyeh*, who gives her name to the mountain, and whose bones were carried through the air to this spot from Damascus.

The remarkable mountain near Jericho with its natural conical top called *'Esh el Ghuráb*, or "Raven's Nest," is specially described in "Tent Work," chap. xiii, as having been supposed by the Crusaders to be the Mountain of the Temptation, a tradition still extant among the Bedawin. This curious but impossible legend may perhaps have its origin in an ancient sun-myth, connected with the hill, and adopted by the Byzantine Monks.

The conical form of the summit of the Kurn Sartabel (the Jewish beacon station where a fire was lighted on the appearance of the new moon) is also very remarkable. It might almost be cited in favour of the identification of this place with the "witness" altar of Ed, which I proposed in 1874, and to which the main objection lies in the opinion of Josephus that Ed was East of Jordan.

The cone is 270 feet high, the sides sloping at about 35°. There is an oval surrounding the building on the summit, and formed by a mound of stones rudely heaped up. This measures 90 feet E. and W. by 260 N. and S. The central building is a platform or foundation built in 10 courses of large drafted stones (possibly crusading work). Towards the north of the platform we found traces of burning, showing that a beacon had once been lighted here. The sides of the cone are artificially trimmed from the natural rock. To the east is a terrace with caves, an aqueduct collected surface drainage and carried the water to rocky reservoirs just beneath the peak. The general effect is that of an ancient Sun Temple which has been converted later into a small fortress.

The shrines on every mountain, and under every green tree, have been already described in "Tent Work." The prophets called Belân, Baliân, and B'alîn, are perhaps the modern representatives of the ancient Baalim, and a male and female saint are constantly worshipped, as were Baal and Ashtoreth in shrines near to one another, many of which have sacred caves beneath.

*Neby Turjini* again possibly takes his name from the Teraphim, or "serpent images" such as those that Rachel stole from her father Laban.

Those who are interested in ancient superstitious may find this short enumeration of facts of some value, and the subject (in spite of the difficulty of collecting reliable information) is one which deserves to be further pursued.



## NOTES ON DISPUTED POINTS.

*House of Aphrah* (בית לעפרה).—Mr. W. F. Birch treats this name (Micah i, 10) as that of a town, which he proposes to identify with *Beit 'Affeh*.

I would submit that there are several objections to this view. First, that there is no radical connection between the Hebrew and the Arabic. Secondly, that the occurrence of the Hebrew particle in the sentence (*Beth li Aphrah*) seems scarcely to agree with the supposition that we have to deal with a topographical name, Beth Aphrah. The verse contains a pun on the noun Aphrah and the verb עפר "to roll"; as does verse 14, on the name Achzib and the verb "to lie." The topographical value of the passage seems to be small, as the names Zaanan, etc., occur in other places, where the indications are better as to their relative positions. It may be noted that if Aphrah were really a town, a possible site might be found at the important ruin of Beit Fâr ("House of the Mouse") Fâr representing the ancient *Aphrah* ("Gazelle") with the loss of the initial guttural—of which there are occasional instances; but this is at best only a conjecture, as the identification with Beit 'Affeh must apparently also be considered.

*Gath*.—Mr. Trelawney Saunders adduces in support of his view that Gath was in the south of Philistia, the passage where Samuel is said to have recovered the cities of Israel from Ekron even unto Gath (1 Sam vii, 14); but against this it may be argued that Gath and Ekron occur frequently next one another in topographical lists.\*

The question which is thus raised is one of considerable interest, namely, whether the Jews ever possessed any land in Philistia proper.

In the Book of Joshua, three of the five great Philistine cities (Ekron,

\* Mr. Trelawney Saunders appears to think that there is a philological disagreement between Professor Palmer and myself. If this were the case, I should no doubt be wrong, but we both stated that the Arabic for Gath was *Jett*; and I believe Professor Palmer would be the last to urge that a place called *Jenneta* was Gath, unless strong reasons could be adduced to prove the corruption of the word.

Mr. Saunders is scarcely correct in stating that Shaaraim was a town of Simeon, and therefore objecting to S'aïreh. Shaaraim is attributed to Judah, and occurs with Adullam, Soeoh, &c., in the Shephelah (Josh. xv, 36), in a position exactly agreeing with that of S'aïreh.

It is true that the name stands in one passage (1 Chron. iv, 31) for the Sharuhén of Simeon (Josh. xix, 6), but the nomenclature of the list in Chronicles is well known to be very corrupt.

The route Mr. Saunders indicates for the defeated Philistines is even longer than that which I wrongly supposed him to mean.

A pursuit and a return of more than 60 miles must have intervened before the Children of Israel got back to spoil the tents (1 Sam. xvii, 53). This would have occupied two or three days. It would have been remarkable if anything remained to be spoiled after this interval.

Ashdod, Gaza) are allotted, "with their villages," to Judah, but there is no enumeration of these villages, and the detailed enumeration of the towns of Judah is confined to the mountains and the Shephelah.

In the time of Joshua's first campaign there is no mention of the conquest of Ekron, Ashdod, Gaza, Ascalon, or Gath, or of any town in the *Sadeh* or plain of Philistia, save Eglon and Lachish, close to the Shephelah hills.

In Judges (i, 19) we read that Judah "drove out the inhabitants of the mountain but could not drive out the inhabitants of the Valley (Emek) because they had chariots of iron." Ekron, Ascalon, and Gaza were, however, conquered at this time (verse 18), though apparently soon after lost.

In the time of Rameses II, all Philistia appears to have been under Egyptian rule; and the Philistines were of Egyptian extraction. In the days of Samuel, Saul, and David, the contests with the Philistines occurred in the Shephelah and on the border of the Judean Mountains.

Josephus also makes use of the remarkable expression—"that mountain where the tribe of Judah ended"; and even Adullam is once spoken of (1 Sam. xxii, 5) as beyond the border of Judah. The frontier of Rehoboam was drawn from Zorah and Azekah to Gath, including the fortified towns of Adullam, Lachish, Adoram, Mareshah, and Shochoh. Thus it is clear that Philistia was excluded from his kingdom, and by the time of Ahaz the Shephelah also had been entirely lost, while the expeditions of the Hasmoneans into Philistia were mere raids, with only temporary results.

It would seem then that Philistia never was conquered by Judah, and if this be the case, the cities recovered to Judah by Samuel between Gath and Ekron would probably be those enumerated in Joshua xv, 41, on the border between Philistia and the Shephelah, and near the site of Samuel's victory in the Valley of Sorek. The recovery is noted as the result of that victory not as entailing a further campaign (c.f. Ant. VI, 2, 3); and if the above conclusion be accepted, the passage quoted by Mr. Trelawney Saunders does not place Gath in the south.

Mr. Saunders suggests that "accepting Lieutenant Conder's interpretation of Abu Gheith as Father of Rain, the designation suggests an attribute of mystic power, and so may be carried back to some incoherent traditional remembrance of Goliath."

According to Freytag's Dictionary my translation is correct. I am not aware of any tradition connecting Goliath with the rain, but there are many traditions of Moslem Dervishes who were, and are, supposed to be able to give or withhold rain, and the name is probably quite modern. Inquiries on the spot might be interesting.

*Megiddo*.—The suggestion that the name *Mukutta'* may be a corruption of Megiddo is open to the objection that only the M is common to the two names, and, which is more important, that the T in the Arabic word is the Hebrew ט or strong t, which is not interchangeable with the Daleth.

Mr. Trelawney Saunders also follows Robinson in an assumption which

seems to be contrary to two passages in Scripture, viz., in supposing that the stream which springs near Lejjûn is the ancient Kishon, and thus unconsciously begs the question of the identity of the "Waters of Megiddo" with the River Kishon.

Now Barak encamped on Tabor before defeating Sisera (Judges iv, 12), and the Canaanites advanced on that position. "I will *draw unto thee* to the River Kishon, Sisera" (verse 7). In the Psalms also (Psalm lxxxiii, 9) we read "as to Sisera, as to Jabin, at the brook of Kishon: which perished at Endor," which is close to Tabor on the south.

It thus seems clear that the name Kishon applied not to the affluent from Lejjûn, but to the stream from the springs of el Mujahîyeh ("the place of bursting forth") west of Tabor.

Mr. Saunders says, "it seems impossible to separate Megiddo from the Kishon." If this were the case, then the site of Lejjûn could not be that of Megiddo according to the biblical definition of the Kishon.

Robinson's identification of Megiddo with Lejjûn rests mainly on the proximity of Taanach, a town often mentioned with Megiddo in the Bible. It cannot be too clearly stated that the only connection between the names Legio (Lejjûn) and Megiddo is found in Jerome's paraphrase of the term Bikath Megiddon by the "Campus Legionis." Megiddo is mentioned with Bethshean Jezreel and other places in the Jordan Valley (separate towns of the tribe of Manasseh) as well as with Taanach, and there is no real foundation for the assumption that the Valley of Megiddon was the Plain of Esdraelon, for the term *Bikath* (rendered Valley in the A. V.) is also used in the Bible of the Jordan Valley (Deut. xxxiv, 3; Zech. xii, 11), and on the edge of the broad Bikath of Bethshan the important ruin of *Mujedda'* with its springs and streams now stands.

Mr. Henderson has quoted in defence of my theory, the translation given by Brugsch of a passage in the "Travels of a Mohar" (for the quotation of the Poem of Pentaur as including the statement that Megiddo was near Bethshean appears to be an oversight. The Pentaur Epic refers to the wars of Ramesses Mianun against the Hittites). This translation is more favourable than that of Chabas, and was not previously known to me.

In support of the *Mujedda'* site, another argument may be drawn from the account of the flight of Ahaziah from Jezreel (2 Kings ix, 27), "he fled in the direction of Beth-hag-gan" and was slain "at Maaleh Gur, which is by (or near) Ibleam, and he fled to Megiddo and died there."

Dr. Thomson many years since proposed to recognise Ibleam in the ruined site of *Yebla* which gives its name to a long valley south-east of Tabor. On the plain east of Tabor also, fifteen miles from Jezreel, is the ruined village of Beit Jenn ("house of the garden"), exactly representing the Hebrew Beth-hag-gan, rendered "garden house" in the A. V., and the road from Jezreel past Tabor and past the head of Wâdy Yebla, towards Beit Jenn, leads over a rolling plateau where a chariot might easily be driven. After crossing the bed of the Jezreel Valley it ascends gradually towards en N'âûrah (Anaharath), and on this *Maaleh* or ascent stands the ruin *Kâra*, a word derived from the

root *Kâr*, which is cognate to *Jâr* or *Gâr*, all having the meaning of "hollow." This ruin, possibly representing Gur, is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles north-east from Jezreel, and five miles west of the ruin *Yebba*. We thus appear to recover the names Gur Ibleam and Beth-hag-gan in connection with some other north-east of Jezreel, and this is much in favour of the Mujedda' site, because an easy chariot road leads from *Kâra* south-east, crossing the upper part of W. Jalûd, and thence skirting the foot of Gilboa to Mujedda'.

I have hazarded the suggestion that the Kings of Judah used the Jordan Valley as their highway to the north; that, instead of toiling over the hostile mountains of Ephraim they marched up to assist the Israelite monarchs by the chariot road from Jericho, and advanced to oppose Necho by the same route. Megiddo would thus seem to have been their outpost on this route, and Ahaziah's retreat to it is intelligible, whereas the reason of his flying first south to Jenîn, and then back north to Lejjûn has never appeared intelligible.

In order to render this interesting subject more clear, the following points are recapitulated as those which seem most to require consideration.

1. There is no known connection between the ruin Lejjûn (Legio) and the site of Megiddo, either by name, by measured distance, or by tradition.

2. It is purely an assumption that the plain of Esdraelon is the Valley of Megiddon.

3. It is an assumption which contradicts Scripture that the stream from Lejjûn is the ancient Kishon.

4. It is a pure assumption (and a very misleading one) that the "Waters of Megiddo" were the Kishon river.

5. The mention of Taanach in connection with Megiddo should not outweigh the notice of Bethshean, Ibleam, Endor, Zartanah and other places east of Jezreel, also mentioned with Megiddo (see *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement, January, 1877, p. 16*).

6. The Egyptian records, so far as they elucidate the subject, are favourable to the Mujedda' site.

7. The ruin Mujedda' is ancient, well watered, situated in a plain on an important high-road; and here only has a name closely approaching to the Hebrew Megiddo been found.

8. The topography of Ahaziah's flight may be explained in easy accordance with the situation of Mujedda'.

I am far from supposing this question to be settled, but it seems that the *Mujedda'* site has claims to attention which recommend it to such careful critics as Mr. Henderson has proved himself to be; and that it should not be condemned merely because the assumptions of Dr. Robinson are taken as of equal value with his sounder arguments. The Lejjûn site rests on a more flimsy argument than perhaps that which fixes any other important biblical site, for we have positively not a single statement of the identity of Legio with Megiddo by any ancient authority. It is a vague conjecture, and not an identification at all.

*Gibeah of Saul.* In this case also we have to contend with an assumption of Dr. Robinson's. There is no connection either by name or distance between Tell el Fûl (probably a corruption of the Hebrew Ophel or "tumulus") and Gibeah; and after many visits to the site I entirely failed to find any traces of a town or village. *Tell el Fûl* is an isolated monument (probably a beacon) and not a city at all.

In writing on this question Mr. Birch concludes that the Gibeah where the Levite's concubine was killed was not Geba of Benjamin, but a distinct city. It is, however, worthy of notice that a confusion is here introduced by the authorised version which in two cases reads Gibeah where the Hebrew has Geba. This has already been pointed out by Mr. Grove:—

"That they may do when they come to Gibeah (לִגְבֵעַ) of Benjamin, according to all the folly they have wrought in Israel (Judges xx, 10), and again:—

"The liers in wait came forth out of their places, even out of the meadows of Gibeah (מִמְעֵרָה גִבְעָה) literally "from the cave of Geba," Judges xx, 33); this shows that linguistically no distinction was made between Gibeah and Geba, just as the word is now spelt indifferently *Jeba'* and *Jeba'h*.

Josephus places Gabaath Saule at the Valley of Thorns; and if he refers to Wâdy Suweinît ("valley of the little thorn tree"), this favours the identification with *Jeba'*.

That Gibeah of Saul was a district having its capital at Geba would seem to follow from the following passages:—

"The uttermost part of Gibeah, under a pomegranate tree which is in Migron" (1 Sam. xiv, 2), Migron being near Ai, probably a district name or that of a natural feature (c.f. Isaiah x, 28).

"Saul abode in Gibeah, under a tree in Ramah" (1 Sam. xxii, 6) Ramah being south of W. Suweinît and west of *Jeba'*.

C. R. C.

## NEW IDENTIFICATIONS.

Beit Aula has generally been identified with Bethul, but is too far in the hills. The suggestion of Beit Leyi for Bethul leaves Beit Aula for Holon (Joshua xv, 51), which fits far better topographically.

Zephathah (2 Chron. xiv, 10) is probably the present *Sâfich*. See foot note to the note on Kadash Barnea.

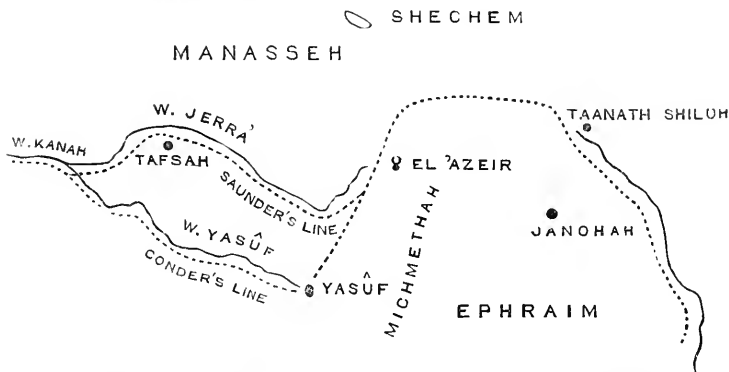
C. R. C.

## THE BOUNDARY OF EPHRAIM AND MANASSEH.

IN writing on this subject, Mr. Trelawney Saunders accepts in the main the line proposed by Mr. Kerr (*Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 41) which I have adopted in the "Handbook to the Bible" (p. 264), being convinced of the justness of Mr. Kerr's arguments.

Mr. Saunders, however, proposes a slight modification near the Mukhnah, carrying the line some two miles further north than I should do.

Mr. Saunders also proposes two new identifications, one for Asher, the other for En Tappuah (Joshua xvii, 7); both of these appear to be open to very serious objections, and had Mr. Saunders been in possession of facts recorded in the Survey Memoirs he would, I think, have hesitated in proposing these identifications.



As regards Asher, Mr. Saunders says (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 226)—

"On turning to the new map to discover Asher-ham-Michmethah that lieth before Shechem, there will be found the ruin El Azeir (Asher) in the Plain of Mukhnah (Michmethah) just outside Shechem, on the high-road to Jerusalem, and on the south side of Wady Kânah. The identification of Micmethah with the Plain of Mukhnah is suggested by Lieutenant Conder in his 'Handbook to the Bible,' p. 264, but he takes no notice of el Azeir except to insert it on the map."

So far, however, is this from being the case, that a careful account of el 'Azeir will be found in the "Survey Memoirs," while the place is described in "Tent Work" (chap. ii, p. 42, new edition) and mentioned in the "Handbook to the Bible," p. 256. The word is the common corruption of the Hebrew proper name Eleazar, and has only the R in common with Asher. The site is the well known tomb of Eleazar, the high-priest, son of Aaron, venerated by Jew, Samaritan, Moslem, and Christian alike, and mentioned by travellers from a very early period. A few ruins surround the monument, but the place is not the site of a town. It may also be noted that it is not in sight of Shechem at all, as implied in the Bible respecting Michmethah.

Such being the case, there is no reason to enter into the question whether the site would suit Asher, or whether Mr. Saunders is justified in making the word an adjective—preceding as it does the article. Gesenius renders *Mimethah* “hiding place,” and it is not impossible that the word *Asher* is a copyist’s error, reduplicating the word **אָשֶׁר** (“which”) that follows *Mimethah* in the Hebrew.

The second suggestion of Mr. Trelawney Saunders refers to *En Tappuah*, which he proposes as identical with the ruin *Tafsah*. The identification tempted me greatly when first considering this question, but the philological objection is too strong, for the introduction of the *Sh* (representing the Hebrew Samech) could not well be accounted for. There is, moreover, a more probable identification for this site, namely, *Tiphseh* (2 Kings xv, 16), noticed in connection with *Tirzah* and *Samaria*, as rebelling against *Menahem*, for it is impossible to suppose that in this passage the *Thapsacus* on *Euphrates* is intended.

Mr. Trelawney Saunders argues that the main line of *W. Jerra’* should be considered the *Brook Kanah* rather than the affluent *W. Yasuf*, but this must remain a question of opinion, because the name *Kānah* only now applies to the lower part of the great valley below the confluence of these two heads.

The important passage respecting this question (*Joshua xvii, 7*) reads thus :—

“The border went along on the south (“right hand” in A.V.) unto *Yeshebi En Tappuah*,” rendered “*Iassib* and the spring *Taphthoth*” in the LXX. The A.V. rendering, “unto the inhabitants of *En Tappuah*,” is so unusual and unmeaning, that it is only natural to conclude that the LXX translators were right in treating *Yesheb* as a proper name.

Now the confusion of F and B is a well known Samaritan vulgarism, and there is nothing impossible therefore in the identification of *Yesheb* with *Yasuf*, especially as there are five springs in the vicinity, one of which may have been the ancient *En Tappuah* or “apple spring.”

It appears to me *necessary* to carry the border thus far south, because of the special definition “on the south” as above noticed : for Mr. Trelawney Saunders’ line runs almost east from *Taanath Shiloh*, as will be seen on the detached diagram.

This interesting question might perhaps be still settled by a very careful investigation of the names of springs in the two valleys ; for ancient names still stick occasionally to the springs. Inquiries have, however, been made in 1877 without result.

12th November, 1880.

C. R. C.

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## MIZPEH.

PALESTINE is the place for panics. Seized with sudden terror, Philistines, Syrians, Romans, in turn left their fortifications and fled ; now at the rustling of a few leaves even Britons forsake the choicest identifications. Let those who stay behind divide the spoil.

Dr. Robinson was "inclined to regard Neby Samwil as the probable site of Mizpeh," where Samuel prayed and fought; judged Israel and proclaimed Saul king. It was exceedingly delightful thus to connect the most conspicuous land-mark of Southern Palestine with that grand Hebrew prophet. Afterwards an unaccountable doubt supervened and then, like a flock of sheep, away went half-a-dozen shrewd writers leaving the enthusiastic ones wavering, nor did the stampede reach only to Sha'fât or Scopus, but even beyond Beth-car.

Probably we may not rally the fugitives, but at all events let us try to re-occupy Mizpeh.

The following conditions have to be satisfied :—

(1.) Mizpeh was *in Benjamin*. Josh. xviii, 25, 26, "Gibeon, and Ramah, and Beeroth, and Mizpeh, and Chephirah, and Mozah." In Neh. iii, 7, the men of Gibeon and Mizpah are classed together. Both these indications very well suit Neby Samwil, about a mile south of Gibeon.

(2.) The name (signifying a "watchtower") implies that it was situated *on an elevated spot*. Here Neby Samwil has no worthy rival.

(3.) It was fortified along with Geba by King Asa, apparently to protect his northern frontier against the kingdom of Israel.

Lieut. Conder ("Tent Work," ii, 119) says of Neby Samwil :—"The very difficult approach, the magnificent panoramic view, and the numerous springs, would have indicated the place as a fitting position for a fortress, flanking the two main north roads to Jerusalem."

(4.) It *must* be visible from Jerusalem according to 1 Macc. iii, 46, "The Israelites came to Maspha *over against* (κατέναντι) Jerusalem; for in Maspha was the place where they prayed aforetime in Israel" (evidently identical with the Mizpeh of 1 Sam. vii, 6, 16; x, 17). As in the New Testament we have in Mark xi, 2, κατέναντι answering to ἀπέναντι in Matt. xxi, 2, in the expression "the village *over against* you," we conclude the words are interchangeable. As again in 1 Macc. vi, 32, Judas is said to have pitched in Bethzacharias (ἀπέναντι) "*over against* the king's camp" at Bethsura, seventy furlongs distant (Jos. Ant. xii, ix, 4), there is no force in the objection that κατέναντι in 1 Macc. iii, 46, is not satisfied by the position of Neby Samwil; for this hill is but forty furlongs from Jerusalem and also in sight. This (4) condition is most important, since while admitting such positions as Scopus, Sha'fât, and even Tuleil el Fâl, it excludes (I believe) all the district to the north-west of Jerusalem except Neby Samwil. This must be borne in mind in considering the next point.

(5.) The story of Gedaliah (Jer. xli). It is urged against Neby Samwil that as Ishmael went out of Mizpeh to meet the fourscore pilgrims going to the house of the Lord, therefore that city must have been close to the great north road from Jerusalem, and so could not have been at Neby Samwil. From such an eminence, however, a band of pilgrims like this would have been visible a long way off, so as to give Ishmael time to meet them; and next Josephus ventures to say (probably with truth) that they were bringing gifts to Gedaliah.



(6.) Ishmael carrying captive the people in Mizpah departs "to go over (what?—the Jordan?) to the Ammonites;" the loyal Jews, however, went to fight with him, "and found him by the great waters that are in Gibeon." Some writers are pleased to adopt the version of Josephus, who foolishly substitutes Hebron for Gibeon. But I would here ask two questions :— (1.) Who would think of going from Gibeon to Rabbath Ammon round by the southern end of the Dead Sea? Such a route is almost as absurd as the theory which sends Jacob's body to Hebron round by the north end of that sea, through taking "beyond Jordan" in Gen. 1, 10, in a different sense from the same Hebrew words (A.V. "on the other side Jordan") in Deut. xi. 30, see "Land and the Book," p. 580; "Handbook," p. 238. (2.) And next, why are the Hebrew and LXX readings to be rejected in favour of such an inaccurate writer as Josephus?

Ishmael in going from Mizpah to the Ammonites doubtless went by a route which *naturally* led him near the waters which are on the eastern side of Gibeon. Accordingly we conclude that neither Sh'afât nor Scopus, nor yet Tuleil el Fûl, could have been Mizpah, since the way from each of these places to the Ammonites would lead him directly *away from* Gibeon. As therefore the only place suiting both the conditions 3, 4, 5, and 6 is Neby Samwîl, we unhesitatingly assert that the only spot where Mizpeh could possibly have been was on the hill now called Neby Samwîl.

A few other points may be noticed :—

- A. Asa made a (great) pit at Mizpah (Jer. xli, 9) and Dr. Robinson observes that the rock at Neby Samwîl is *soft*. It is quite possible that by searching this underground cistern might even now be found.
- B. It is a natural and (I believe) correct assumption to take this Mizpeh to be the one mentioned in Judg. xx. Jephtha's victory and the expression "Shiloh in the land of Canaan" are in the Bible Dict. used as points in favour of the eastern Mizpeh. Jephtha, however, was born *after* the events in Judg. xx, and the same expression is used in Josh. xxii, 9, while in both cases Gilead is also named.
- C. Lieutenant Conder's explanation ("Handbook," p. 277) that Nob and Mizpeh are identical, becomes impossible, as Colonel Wilson has shown that Nob could not have been at Neby Samwîl. In the same place the notion is broached that the Tabernacle was at Mizpeh, because the words "before the Lord" are used in 1 Sam. vii, 6. The expression, however, does not necessarily imply this. David's covenant with Jonathan in the wood of Ziph and his anointing at Hebron were also made "before the Lord," but surely neither the Tabernacle nor the Ark was there at the time.

W. F. BIRCH.

## THE CITY AND TOMB OF DAVID.

VALUABLE as is Lieutenant Conder's Survey work, he is, I believe, radically wrong on Jerusalem. Theories proposed by him, however, may not improbably be accepted by some, as well-established facts, so that it is necessary for me to point out how his fire (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 228) utterly fails to touch my position, viz., that the City of David was on Ophel (so called) *i.e.*, on the eastern hill south of the Temple. I will take his shots one by one.

1. I objected to his position for the Tomb of David, as being *beyond the limits of Zion*. He replies (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 228), "I am not aware of any direct statement in the Bible to the effect that the Kings were buried on Zion. The Kings were buried *in* the City of David." But the Bible twice states that the City of David was Zion. (1 Kings viii, 1; 2 Chron. v, 2. "The City of David which *is* Zion"). I have already stated (168) that "in the historical passages of the Bible the stronghold of Zion and Zion are identically the same place—both are said to be the City of David." But to prevent further mistakes on this point the passages shall be here given fully.

2 Sam. v, 7.	"The stronghold of Zion : the same <i>is</i> —	} THE CITY OF DAVID."
" " 9.	"David dwelt in the fort and called it—	
1 Chron. xi, 5.	"The castle of Zion, which <i>is</i> —	
" " 7.	"David dwelt in the castle ; therefore they called it—	

These four passages with the two given above, make it the A B C of Jerusalem topography, that, Zion, and the stronghold (of Zion) and the City of David are all one and the same place. If this does not tally with Josephus, then so much the worse for that arch-error-monger.

2. Lieutenant Conder thinks it "improbable that the City of David was on Ophel, for several reasons," viz. : (1.) That this identification is *contrary to the account of Josephus* ; but as he does not give particulars, it is not clear to what he refers. (2.) That the wall on Ophel was not *one enclosing*, but one *outside* the City of David. (2 Chron. xxxiii, 14.) What is the point of this ? Surely it was quite possible to build a second wall *outside* the enclosing wall of the City of David ; for it is quite unnecessary to suppose that the City of David occupied the whole of the Ophel spur.

(3.) That Millo was according to the LXX the same as Akra, and was *in* the City of David, so that I must either place Akra on Ophel or discard this identification of the LXX. That the Akra of the Maccabees and Josephus was *solely* and *entirely* on Ophel is just what I have all along been earnestly contending for (*Quarterly Statement*, 1878, p. 185 ; 1880, p. 168). The City of David being fortified was called the Akra (1 Macc. i, 33), and so Millo itself being a (considerable ! ) part of the former might easily in the LXX be translated "Akra."

3. I may reply that when Josephus is at variance with the Bible, the *only satisfactory plan* is to discard him altogether, and not make a

compromise between truth and error, from which have arisen almost all the difficulties about Jerusalem.

4. Josiah was buried *in his own sepulchre* (2 Kings xxiii, 30), and yet *in the sepulchres of his fathers*. (2 Chron. xxxv, 24.) Therefore Asa and Ahaziah equally with Jehosaphat and others may have been buried in the sepulchres of the Kings, although each was buried *in his own sepulchre*. N.B.—To speak more exactly: Asa was “buried in his own *sepulchres* (plural) which he had made for himself in the City of David” (2 Chron. xvi, 14). If Lieutenant Conder had carefully verified this reference of his, he would have altered the sight for the next shot, and so not gone so wide of the mark.

5. Of course the fact that the Royal tombs called (Neh. iii, 16) “the sepulchres of David” existed on Ophel is the very centre of my position. But the case of Asa just cited shows that it is only wasting powder and shot to argue that “as the word is used in the *plural* (לְבָרִי), and David himself can only have occupied one sepulchre, we are forced to understand this expression as elliptical, and as meaning “sepulchres of the House of David.” Clinging to an unsound theory, like blindly following Josephus, has evidently *forced* Lieutenant Conder into strange expedients, (1) to overlook “sepulchres” in his reference to Asa, (2) to find a difficulty in the Hebrew plural, so as (3) to make “the sepulchres of David” to be necessarily elliptical for “the sepulchres of the House of David,” even while Asa made sepulchres (plural) for himself.

The words of Nehemiah must be taken to mean the place where David was buried, unless some better argument than this can be alleged against the identification (see below, 9).

6. As the Royal sepulchres on Ophel are apparently those of David, since no elliptical expression is required, I take them to be identical with “the Royal cemetery (or rather catacombs) in the city of David,” since the *cemetery* itself is described as “the *field* of the burial which *belonged* to the Kings” (2 Chron. xxvi, 23). In this were (1) the system of catacombs, called “the sepulchres of David,” or “of the (good) Kings,” (2) the sepulchre of Uzziah, (3) the sepulchres of Jehoram, Joash, and Ahaz. I consider, however, that Lieutenant Conder is quite correct in maintaining that Uzziah was buried on Ophel, and when I add a reference which he has omitted, viz., 2 Kings, xv, 7, “they buried him (*i.e.* Azariah = Uzziah) with his fathers in the City of David,”—then from Lieutenant Conder’s premise, that “Uzziah was buried on Ophel,” followed by the Bible’s premise that “Uzziah was buried in the City of David,” we draw the inevitable logical conclusion—that “the City of David must have been on Ophel,” and my position is proved, and his own theory disproved by Lieutenant Conder himself. Leaving him to revise his premise we come to the next point.

7. Solomon’s palace no doubt stood on Ophel (so called). It is not however clear to me whether or not it embraced the “House of David (2 Chron. viii, 11) within the City of David, which house I am inclined to think was called *Millo*.”

The two passages quoted by Lieutenant Conder certainly do not show that it was not in the City of David, for they both refer, not to Solomon's palace, but to *the house which he built for Pharaoh's daughter*. (1 Kings vii, 8.) "His house . . . Solomon made also an house for Pharaoh's daughter."

8. Be it however that Solomon's palace was altogether outside the City of David, yet how is the conclusion to be drawn that "the tombs in the City of David cannot therefore, it would seem, have existed on the Ophel Spur"? This can only be on the groundless assumption that Solomon's palace occupied so much of Ophel as to leave no room for the City of David, while we know next to nothing of the size of either place.

9. "The House of David" (Neh. xii, 37) I believe to be the place where he lived, but on the admission that it means his *tomb*, Lieutenant Conder must again beg the point that it is an elliptical expression for the sepulchres of the house (?=sons) of David, if we are to understand that, though it was the tomb of David, he was not buried in it.

10. If by "in the Fort of Zion, in the City of David," Lieutenant Conder means *which was in the city of David*, this is an error, as the two are identical as shown by 1, in spite of Josephus.

11. Lieutenant Conder ("Handbook," 335) takes Gihon in the valley (Nachal) to be En-rogel, how then does he propose to draw a wall "westwards to " it instead of on its western side (2 Chron. xxxiii, 14) ?

12. I found it difficult (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 167) in regard to the House of David, to imagine how Lieutenant Conder could avoid placing it on Ophel; for I never anticipated the dash which would make it to be a place with which David had nothing to do either alive or dead. The next two shots seem enough to burst the gun. Let me show the fallacies.

13. "Solomon's palace was on Ophel. It was not in the City of David. Therefore the City of David was not on Ophel." Answer. There was room on Ophel both for Solomon's palace and for the City of David, just as there is room in Westminster for the Abbey and for the Houses of Parliament.

14. "Manasseh built a wall on Ophel. This wall was not in the City of David. Therefore the City of David was not on Ophel." Answer. The walls of the City of David were not so low down the Ophel hill as to leave no room for building another wall outside them.

15. "Millo was in the City of David. Millo, according to the Jews (who? Josephus or LXX?) was Akra. Therefore Millo was not Ophel." (*on Ophel*). I have admitted that Millo might fairly be called Akra by the LXX, but as I challenge any one to show that either 1 Macc. or Josephus places Akra anywhere else than on Ophel, I cannot for a moment admit the conclusion, "Therefore Millo was not (*on*) Ophel." The true position of the City of David is discussed in another paper.

My theory, whether *ingenious* or not, I believe to be true, and only for the sake of *truth* have I thus mercilessly pursued a friend through all the

errors which an excessive veneration of Josephus has chiefly produced, Strange as it may seem, Sion, Moriah, Akra, Ophel and Millo—are all names applied to one ridge. Be it observed, however, that the Hebrew Zion of the historical books is identical with the Greek Akra; Millo is part of Sion *i.e.*, of Akra; Ophel really was not the name of a *hill*, but of a certain part of it, a locality apparently near the south-east corner of the Haram; while lastly Mount Moriah, the part of the eastern hill on which the Temple stood—is only mentioned *once* in the Bible, for the term commonly used by the Jews was “the Mountain of the House,” which is equivalent to the Mount Zion of the first book of the Maccabees. The only other decided hill which I believe could fairly be reckoned into the Jerusalem of Nehemiah was the south-west hill, that of the upper city, and this is called in the Bible “the hill (Gibeah) of Jerusalem” (Isaiah, x, 32; see also xxxi, 4; lit. “against the hill”).

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### IT IS REQUIRED TO FIND THE ENTRANCE TO THE TOMB OF DAVID.

(1.) It is here assumed (as I think it may be demonstrated) that the City of David was on the eastern hill, south of the Temple. The following points are also assumed (though all are not at present capable of proof, while all (to me) seem highly probable) *viz.*, that :—

(2.) The Tomb was *within* the City of David, facing from west to south.

(3.) The pool of Siloah (Neh. iii, 15) was in the Tyropæon between the south wall of the Haram and the present (so called) pool of Siloam.

(4.) The stairs of the City of David (Neh. iii, 15) were near the pool and ascended some part of the west side of Ophel (so called).

(5.) The entrance to the Tomb was in a vertical face of rock, as is common in Jewish tombs.

(6.) The entrance was not covered over when Herod built the S. W. corner of the Haram Area.

(7.) It was in the great malaki bed, 40 feet thick, mentioned by Colonel Wilson.

To economise labour and expense it is desirable to ascertain how the malaki bed lies south of the Haram. Excavation must *decide* this; but excavation may be guided by the following considerations.

Colonel Wilson (Ordnance Notes) says (31) the upper beds of *missæ* dip 10° to east, and 15° to south.

(34 p.) The rock has a dip of 12° in a direction 85° east of north.

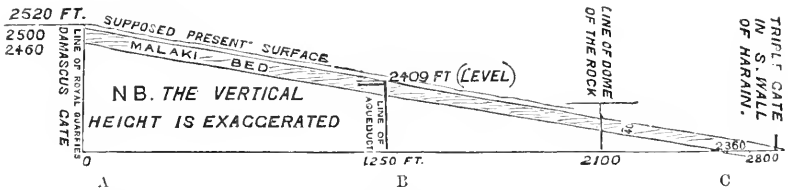
(3 p.) Strata near Jerusalem dip to E.S.E. at about 10°.

No doubt Colonel Wilson means these data to be taken for the *malaki* as well as for the *missir*, as Lieutenant Conder adopts them in *Quarterly Statement*. 1881, pp. 57, 58.

As however any dip of from  $10^\circ$  to  $15^\circ$  would cause the *malaki* on the eastern hill to bury itself, while as a matter of fact it keeps for a long distance near the surface, the data of Colonel Wilson seem (to me) to fail to help us in endeavouring to find the position of the *malaki* on the old rock surface of the western side of Ophel (so called).

Assuming therefore a uniform slope in the *malaki* and a uniform thickness, the average of the dip to south seems to be nothing like  $10^\circ$  (*i.e.* 17·3648 feet in 100 feet) still less any further approach to  $15^\circ$  (*i.e.* 25·8819 feet in 100 feet) but rather (so far as I can make out) about 7 feet in 100 feet at the most.

This conclusion is arrived at thus :—



The top of the *malaki* (which is excavated near the Damascus Gate, Ordn. Notes, p. 63) may be said to be about 2,500 feet above the sea, and the aqueduct, 1,250 feet distant from that point and near the N.W. of the Haram, is at a level of 2,409 feet (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 36), and the passages in the *malaki* near the Triple Gate (Ordn. Notes, p. 76) are about 2,360 feet above the sea.

(a) Therefore we have a fall from A to B (*i.e.*, in 1,250 feet) of 91 feet.  
 (b) and " " " " A to C (*i.e.*, in 2,800 feet) " 140 "

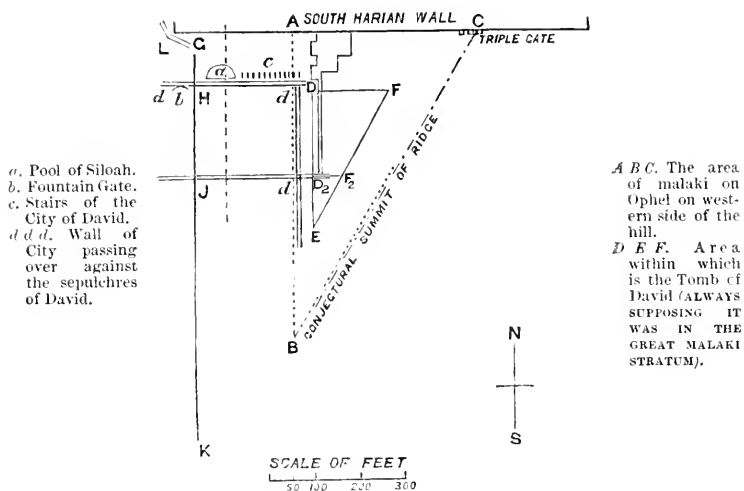
but at a dip of  $10^\circ$  we ought to have (*see above a*) in—

(a) A fall of  $\frac{1250}{100} \times 17\frac{1}{3} =$  or of more than 210 feet, and in

(b) " "  $\frac{2800}{100} \times 17\frac{1}{3} =$  " about 480 "

Here the discrepancy between the theoretical and actual fall is so great (*viz.* 210 feet instead of 91 feet, and 480 feet instead of 140 feet) that I think it will be apparent that the incline of the *malaki* southwards cannot be from  $10^\circ$  to  $15^\circ$  (*i.e.* from 17 feet to 25 feet in 100 feet) but about 7 feet in 100 feet.

It is uncertain where the wall crossed the Tyropeon (*see Quarterly Statement*, 1879, p. 174). If the aqueduct L be (as I suppose it must be) as old as the time of Hezekiah, it seems (to me) that it must have been within the walls, and, therefore, in order to find room for the pool of Siloah within the walls (may it not have been without?) the point H where *dd* intersects G K is apparently marked on the plan as far north as is prac-



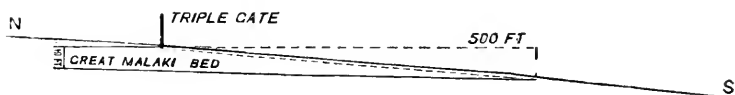
ticable for it to have been. The crossing wall however may have been further south, even as far as *J*, in which case the area to be searched is reduced possibly even to *D<sub>2</sub> E F<sub>2</sub>*.

Thus so contracted may probably become the possible area of malaki to be searched for David's tomb, that one is forced to contemplate the possibility of its not having been made after all in the malaki bed.

That the line of Robinson's arch cannot have been that of the stairs of the City of David seems to me impossible on account of the aqueduct "*L*" (see above). Nor can I think that Herod covered David's Tomb by his addition at the south-west corner of the Haram.

As the malaki falls to the east, and as it is not proposed to question the accuracy of Col. Wilson's statement that the passages underground at the Triple Gate are cut in the malaki, it seems we must allow that the malaki crops up at that gate, and thence southwards is for some unknown distance the surface rock on the top of the natural rock-ridge of Ophel so called.

Still assuming that the fall of the malaki is uniform, we must (as the Ophel hill falls very rapidly south of the Triple Gate) conclude that at 600 ft. south of the Haram wall, the malaki has already come to an end.



I question however whether it reaches as far as 500 ft. (as in plan), and of this length the last 100 or 150 ft. would be too thin a layer to be

probably used for a tomb. In like manner in the previous plan, it is necessary to leave a considerable distance between the parallel lines E F, B C, since it is not likely that the Tomb would be excavated near the top of the malaki bed, lest the roof of malaki should not be sufficiently strong.

The *scarp* (*Quarterly Statement*, 1879, p. 175) seems, however, to offer a short cut. Ten pounds spent by Mr. Schick would (I think) settle the question as to whether a wall ever stood at the top of it. If no city wall ever did, then (I believe) the face of the scarp (if bared) would reveal the entrance to *a*, if not to *the royal tomb*. The cost might perhaps be £50.

N.B.—The discovery of the wall crossing the Tyropæan would be valuable on its own account, and would not, I imagine, be a difficult matter.

The same may be said of the consequent discovery of the stairs of the City of David, and of the Pool (of Siloah), and these would show that we were on the right track for the Tomb of David, and would (probably) vastly reduce the area of malaki to be searched by giving us the right positions of D F or D<sub>2</sub> F<sub>2</sub>.

W. F. BIRCH.

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### EBEN-EZER.

As sparks of topographical truth are likely to be elicited by the collision of different opinions, I hope that the identification of Mizpeh with Nēby Samwīl will be attacked by those who disapprove of it. Confident that this is the real position of Mizpeh, we next turn to the Survey Map to search for the other places named in 1 Sam. vii, 11, 12, viz., Bethcar, Shen and Ebenezer. Mizpeh witnessed a trying hour for penitent Israel when the Philistines drew near to battle as Samuel was crying to God: the smoke of the burnt offering was still going up to heaven, when suddenly the black clouds burst in a terrific thunderstorm over the heads of the unfortunate invaders. They reeled, turned, and soon before the well-known Jewish rush were flying panic-stricken down the long slope towards Yesin, nor did the pursuit along Wādy Beit Hanizā cease until they came under Ain Kârim.

Let us stand in imagination upon the octagon tower at Nēby Samwīl and survey this most interesting scene of Samuel's victory.

There, due south of us, just three miles off on the high ground, we see Shen (Yesin). More to the right (*i.e.* west) appears Ain Kârim (Bethcar) under which the Philistines passed in their headlong flight. Still further to the right we detect Aphek (Kăstûl) three and a half miles off. Below us (between us and Shen), on the ridge running towards Lifta—is a ruin (about a mile from where we stand) called Khurbet Samwīl. There it was that “Samuel took a stone and set it up, and called the name of it Ebenezer, saying, hitherto hath the Lord helped us.”

I hope the New Expedition will accept the omen, and begin its valuable



work by taking a photograph of so deeply interesting a spot. And then if every person and place bearing this world-wide name will either take a copy or subscribe to the Palestine Exploration Fund, enough money will be at the disposal of the Committee to enable them to discover the sepulchre of David (on Ophel so called) in "the city of David, which is Zion." Thus will the great Zion controversy come to a happy end, in the complete identification of "the first three mighty" places of religious fame, Bethel, Ebenezer, and Zion.

*Shen, lit.* Ha-Shen, easily assumes the form Deir (Convent); *Yesin* (Survey Map); or Dair *Yaseen* (r'imm).

*Ain Kârim.* In *Quarterly Statement*, 1878, p. 198, it is suggested that this may be Kirjath Jearim. For Bethcar Lieut. Conder proposed Khurbet Hasan in 1876. Ain Kârim, 1878, but rejects both in 1879 ("Handbook," p. 424).

*Aphek*, where the Philistines encamped near Ebenezer (1 Sam. iv, 1), is said to mean a *fortress*, and so identifies itself by reason of *distance*, *character*, and *name*, with "the fortress-like village" of KÛstÛl, "an ancient 'Castellum' of the Roman conquerors." A neighbouring spring called Ain el Foka, might also be taken to preserve the ancient name of Aphek, if "Foka" (upper) did not frequently occur elsewhere on the map.

*Ebenezer.* The only previous site proposed (so far as I know) is Deir Abân (M. Gameau, 1877, p. 155), advocated by Lieut. Conder, 1876, p. 149, and "Tent Work," ii, 336. It is, however, twelve miles distant, as the crow flies, from Neby Samwîl, and far more by Wâdy Surâr.

As the stone was set up between Mizpeh and Hashen, while in this line Wâdy Beit Hammîna is but two miles distant from Neby Samwîl, the choice for a position for Ebenezer is very limited.

A reference to the map will show that there is a declivity running towards Lifta, on some part of which Ebenezer *must* have stood, since it is absurd to suppose that it was in the narrow ravine to the west. (1 Sam. iv, 1; v, 1.) Aphek is the present KÛstÛl.

Samuel's name might easily be connected with Ebenezer (just as Lieutenant Conder's is with the cairn on Râs es Sherifeh (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 105), and the place being called Khurbet Samwîl would easily lead to the height above being called Neby Samwîl, suggesting the present traditions. The recovery of this celebrated site seems to me to witness to the great value and excellence of the Survey work.

W. F. BIRCH.

*Sodom.* After placing Zoar at Tell esh Shâghlur, I have no choice left but to identify Sodom with Tell er Rama, about a quarter of an hour's walk towards the south. It is a gratuitous supposition to think that Zoar was nearer to the hills than Sodom. The narrative also requires that there should be but a short distance between the two places.

*Seirath* (Judg. iii, 26). The name apparently still survives in Umm Sirah and Wâdy Umm Sirah, about three miles north-west of Ain es Sultân.

W. F. B.

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### VALLEY OF HINNOM.

I PROPOSE to reconsider Colonel Warren's theory of extending the Valley of Hinnom up the Kedron ravine to the east side of the city. The Dean of Westminster has endorsed it ("Recovery of Jerusalem," p. xiv), and called special attention to its importance. M. Canneau, in 1870, advocated the same theory on finding a rock (Zehweleh) close to the Virgin's Fount, which he identified with the rock Zohemoth, and the fountain En Rogel. Other writers have also affirmed that the valleys of Kedron and Hinnom are identical; so that the theory would seem to have received some considerable endorsement; and Colonel Warren has reaffirmed it recently in his "Underground Researches" in the following words: "I have shown that the Valley of Hinnom is to the east of the city," p. 19.

It thus appears, a passage in Jeremiah has led eminent authorities astray, and that *east gate* has been accepted as a correct translation in chap. xix, 2.

"Go forth into the Valley of Hinnom, which is by the entry of the east gate." Jer. xix, 2.

This word would be as correctly translated *west* as *east*, and would be incorrect in either case, as the following comparison will prove.

"Entry of the (haresoth), east gate." Jeremiah xix, 2.

"Before the (haresath), sun went down." Judges xiv, 18.

If it indicates *sun-rising* in the first case, it indicates *sun-setting* in the other case; and hence means *west* in the one case, and *east* in the other, which is an absurdity.

The actual truth is simple enough. The word is used in the Bible to represent the sun as god of day, whether in the east, or west; and, therefore, the words *shor haresoth* (Jeremiah xix, 2) ought to have been translated by the simple title, *sun-gate*. It is the idolatrous and Moabitic name for the god of day, whether rising or setting. Hence, we read that one of the five Egyptian cities was called in the language of Canaan עיר תהום = City of the Sun, or Sun City (Isaiah xix, 18). And in another place, we read: "He commandeth לחרם = the sun, and it riseth not (Job ix, 7). The Hebrew root-word is *haras*, and in Arabic, *harasha*. The feminine plural form is *haresoth*, as given in the disputed passage.

A careful consideration of the whole chapter (Jeremiah xix), will make it self-evident that the prophet was not sent to the *east gate* of the Temple Area, but to some gate at the *south* of the Temple Hill, and of the Ophel. Here are all the controlling passages. Let us examine them.

“Go forth unto the Valley of Hinnom, by the entry of the (*haresoth*) east gate, and proclaim *there* the words that I shall tell thee.” Jeremiah xix, 2.

What definite locality is meant by the word *THERE*? no one can doubt it answers for the preceding words “Valley of Hinnom.” But *what* place in the Valley of Hinnom is definitely meant; is it east, west, or south of the Temple Area? The two passages we now cite, which follow the above, will give a definite answer to this problem.

“Behold the days come, saith the Lord, that *this place* shall no more be called *Tophet*.” Ver. 6.

“Then came Jeremiah *from Tophet*, whither the Lord had sent him to prophesy.” Ver. 14.

These are the controlling passages: surely no one will pretend to say that Tophet was at the *entry* of the east gate of the Temple Area, and yet Tophet was the exact spot where Jeremiah was sent to, and the *place* where he delivered the prophecy he was sent to deliver.

Tophet was *south* of the Ophel Hill somewhere; we need not discuss its exact place. No description of Tophet will apply to the *eastern side of the city*, or eastern front of the Temple Area along the Kedron ravine, especially Isaiah xxx, 33; 2 Kings xxiii, 10; Jeremiah vii, 31, 32; xix, 6, 11-14. Whatever place is meant by the *haresoth*, or *sun-gate*, in the passage in question which has led to this theory, Tophet was the place intended, and no other is meant; and Tophet is said to have been “by the entry” of this gate.

Whoever supposes that Tophet was placed by the entry of the east gate of the Temple Area must also be prepared to admit that Josiah, when he defiled Tophet (2 Kings xxiii, 10; Isaiah xxx, 33; 2 Chronicles xxxiv, 4), made a permanent place of defilement in front of the east gate of the Temple Area somewhere in the Kedron Valley; such in fact as ever afterwards became the only physical type of *Hell* known to a Jew. Such an abomination at the eastern front of the Sacred and Holy Place, and in sight of the worshippers, and under the very walls and foundations of the Holy Courts, is too horrible to contemplate, and would never have been permitted; and hence such an interpretation and theory as make this word *haresoth-gate* to mean *east-gate* of the Holy Sanctuary is utterly inadmissible. The objection is fatal to any such supposition.

It is much more reasonable to suppose that the prophet was desired to go to the south gate leading to Tophet, where the idolatrous people were probably assembled, in front of all the places devoted to Moabitish wickedness—to Tophet at the entry of this south gate, where the sun was probably then being worshipped. And in such a case, what would be more natural than for the Moabitish name of the sun as the god of day, to be given to this southern gate, and to be branded for the time being with the Moabitish name of the sun, then being worshipped at the “entry of the *sun-gate*? not that *shor haresoth* was its permanent name, but the locally descriptive name given to it for the time being, to be in accord

with the idolatry going on there, and the prophecy delivered by Jeremiah?

Colonel Warren says: "the Arabic accounts speak of the Kedron as the Wâdy Gehinnom." ("Recovery of Jerusalem," p. 239.) This is true. But the name is against the theory. The Kedron is a true ravine, and the Arabs call it the Wâdy Kedron; when speaking of it east of the Temple Area, and independent of its relation to the valley south of the Temple Hill. But *Wâdy Ge-Hinnom* means ravine of the Valley Hinnom, which is technically correct, for Kedron is the ravine or wâdy which runs through the valley in front of the Ophel Hill, and of the Pool Siloam. If the word *wâdy* was equivalent to *valley*, they would say Wâdy Hinnom, but never Wâdy Gehinnom, which is what they do say. They never apply the word *gai* to the ravine, and say Ge-Kedron, as they say Ge-Hinnom; yet they say Wâdy Kedron, but never Wâdy Hinnom. These objections might be multiplied a hundredfold; but I refrain, that my note may not be too long.

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Canada.

S. BESWICK.

## NOTES ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE EXODUS.

By GREVILLE J. CHESTER, B.A. (Member of the Royal  
Archæological Institute).

THE importance and interest of this subject will, it is hoped, be deemed sufficient excuse for my making a few observations upon Lieutenant Conder's paper in the *Quarterly Statement* of October, 1880.

In his first section Mr. Conder sums up his arguments based upon the extension of land due to the annual deposit of mud upon the Mediterranean coast, by stating that "in all probability neither the bar nor the lagoon (of Serbonis) existed at all in the early historic period of the Exodus. The old Serbonian Bog has no doubt (!) long since become dry, as the present lagoon appears also likely in time to become, and the fact pointed out by Mr. Greville Chester that the Gelseh (*i.e.*, Mount Casius) is merely a great sand-dune is of considerable importance in confirmation of this view." p. 232.

Now in respect to this statement I have to remark that while I totally disbelieve that the Serbonian Bog is the *Jam Sûph*, for reasons given in my report of my journey to the place in question, and while I consider Dr. Brugsch's theory of the route of the Israelites as far as Mount Casius, probably Baal-zephon, as *in its main features* a highly probable one (how the Israelites got away from that point is another and different question to be dealt with hereafter), I am disposed to consider Mr. Conder's remarks already quoted as destitute of any solid foundation in fact whatsoever. While fully admitting the advance of land into the sea by the

processes of deposit and silting up on the coast to the *West* of Gelse Hemdeyeh (the presumed Pi-hariroth), I am convinced by personal observation that such operations or processes are not in progress at the present time to the East of that point, and I am strongly disposed to doubt whether they *ever* were. In fact, whether from a reflux from the Eastward set of the tides from the mouths of the Nile or from some other natural cause, the tendency of the Mediterranean from Gelse Hemdeyeh to El Gelse, and thence to the Eastern end of Serbonis is not to *deposit* but to *encroach*. The low Gelse of Hemdeyeh has been shorn of its ancient proportions by the set of the marine currents, and some of the ancient fortifications which crown its low elevation have been undermined by the waves and have fallen upon the beach. I have no sort of doubt that the Ras once extended further seawards than it does at present. This is indicated by the existence of an ancient well-shaft in the face of the present cliff; and the existing stone walls of fortification which are adapted to a sea frontage were in all probability built as a kind of breakwater when a portion of the formerly existing town had been swept away. It is worthy of remark that the sea itself even for some miles West of Gelse Hemdeyeh has ceased to be muddy as it breaks on the shore, and all along the strip, from one end to the other of the Serbonian Lake, the water of the Mediterranean is as bright and clear as it ever is when the bottom is formed of sand. But further, the highest portion of the sand-dune of el Gelse (Baal-zephon) itself has apparently been bisected by the waves, and even when the sea is perfectly calm, as it was on the day of my visit, it is all one can do to pass between the sea and the headland. Driven by a north wind, the waves would doubtless impinge upon the cliff. And here again there is not deposition but encroachment. In short I am convinced that if the Serbonian Bog had any existence at all in ancient times it must have existed upon its present site, and upon none other. It could not, as Lieutenant Conder fondly imagines, have been situated to the *South* of its present area, and since have disappeared, because the hills of the Gebel, which, in places, are of considerable elevation, dip right down into the Lake. In other words there is no room for the Serbonian Lake between the Mediterranean and the Gebel in any other position than that which it occupies at present.

II. The hypothesis advanced by Mr. Conder at the beginning of his third section seems scarcely fairly put, for he assumes too much, and much indeed which is contrary to fact. He says, "If the distances implied by Brugsch are impossible, and the supposed route along the sand-spit was not only an unnecessary detour, but impossible, because no such spit then existed," &c., p. 233. Now "the supposed route," along the sand-spit was not, and Mr. Conder has not even attempted to show that it was, "an unnecessary detour." I believe, on the contrary, and the testimony of Sheyk Arâdeh and his Bedaween confirm my belief, that the coast-route from Egypt to Syria to the *North* is as short, and even *shorter* than that through the Desert to the *South* of Lake Serbonis, and it is only rarely used at the present day by the Arab passers-by between

Egypt and Syria, from the impossibility of calculating beforehand whether or no a passage across the inlet at the spot called El Saranî at the Eastern end of the Lake could be effected at the required time, for when the sea is rough the transit is impossible.

I cannot understand why Lieutenant Conder should assume that "no such spit then existed," if by the word "spit" he means the strip of sand along which I journeyed between the Sea and the Lake. If the strip of sand which forms the Northern shore of Serbonis did *not* exist, then Serbonis would not be a lake at all, but a portion of the open Mediterranean, and I have already given sufficient reasons for concluding that the "great Serbonian Bog" could have had no other position than that it at present occupies.

My reasons for suggesting that Tell el Hîr is the site of the Migdol of Exodus and the Magdolon of the Greeks, are that at that point I found not only the remains of a city of large extent and evidently of considerable importance in ancient times, but that at the same place I found a massive square *tower* of crude brick, the remains, evidently, of a strong and important frontier fortress. The Tel es Semût of Dr. Brugsch and several maps, I failed to find at all, and I am altogether at a loss to know why the Bedaween unanimously denied the existence of a Tel bearing any such a name. Mr. Conder jumps to the conclusion that it is an Arabic name, and translates it "Hillock of Acacias," but acacia trees do not grow in the Desert, and Dr. Brugsch claims the name as ancient Egyptian, and the place as having been in the XVIIIth dynasty the most Northern point of Egypt. He states that King Amenophis IV summoned workmen from the city of Elephantine to Samout, from one end, that is, of his empire, to the other. A similar collocation of places is mentioned in Ezek. xxix, 10, and xxx, 6, where the rendering of the A. V. "from the tower of Syene even unto the border of Ethiopia," is sheer nonsense, but is corrected in the equally authoritative margin, "from Migdol to Syene." It is worthy of note that there are several places in Egypt bearing names similar to Samout, of which the large town of Samanhood is a good example. Upon what authority, for he advances none, Mr. Conder says, p. 234, "The Baal-zephon of Brugsch has been *proved an impossible identification*," I am altogether at a loss to imagine. Who has "*proved*" it! On the contrary, such a competent scholar as Professor Sayce considers the identification to be nearly certain, and where, if not at Mount Casius, could such a name and place as Baal-zephon be looked for? It is a curious fact, and worthy of note in passing, that a more northern Baal-zephon, now Jebel el Akra in Northern Syria, had also its ancient shrine succeeded by a Temple of Zeus Kasios.

And here I would state that although I discovered by personal inspection that Dr. Brugsch's *Isthmus* from the Gelse to the mainland has no existence in fact, and proved that the Serbonian Lake, being a mere brine pit with a shifting bottom, and consequently without either a lacustrine or marine vegetation, neither is nor could have been the *Jam Sûph*, I am yet strongly inclined to believe that, omitting minor

details, Dr. Brugsch's proposed route of the Israelites from Sânis, in the main, the truest and most probable one yet proposed *as far as Mount Casius*. At that point, however, as I showed in my former paper, I part company with Brugsch Bey. The Israelites could not have crossed the Lake Serbonis by a non-existent Isthmus!

What course, then, supposing them to have reached El Gelse, could the flying people have pursued, when ordered by Divine intimation to desist from their direct route into Phœnicia, by the way or road of the Philistines! And here a point meets us of considerable importance. It is remarkable that throughout the *direct* narrative there is no mention of a *Jam Sâph*, or *Sea of Reeds*, at all. The *Jam*, the *Sea* alone is spoken of. The Israelites were commanded to encamp not by the *Sea of Reeds*, but by *the Sea*, which can scarcely be understood of any other body of water than the Mediterranean, cf. Exod. xiv, 2. Again we are told that the Egyptians with all the horses and chariots of Pharaoh overtook the Israelites encamping *by the Sea*, beside Pi-hariroth, before, or over-against, Baal-zephon, Exod. xiv, 9. Moses, again, stretched forth his hand over *the Sea*, and the Lord caused *the Sea* to go back by a strong East wind, and made *the Sea* dry land and the waters were divided. And the children of Israel went into the midst of *the Sea*, and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left, Exod. xiv, 22. And the Egyptians pursued and went in after them (upon the track made by the division of the waters) to the midst of *the Sea*. Then, when the chariots "drave heavily" and the Egyptians, convinced that the Lord fought against them, had turned to flight, the Lord said unto Moses, "Stretch out thine hand over *the Sea* that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots, upon their horsemen." And Moses stretched forth his hand over *the Sea*, and *the Sea* returned to his strength when the morning appeared, and the Egyptians fled against it, and the Lord overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of *the Sea*. And the waters returned and covered the chariots and the horsemen, all the host of Pharaoh that came into *the Sea* after them, there remained not so much as one of them, Exod. xiv, 23-28. Now it is surely a remarkable circumstance that in all this *direct* narrative not one word is said about any *Jam Sâph* or *Sea of Reeds*. The *Sea* is alone spoken of, and that in a manner suitable to the physical features of the region between the Gelse Hemdeyeh, the presumed Pi-hariroth, and El Gelse, Mount Casius, the presumed Baal-zephon. It is not until we come to the Song of Moses in the next chapter that any mention is made of a *Jam Sâph* at all, and this, coupled with the fact that the term *Jam Sâph* is unquestionably applied in other passages to the Gulf of Akâbah, cf. Exod. xxiii, 31; Judges xi, 16, may surely arouse the suspicion that the term *Jam Sâph* (translated Red Sea in Exod. xv, 4) may have crept into the sacred text of the triumphant poem sung by Moses and the Beni-Israel without due authority. If this indeed *be* so, the way would seem comparatively clear. The Israelites advancing from Zoan Rameses, through Succoth, the booth or tent-country of the Nomad settlers, and passing Etham (possibly Tel Defneb) and Migdol (Tel el Hîr), would

have encamped before Pi-hariroth (Gelse Hemdeyeh) between Migdol and the sea, with the height of Baal-zephon bounding their view in the dim distance in front. At this point, with nothing but the narrow strip of land between the "Gulfs" of Serbonis and the Mediterranean in front, and with the wild desert behind—truly "entangled in the land"—they would have been overtaken by the King of Egypt and the Egyptian host. These last, it appears, halted to rest, probably from the fatigue of the hurried pursuit, and to prepare for their attack upon the host whom they felt they had, as it were, driven into a corner, and who could not escape them. Then began the passage of the host of Israel between the waters upon the narrow strip of land, which by the action of a strong east wind all night was wider than usual; and consequently easier for the passage of the sons of Israel, who "went into the midst of the sea upon dry ground, and the waters were a wall unto them on their right hand (the side of Serbonis) and on their left (the side of the Mediterranean), Exod. xiv, 22. When morning dawned the Egyptians first seem to have found that their prey was escaping them, and they too adventured in pursuit upon the sandy strip between the waters. But the Lord Jehovah fought against the Egyptians, and at the stretching forth of the arm of the Hebrew leader over the sea, the Lord "blew with His wind" and the sea returned to his strength and the waters returned and overwhelmed the chariots which already had drave heavily in the shifting sands, and overthrew the Egyptians in the midst of the sea, so that there remained not so much as one of them; and, looking back, Israel saw the corpses of the Egyptians upon the sea-shore.

Now if this be a fair comparison and adaptation of the sacred narrative to the physical features in the neighbourhood of the Mediterranean and Lake Serbonis, it will be seen how well the former is suited to the latter, and how admirably constituted the district in question must have been for the escape of the one host, and for the destruction of the other. When too there is added to these considerations the extreme improbability that the Israelites, whose object it was to get out of Egypt and out of reach of the Egyptian people as soon as possible, would have taken a Southerly course from Zoan, and passed through or skirted along Egyptian territory in the direction of Suez, and beyond that taken a route close to the Egyptian Establishments and garrison at Sarâbet el Kadîm in the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula, it will appear almost certain that the route advocated by Dr. Brugsch and traversed by myself is the actual one pursued by the people of Israel. It is surely far *more than a mere coincidence* that on the direct road between Zoan Rameses and Phœnicia an occasionally wave-swept track should be found with the waters on the right hand and upon the left! When, however, their pursuers had been engulfed and they saw their dead bodies strewn upon the sea-shore, what was the most probable course taken by the fugitives? Here it must be admitted that great doubts and difficulties intervene. If the Israelites had reached Mount Casius (Baal-zephon), the only place on the strip of sand which affords space for a numerous host, they could not,



when relieved of their immediate fears of pursuit, have crossed over directly to the main-land, because there is at that point no isthmus or tongue of land across the lake. Nor, in all probability, would they have continued their onward route along the strip and crossed at its Northern extremity, even if at that time there were no inlet from the sea, for that course would have been directly in the teeth of the Divine intimation that they were not to follow the way or road of the Phœnicians. They would be therefore compelled to retrace their steps along the strip again left dry by the return of the Mediterranean to its usual level by the action of a wind blowing across the Lake, as far as Pi-hariroth, or rather a little beyond it, and then, doubling round the end of Serbonis they may have turned in a South or South-easterly direction into the Desert of Shur.

In what direction would they then in all probability have turned their steps? Mr. Philip Smith has suggested to me that in three days (if indeed this expression may not be a round rather than a certain number) the Israelites would have reached the Bitter Lakes, which he would identify with the Marah of Exodus. This view, however, seems to me to be open to two objections. Some at any rate of the Hebrew host must be supposed to have known that the lakes were bitter beforehand, and consequently the fugitives would rather have avoided them than directed their steps towards them. And, secondly, the position of the Bitter Lakes is such that the host in advancing from Pi-hariroth would have had to skirt the hostile Egyptian territory all the way, if indeed the Lakes were not in Egyptian territory itself. The so-called Scrapeum near Ismailia, where large Egyptian remains have been discovered, are no great distance from the Bitter Lakes, and the latter would have been on the direct route to Sarâbet el Kadim and the other Egyptian stations of the so-called Sinaitic Peninsula. The object of the Israelites being to *avoid* the Egyptians, they would surely have given them and their country as wide a berth as possible. It seems, therefore, far more likely that on leaving Pi-hariroth they should have taken a South-easterly, rather than a Southerly course into the desert, and it is in that rather than in any other direction, I take it, that the key to the difficult question of the route of the Israelites should be sought for and will be found.

In conclusion, I venture to add a few notes which may serve to illustrate the general question.

One of the principal French maps of Lower Egypt marks the Lake Serbonis as *Lac desséché*. Whether this was the result of an actual survey of the Lake I am very much inclined to doubt; I doubt also whether even when the inlet at El Saranit at the Northern end was closed the Lake was ever entirely dry. The rush of water into the Lake at this point at the present time, described by me as "like a mill-race" seems to prove not only the immense amount of evaporation incident to a body of water some fifty miles in length and bordered by the burning sands of the desert, but also that the lake is at a lower level than the closely neighbouring Mediterranean. Now if this be so another fact demands consideration. The strip

of sand between the waters is so narrow and of such an easily permeated material—loose sand with here and there detached slabs of conglomerate formed of shells and sand, bound together by the decomposition of the lime in the shells by moisture—that one cannot doubt that water is supplied to the Lake by infiltration from the Mediterranean, as well as by natural inlets. Now if this be the case, the lake would never be dry, never merit the term *desséché*; although it might at times be rather a bog than a lake.

Investigators of the route taken by the Israelites after the catastrophe which overtook their pursuers, will henceforth have to take into account the arguments of the anonymous author of “The Hebrew Migration from Egypt,” who endeavours, and that with considerable force, to prove that Mount Sinai is not in the “Siniatic” Peninsula at all, but in the neighbourhood of Mount Hor. In this connection I may state that the range of mountains to the South of Serbonis called by the Bedaween Hâleh (?Halal) were described to me by the Suarka Sheik Arâdeh as possessing springs and abounding in fine pasturage. If then the Israelites were on the way from Pi-hariroth to Mount Hor, they might have passed through Jebel Hâleb, and would there have found sufficient pasturage for their flocks and herds, which they could scarcely have done amidst the arid and burning defiles of the tract generally received as Sinai. This point, and the exact meaning of the expression Yam Sûph in connection with the Wilderness in the later Sacred Books, deserve careful investigation.

NOTE.—The sketch map which accompanied my previous paper on my journey from Sâh to El Arîsh makes no pretensions to minute accuracy, and is intended only as a rough approximation to the places indicated.

## LIFE, HABITS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE FELLAHIN OF PALESTINE.\* By Rev. F. A. KLEIN.

(From the *Zeitschrift of the German Palestine Exploration Society.*)

THE present inhabitants of Palestine (that is to say the sons of the soil, may be divided into three tolerably distinct classes :

- I. The inhabitants of the large towns (*madanî*, pl. *madanîje*.)
- II. The villagers (*fellâh*, pl. *fellahîn*, peasants, agriculturists, from *falâh*, he cultivates, tills the land).
- III. The Bedawin (*bedawî*, dwellers in the desert), who consider them-

\* Herr F. A. Klein (the discoverer of the Moabite stone) no longer lives in Palestine, but he had 26 years' experience of life in the Holy Land, and in his position of pastor of the Protestant Arab community—which he held for five years in Nazareth and the rest of the time at Jerusalem—he found many opportunities of holding familiar intercourse with the Fellahin.

selves the veritable Arabs, and proudly call themselves (and are sometimes called) *el 'arab*.

In their language, dress and the style of their dwellings, as well as in their customs and general mode of life, these three classes are sufficiently distinct, one from another, to enable those who have any knowledge of them to distinguish almost at the first glance or after hearing them speak a few words, the *Fellahin* from the *Mudanīje*, and both from the *Bedawin*.

Of course there are individuals of each class, in whom one finds modifications with regard to intelligence, civilization and mode of life. And between particular towns, villages or Bedawin tribes, we find more or less difference of character, language and dress. The *Nābuluser*, for instance, is the representative of a somewhat silly and ignorant type, and his way of making the sch into s (saying *sems* for *schems-sun*) and his drawling pronunciation of the final syllables (*ane mā suftōōs* instead of *ana mā schuftōsch*) gives rise to many jokes at his expense. Again the characteristic of the people of Jaffa is, that they throw themselves heart and soul into trade; money-making is their religion. The poor of Jerusalem are *da'watschije*, the technical term for those who pray for the preservation of the Sultan and his Kingdom. In the holy places many high masses are celebrated both by Mahometans and Christians. Most of the Christians who are not attached to religious communities have become poor, and with a few notable exceptions, have lost all feelings of honour or independence of spirit, and seem to have no energy for earnest work. With regard to the villagers many are proverbial thieves and impostors as, for instance, the inhabitants of Bethany and Lifta, near Jerusalem; others are restless and quarrelsome like the people of Rām Allah; others again are complete blockheads like those of Beit Jala, both of which places are near Jerusalem. At Jifneh we find a village with quiet, honest, industrious people, and quite near at Rām Allah are a set of cheats, thieves, and robbers—who give the police and magistrates no end of trouble. Again at Bethlehem we find a particularly industrious, intelligent class of people who are both ingenious and enterprising, whilst scarcely half an hour's journey carries us to Beit Jala, where they are dull and boorish, and show plainly by their mode of speaking that they are of a rougher stock than the more polished Bethlehemites. The Nazarenes are fine, high-spirited people, with very independent natures; there you hear more vigorous language, with the gutturals more clearly sounded, than anywhere else in Palestine.

With respect to the Bedawin, the tribe of Bene Sakr look with sovereign contempt on the tribe of Taamireh and also on the Ghawarineh of the Jordan Valley, partly because they are somewhat deficient in the manly feeling and courage which they themselves possess, but more especially because they do a certain amount of agricultural work, and this the true Bedawin consider a real degradation.

Although, as we have already said, the three classes may be pretty

distinctly divided from one another, there are many places which combine more than one element. Thus there are some towns in which, although a civilized mode of life prevails, you will find so large an admixture of the Fellahin element that you can only describe it as half a town, half a Fellahin domain. Gaza belongs to this category. On the other hand, in many of the large and prosperous villages like Bethlehem or Nazareth—(which in spite of its 5,000 inhabitants is only a large village of the Fellahin class) we find a good many of the higher elements of metropolitan civilization, and in such places the mode of life is very different to that of the Mahometan or poorer villages.

As a mixture of Fellahin and Bedawin, we may mention the people beyond Jordan in Jebel Ajlun and in the Belka, amongst whom with a little of the town and Fellahin element one finds, both in language and customs, a great deal that is of Bedawin origin. Especially in Kerak, for there nearly all the Christian families live in tents all through the summer. It is only during the winter that they return to their dwellings and live like Fellahin. The women of this part of the country, whether Christian or Mahometan, are scarcely distinguishable from those of the Bedawin.

The town people naturally consider that they have reached the *ne plus ultra* of civilization, and pity the stupid, boorish Fellah. The very name has become a term of reproach, and is used to describe a stupid, uneducated man. The Fellah accepts his position quite good humouredly and acknowledges his want of polish; his naïve excuse for any mistakes or stupid tricks is simply: *Māni fellāh?* Am I not a Fellāh? But the true Bedawi looks down upon both Townsfolk and Fellahin; springing on his noble steed he feels himself one of the lords of creation, and gazing from his tent over the wide-spreading plain, he asserts his superiority over these miserable dwellers in houses.

The Fellahin villages vary according to the wealth of their inhabitants and the building materials which the neighbourhood can produce. In the mountain districts most of the houses are of stone, which is easily obtainable. In well-to-do villages you often see a number of fine buildings, with large yards for the cattle, which are enclosed by strong, high walls: The dwellings are large and lofty with thick walls, and the vaulted rooms rest on very massive pillars; the builder cares little for beauty of style or even symmetry, his one idea is strength and durability; one seldom finds neat edges, good arches or correct angles; it seems that the love of the beautiful is no more developed in the present inhabitants of Palestine than it was amongst the ancient Hebrews. Nevertheless, in the richer villages, especially in the Nābulus mountains, one often comes across houses, belonging to Sheikhs or other persons of importance, which are built with a certain amount of taste, and have balconies, galleries and flat roofs, and well decorated doors and windows. Proverbs and the date of building (*tarīch*) are placed over the door, or somewhere on the walls; great sums are often spent on their erection, and a Sheikh's house has more the appearance of an impregnable fortress than

of an ordinary dwelling place. Such buildings were a necessity in the old days when their inmates were exposed to constant feuds between the different villages, and were always subject to sudden attacks. When the people are poor, they erect four walls of roughly cut stone built with mortar or perhaps only clay. These are roofed with trunks of trees, branches and faggots, over which they put a layer of earth about a foot deep and well stamped down. The whole is then overlaid with a mixture of clay and straw which soon hardens in the sun: the roof is sloped to allow the rain to run off. As a rule such a roof is strengthened before the winter with a cylinder. Where this precaution is neglected the rain soaks through to the layer of earth and makes it so heavy that should the supporting rafters be at all rotten, the whole roof falls through. After a long spell of rainy weather this not unfrequently happens and causes bad accidents. In the villages near the sea, where planks can easily be got, the upper rooms and roofs are often built of wood, and are made waterproof by a facing of cement, a mixture of lime, ashes and small flints.

In the great plains (round Gaza, Jafa and 'Akko) the Fellahin build their houses, or rather huts, of sun-dried bricks.

As a rule the villages are built either on the summit or slope of a hill, so that they may remain dry in the rainy season, during which many of the plains become impassable bogs, and also to protect them from the attacks of the Bedawin, who are far more formidable enemies on the plains than among the hills.

Except where natural surroundings of vineyards, olives or palm trees lend them a little beauty, the villages are very ugly and unromantic looking; no red tiles or green shutters—no cupolas or minarets break the monotony of the endless flat roofs. There are nothing but grey, meaningless houses which either look ruinous or else unfinished. The best buildings even have not so much as a parapet. The covering of cement makes them look like dull blocks of stone surmounted by mounds of earth, on which the grass grows in early spring, and on which sometimes one sees a goat grazing. The buildings are so much the colour of the surrounding ground that in the distance it is difficult to tell whether you are looking at a village or at a group of rocks. Perhaps the most wretched looking of all the villages are those on the great plains, which are built of bricks or even of mud. If, as sometimes happens, such a village is deserted by its inhabitants, a couple of centuries or less suffices to sweep away all trace of it, and unless it has contained wells or a large mill stone, there would be nothing left to testify to its former existence. This may be one reason why the sites of many places mentioned in the Bible can no longer be found. The Fellah cares little for light or air in his dwelling. He has no windows, for he could scarcely protect himself against the cold, rain, and sharp winds which windows would admit, seeing that the village carpenter (if one there be) has not mastered the mysteries of window sashes, and even finds a good deal of difficulty in putting up an ordinary door. Still the chief reason why the Fellah contents himself with so little air is from a fear of

night attacks, and from the necessity of being able to turn his house into a little fort in the event of a village war or of hostile assaults. In many villages (as for instance at Râm Allah) it is customary to steal to an enemy's house at night and shoot through any hole that can be found, in the hope that although the shot may not take effect, it will at all events startle and frighten the family. Provided the inmates do not sleep in a line with such an opening, these nightly visits cause more alarm than injury. By day the door is always open, it is against etiquette to close it, as they think it gives an impression that something is going on of which they are ashamed, or that they want to prevent the entrance of guests. Nor has the Fellaḥ any need of much light unless he happens to be a weaver or shoemaker (and of these there are but few), for his life is passed in the open air; either in the vineyards and fig gardens, or in the market-place or the thrashing floor, taking a siesta in the sun, smoking his pipe and discussing the news of the day with his favourite comrades. If he gets too hot or finds it wearisome, he goes to the inn (*madāfe*) which is sometimes town hall, casino and church (for the Mussulmen) all in one. He loves this out-door life, and only uses his close and unventilated dwelling as a safe place for his night's rest. Most of the houses have only one story, but well-to-do people, and especially the sheikhs, think a great deal of an upper floor where they can receive honoured guests, and where the host can remain with them and not be disturbed by the curiosity of callers or chance listeners. The walls are decorated and the floor cemented, and it is altogether better than the ground floor, to which not only all sorts of people, but even the cattle, have entrance. In the better houses there is generally a small terrace on the upper story, which is finished with a parapet (called a *hāzir* in Nazareth and also *umhawwata*) on which one has a good view and fresh air; it is a pleasant resting place after the heat of the day. In the plains even the poorest huts have (lightly built) upper floors constructed of branches, mats, and leaves, where the inmates take refuge during the summer from the suffocating heat and from the vermin which make the lower stories almost uninhabitable. The stone which is most in use for building, everywhere except in the plains, is a kind of limestone, of which there are several varieties. The *ka'kūte*, a rather soft yellowish stone, is easy to work and can almost be cut with a knife when newly broken; it hardens on exposure to the air, but is not durable, for it very easily breaks. On account of its lightness it is often employed in building upper stories to lessen the weight on the foundations, and also as a facing to doors and windows whenever decorations are required. A much more durable stone is the *malakī*, it is harder to work than *ka'kūte*, but it keeps its colour well and is of a good pure white; the Fellaḥin generally use it for their better houses. The *jchūdī* or Jew's stone is exceedingly hard, and has been but little used for building purposes; during the last few years, however, owing to a scarcity of material, it has been utilized in and about Jerusalem. Like the softer kinds it is cut in blocks, and the stonemasons of Bethlehem by the use of good tools and constant practice, have acquired a particular reputation for hewing it. It must have

been used in former times, for it is found in some of the oldest ruins, though only in unhewn blocks or in a very rough state. Round about Nazareth they use a porous limestone called *uāri*-firestone, on account of its not splitting when exposed to heat. It is therefore much employed in building ovens. They have also a very porous, light stone called *'akkād*. And latterly the *mizz hīlu* (also a limestone) has been much used in Bethlehem and other parts; it is a beautiful stone but very hard to work. In the regions of the Jordan and around the lake of Tiberias and the Dead Sea, black basaltic stone is often used and this gives the villages rather a melancholy aspect. If there are any ruins in the neighbourhood the people gladly make use of them so that one often sees ancient capitals and portions of pillars set into the modern buildings. They make their mortar of lime mixed with sifted earth; but for cottages or huts, clay is thought sufficient. The first consideration in building a house is making the foundations secure; if possible they must be on a rock and for this purpose they not unfrequently dig as far below the ground as the house is high above it in order to give it a firm basis.

This is a very necessary precaution; not only do the heavily built buildings require something to rest on, but the heavy rains in the winter bring a force of water that sinks into the ground for several feet and softens everything: a foundation only of earth would soon give way, and the building collapse.

The erection of a new house is always a great event in the village; the man about to build it thinks of nothing else. As soon as the plans are drawn and the foundations commenced, he sits down beside his architect, foreman, and builder (one and the same person) and calmly smoking his pipe, follows the whole process with the greatest interest, occasionally signifying his approval by giving advice or urging on the work. When it is a Sheikh's or some other village potentate's house which is being built, the celebrities of the place, priests, elders, etc., join him in order to show their interest in the important event. On these occasions there is a great deal of chatter, smoking, and drinking of coffee; the builder is praised or advised; the boys, girls, and women run about with baskets and little wooden trays carrying away rubbish and returning with mortar. An overseer, armed with a stick, marches round and brings up the idlers, giving them gentle reminders with his cane. After a long spell of work, or when the heat is very oppressive, their energy sometimes fails; they then enliven themselves with a song. Some one starts them by singing a few bars, and then they all join in, the subject is often very nonsensical, but when it refers to the splendid *backsheesh* or the good feast which they expect at the completion of the work, it always causes great merriment. The builder, as long as the work is in progress, is a person of great importance, and is treated with the greatest respect by his employer, even if this latter is a Mussulman, and the builder a Christian. A cup of black coffee is frequently offered him, to keep him in a good humour during the heat of the day, and this attention always pleases him. It is astonishing to notice how the Arab labourer will work from sunrise to sunset.

exposed to the most fearful heat, only resting an hour and a half at mid-day, and taking scarcely any nourishment save the cup of black coffee, which he considers the best of all refreshments when hot and tired.

When the house has progressed as far as the roof, that is to say when the side walls are up, and the framework and first covering of the roof is ready, all the village assembles to assist at its completion. Then follows much running to and fro and screaming and singing enough to drive any one wild. Some prepare the mortar; the boys, girls, and women hand it to the builder, and men bring up the stones. The builder places stone after stone, filling them in with mortar, and gasping with hurry and excitement; the children yell, the men sing choruses and the women join in the *zaghārīt*, until the solemn moment arrives when the last stone is about to be put on. Then the builder pauses and prepares to complete the work in a becoming manner, a youth with a loud voice announces that the crowning point has been reached.

The builder then makes a sign to the owner that all is finished, and this latter covers him with a mantle of honour (a black and silver embroidered *abā*) and hands him his *backsheesh*. After which the whole company falls to and devour a feast of meat, rice, and bread, and then depart highly delighted with their work and its reward. I have often witnessed such scenes in Nazareth and the neighbouring villages. Where the people are lucky enough to possess a newspaper or journal, a leading article enlarges upon the important event, and hands it down to posterity.

Every well arranged house possesses a bakehouse, for with the Arabs bread is really the staff of life. If the poor people have only corn enough (or even *dura*, a kind of millet) to make their bread, they consider themselves well off. All other food, even meal, they regard as a sort of vegetable, which they can do without. Many houses have their own bakehouse, but sometimes one has to answer for several families. It is generally a hut built of stone and clay, and scarcely high enough to stand upright in. The most important part of the oven is a platter or tray made of clay; it measures about 20 inches across; its surface is covered with small flints, and it has a closely fitting cover of the same material with a long handle. When they are about to bake, the cover is put on, and a lot of dried manure is heaped above it and set fire to; after a few hours, the whole thing is thoroughly heated; the ashes are then removed, the cover raised, and the dough laid upon the glowing flints in thin layers (something like pancakes), which very soon bake. When the baking is over the shelf is again covered up, the ashes are replaced, and more fuel is added so that the oven may be kept hot. As the bakehouse is generally warm, a Fellah often creeps in in cold weather to warm himself or to take a nap. It matters not to him that his clothes become somewhat scented by the odours of the peculiar fuel. He cares as little for that as he does for the jeers of his superiors. A little while ago during very cold weather, a mother put one of her young children into a bakehouse to warm it. She laid it on a mat and left it, but when she returned to fetch it, she found it dead and half baked, as the oven had become too hot.



Each of the larger villages are divided into quarters (*hārāt*); these are named either from their position or after the chief families\* who inhabit them. (*El-hāret el-fokā*, the upper part; *el-hāret et-sahur*, the lower part.) For instance, in the village of Rām Allah there is the *hāret esch-shakara*, the quarter of the Schakara; and *hāret el-hadade*, quarter of the Hadade. Different families inhabiting the same village often have feuds which last for years, and whilst they continue all communication is cut off between the different quarters. Each side has its own inn, and if, as, for instance, in a Christian village, the church happens to be in the A quarter which is at enmity with the B quarter, perhaps for years no inhabitant of the latter will attend the service. If after a long time the quarrel is not made up, the quarter B will start a priest of their own, and perhaps build a church; this, I know, happened at Saijibeh (Ophra?) and thus all communication is cut off between the opposing parties. A common inn is generally a sign that the village is at peace, whereas two or three denote internal troubles. The villages only possess two public buildings, one for religious purposes, the church or mosque, and one for worldly use, viz., the *madāfe*, *mazul*, or inn.

In many villages there is the tomb of some holy man, which is called a *makām*; it is generally a little building with a cupola, and is surrounded by a few shady trees. In Mahometan villages the inn is often used as the mosque, and there you may not only find shelter and food and converse with the neighbours about local or political events, but you may also join in the prayers of the priests. The market-place (*sūk*) or Fruit Market in large villages, or the bazaars in smaller ones, are also places of resort where people meet to discuss the news of the day, and where the Fellah kills a portion of the time which so often hangs heavily on his hands. The internal arrangements of the Fellahin dwellings are very primitive. The room is divided into two parts, one of which is occupied by the cattle (oxen, donkeys and fowls), and the other, which is reached by a few steps, forms the living room of the family. On this principle the Fellah, when he closes his door at night, has all his possessions under one roof, and can more easily protect them. The living room has a cemented floor, and as the cattle are not admitted, it can be kept fairly clean. If a guest arrives the wife or daughter of the house has only to give the floor a hasty sweep and lay down a straw mat, or in the better families a carpet on which the visitor takes his seat. After a while when one has become accustomed to the dim light one feels curious to see how this strange reception room is furnished; a glance, however, suffices to show us that it contains nothing comfortable or artistic. There are perhaps several corn-bins, which the women make out of clay and straw. They open at the top for the grain to be shot in, and low down there is a small hole, stopped with a peg, through which the daily portion is taken out.

These bins generally stand a little out from the wall, leaving a useful

\* *Hamu'e*—*Hamā'il*.

space for lumber and rubbish, which also forms a retreat for the female portions of the family. In one corner stands a large water butt called, like the bins, a *chabije*, and made in the same manner; the water is ladled out with a little pitcher which also serves as a drinking mug. Where there is an attempt at anything a little more artistic, they have a little black earthenware mug ornamented with red designs, and made with a curved spout, from which (those who are experienced) allow the water to fall in a stream down their throat without touching it with their lips. We must not forget to mention another very important article, namely, the mill. For heating the room and for cooking or coffee roasting there is a sort of fireplace, without any proper aperture for letting out the smoke, which has to find its way through a small hole in the wall, after having blinded and nearly stifled the inmates. The chief advantage of this method of warming is that the walls of the room require neither paper nor paint, but soon acquire a fine brown or black surface. Over the fireplace or from some projection hangs a simple iron lamp\* which is kept burning all through the night; only the very poorest of the Arabs sleep in darkness. The saying "Poor fellow! he sleeps in darkness," is equivalent to "Poor wretch, he hasn't a farthing to buy oil with!" A many-coloured chest contains the family wardrobe and the women's jewels, and is also the safest place for the bestowal of money, papers, and other valuables. Although most of them are now provided with a simple apparatus which causes a bell to ring if the lock be turned, it not unfrequently happens that thieves carry off these valuable chests by means of a night raid. A few iron and wooden vessels† are used for cooking utensils. A round mat, often very prettily made of red and black straw, and the work of the women, serves as table, tablecloth and dish; an iron pot, or in some villages a leather bottle or pail is used for fetching water.

Such are the simple necessities of the Fellal's life, and having them he lives contentedly and happily in his native land.

(*To be continued*).

## THE ORDERS FOR MUSICAL SERVICES AT HAMATH.

MANY thousands of stones, or tablets of metal, inscribed with catalogues of Royal hecatombs or humble pious names have come down to us from Egypt, Palestine, Greece, and Rome; but the four stone offerings from Hamath differ from them in many ways. These four tablets I can translate, and I affirm them to contain orders for musical services. When the

\* (*Sirādsch*).

† *Batije*, pl. *bawāti*.



COPY FROM SQUEEZES OF THE STONE OFFERING FROM HAMATH.



translations first came out they were rejected in many quarters without examination, not because they fail in adequate proof, but because their contents are novel. If these stones had contained an order to sacrifice a hundred oxen at the expense of some Royal Sargon or Xerxes, well and good; the proof is ample. If, however, the democratic Hittites, to whom even the great Rameses II paid tribute of corn in his old age, and to whom we owe the Exodus of the Jews, are proved by these stones to have delighted in musical services, then the cry goes round, it is nought, it is nought. One would have thought that the evident visible existence of these four stones, new in kind, would have aroused an eager curiosity among the learned in such things, and that I should not have been left alone for eight years, wherein, so far as I know, not a single workman in the world besides myself has deciphered even one letter. The preliminary knowledge, however, requisite to judge intelligently what I have done is, after all, only that of a moderate amount of Hebrew, with its relations to Chaldee, and I should suppose that among the subscribers to the Palestine Exploration Fund there may be, say, two hundred labourers who are competent. It is for them that I now write.

Turning, then, to the two plates accompanying this letterpress, the student of the Hittite dialect will have to satisfy himself in the first place that what we may call the squeeze plate and the transliteration plate differ merely in arrangement. The squeeze plate is taken from the plaster cast in the British Museum. The transliteration plate is an enlargement of the squeeze plate, in which the letters are spread out and turned about when necessary, so that each line shall be read, as in English, from the left hand side to the right. I object most strongly to the encumbering of scholars with a fresh, heavy, and unnecessary burden, by writing the new language from right to left. There is not the slightest necessity for our doing so, for the examination of the squeeze plate shows us clearly that we have at present an option given us between the two methods of writing. The first line in it begins, we see, from the right, the second from the left, and the third from the right again. The Greeks in former days availed themselves freely of either of these systems; and experience, in later days, has taught them the advantage of the method I propose to follow in expounding the Hittite.

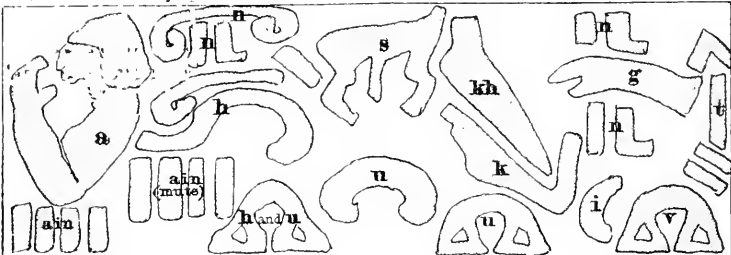
After satisfying himself that the manipulation has been a fair one, the student may take it upon trust that there are four of these squeeze plates now made known to us, which differ a little among each other. They differ not only in the names of those who offered up the stones, but in the localities from whence the offerents came up to offer, and in the state of preservation in which they have been found, and in the greater or less degree of carelessness of the masons who manufactured the stone offerings, and who obliterated or enlarged words here and there. I must, however, say for the masons that they seem to have been very much more conscientious than the similar class of men in Egypt, whose gross carelessness is disgraceful in reproducing portions of the Book of the Dead, paid for, no doubt, as genuine.

This may be a good place to call attention to the fact that this squeeze plate now published is not said to be a copy from a squeeze, but from squeezes. The meaning of this is that incomplete parts among the four stones have been consciously supplemented in each case by taking parts from the other three. If this had not been done the result would have been to compel us in each case to argue from an incomplete inscription. It will be found by-and-by, when the types are ready, which I am told are being manufactured, that something of this sort will of necessity have been done in picking out model types. The fittest among them will survive, but not as the perfectly exact model of the mason's work. The matter here mentioned is of no grammatical importance, but practically I find I have left a person named Sahidi-Jah as the name of the offerent from a place called Iban, whereas the man who came from Iban was T'sadahi-Jav. The portion of the plate which would have given us the locality of Sahidi-Jah is unfortunately lost. The grammar is clearly not affected by this.

Let us then suppose our student with this hitherto unpublished transliteration plate before him. Take the first word, which looks as if it consisted of seven letters, that is to say, seven to the eye, but perhaps including a mute. For reasons which weigh with me I propose that the transliteration of these letters is to be given as *a-gann-hu*. There is of course some reason why I suppose it to be *a-gann-hu*. Some five or six years ago I remember being impressed with a notion that the stones belonged to a Chantry or Fane for sacred music. This impression found itself a place in the pages of the "Athenæum." Later on it led me to examine divers Hebrew words expressive of music. The result was that I turned to Isaiah xxvii, ver. 2, "In that day sing ye unto her a vineyard of red wine." The word for "sing ye" is here given us as *gann-u*. The *g* is not the gamma but the hard or guttural "*ain*" which is often mute. Now the decipherer, following the Newtonian method, is privileged to form one hypothesis for each of the unknown symbols or letters before him, even as Newton formed one hypothesis about the apple. It must be understood that Newton did not form a second hypothesis about the moon, but calculated a result about the moon's motion, which turned out to be right. Even so the intelligent student will observe exactly in the middle of the third line in the transliteration plate that I have made two hypotheses by naming two letters as "*d*" and "*i*." He will agree therefore that when he comes to the last word but one on the plate it is not as an hypothesis, but as a result, that he there sees the word "*di*," which in Chaldee means "of." Unless he understands this he may as well shut up the book; and if he does understand it, he will be entitled to say that on the hypothesis made in the middle of the plate about "*d*" and "*i*," a not inconsiderable amount of probability is given to the word at the end of the plate being "*di*." The number of coincidences of this sort, where the allowable hypotheses produce most suitable results, is very large throughout all the inscriptions. I have merely taken this simple case as an example. Considering that all man's knowledge is acquired in this way,



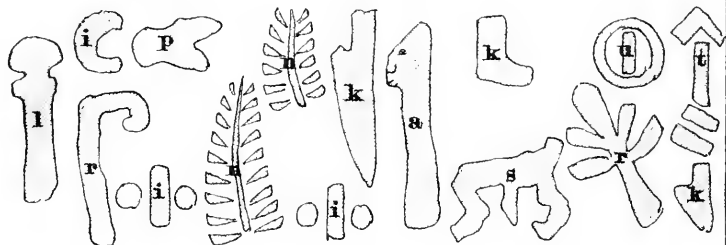
SUGGESTED transliteration & translation.



A-gann-hu  
Start ye the song

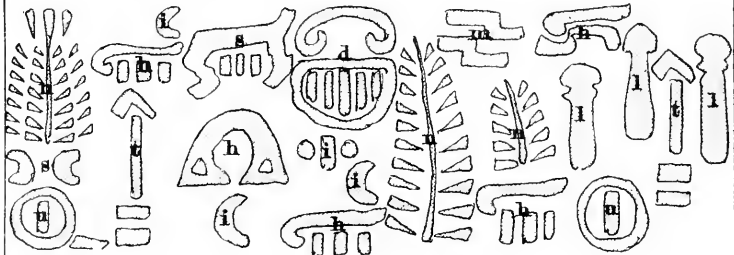
se-kh-u-ku  
play ye

ne-gin-vat-i  
my Harmonies



I irpinnik  
that they may cause thee to cure

askura-t-ak  
Thy fee is



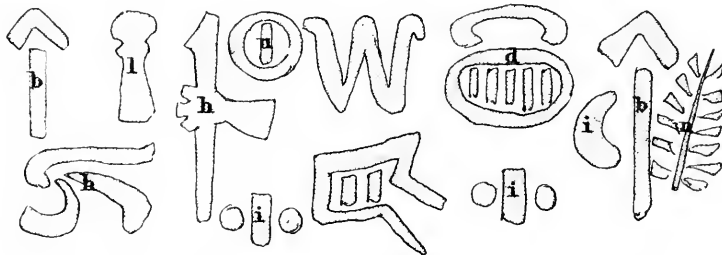
nesuha-t-i  
the gift of me

Sahidi-jah

minneh  
from whence cometh

hilulat  
praise

I  
to



Bahal

his gods

uhi

(ideograph)

di

of

lban

lban



the way, namely, of hypothesis and suitable result, it is to be hoped that Orientalists may some day become conscious of the fact. In comparing the two words, the *gannu* of Isaiah xxvii and the hypothetical *a-gann-hu* of the plate, I admit that we are not yet in the region of strong probabilities; all that we are yet entitled to say is that the certain existence of *gannu* is a sufficient inducement to us to hypothecate *a-gann-hu*.

If I supposed the language of the offering to be Hebrew I should be in a difficulty, for the aphel conjugation of verbs, which gives a causative meaning, is very little if at all used in Hebrew, but in Chaldee it is frequent. Causality in Chaldee is expressed by affixing the letter "a," so that in order to say "cause ye a song," or "start ye the music," we change the *gannu* into *a-gannu*. Here, again, this highly important result is got by using the Newtonian method. By the hypothesis of the first letter being an "a," a result is obtained that the conjugation of the verb is aphel or causative.

The recognition of the initial aleph as a sign of causation is very encouraging, and augments considerably the probability that the transliteration of *a-gann-hu* is correct; but unless we can also explain the "h" in the final "*hu*," I should admit that the explanation of the aleph is in itself not enough, and might reasonably be held to be a mere chance coincidence. I said, however, above, that there are four of these stones. Let us then compare them with each other. Here let me say that in the fourth stone the masons were extremely pressed for room, so, instead of chipping out the word *a-gann-hu* they abbreviated it into merely an "*ag*." This admits, so far as I can see, of only one explanation, viz., that the word being thoroughly well known its abbreviation was also thoroughly well known. Just as "mem" in English would go occasionally for "memorandum," so "*ag*" in masons' Hittite went occasionally for *a-gann-hu*. Now the word *a-gann-hu* being a causative imperative second person plural, supposed by me to mean "cause ye" or "start ye" the song, is followed by what looks like another imperative second person plural, viz., *Se-khuk-u*, supposed by me to mean "play ye" from the same root as is found in the name of the Patriarch Isaak. And now for the triumph. Even in the document in which the masons have been so cramped for room, instead of writing *Se-khuk-u*, they have written *Se-khuk-hu*, the same final form as *a-gann-hu*. Three explanations may be offered for the appearance of "*hu*" final for the imperative plural instead of "*u*" final. Either it is an archaism, in which case the stone containing it may be older than the others, or it may be carelessness in the masons, or the symbol for the "*u*" carries a breathing with it. It is quite within the normal order of things that in such an investigation difficulties of this kind should appear, and until more material is to hand, I do not of course suppose I shall be able to force conviction. To have found already the formative symbols for causation, and the imperative plural second person in the first two words, together with the roots for to sing and to play, is good progress. Having then probably before us the words "start ye the song, play ye," we have to see whether

the third word will fit into its place. Some such word as "harmonies" would be very suitable. The word should be an accusative case after the verb play ye. A Chaldee word, if we can fairly find it, would be far more suitable than a Hebrew one, because the causative symbol we have already found is only causative in Chaldee, not in Hebrew. Casting, then, our eyes upon the third word we recognize a letter concerning which we have already in the first word made our hypothesis, that it is "n." We see, in fact, a probable "n" twice given with a new letter between. Memory at once recalls to us the heading to the psalms of David giving us at once a clue to a word most suitable, both in meaning and form, viz., the word "Neginah." Neginah is, however, Hebrew, and it must be understood that the word in the plate does not read as Neginah, but as Neginvati, which includes the possessive pronoun "i," and would mean in Chaldee "my harmonies." For the sense then nothing could be more appropriate, "start ye the song, play ye my harmonies."

The importance of understanding the foundation on which I am resting my transliterations is such that I will stop a little to build up the material I have been using in a somewhat different shape.

It does not admit of any doubt at all that in languages akin to Hebrew there are three words, viz., "ganah" to sing, "sakhak" to play, and "nagan" to strike or play an instrument. There is also (in Chaldee) a way of expressing causation, also of expressing command (imperative), also of expressing plural command, also of expressing possession. Now, so far as I have as yet gone I have made twelve hypotheses. Let it be supposed (I have said) that the first letter is, by hypothesis, an "a," the second an "ain," the third an "u," the fourth another "u," and so on. Is not the probability, thousands to one against the twelve hypotheses having produced three words expressive of music? Is it not thousands to one against their expressing causation, command, &c.? True it is that, instead of Newton's one hypothesis about the fall of the apple, there are twelve,—about twelve letters; but then, instead of Newton's one result about the motion of the moon there are many results, such as the meaning of three kindred musical words, and the expression of causation, command, possession, &c. I can very well anticipate that many verbal and other mistakes may be pointed out in what I have done, but nothing, surely, can be said against my method, nor its main results. As an instance of this I may mention here that an objection may be made as to the position of the "i" both in the word *neginvati* and in a similar word to come, viz., *nesuhati*. In both cases this small letter may have been packed into a corner by the masons for their own convenience. Certain it is that the Egyptians at any rate were very careless when engraving well known words.

The probability that the first three words are the record of an order for a musical service may be differently estimated by different people. For myself I feel so confident that I look about me at once to see what I think the next words would probably be, so as to keep in connection with the first three. A musical service being ordered, then it is natural to suppose that the purpose or object for which it is ordered would now be

mentioned. If so, the word required here is “*al*” or “*el*,” “for the purpose of,” or “with the object of.” Then, after the symbol marked “*l*” in the plate we want some such word as “*rapa*” to heal. We want it also to be future; and we have to remember that one of the signs of the future is very peculiar, viz., that an additional letter “*n*” called the epenthetic nun should be inserted between the verb and the pronominal suffix. It is astonishing what a number of peculiarities are required in this sixth word. The cause or agent here is the music, and the effect is the induced power of cure in the sacred college. The conjugation is again in *aphel*, expressive of causation in Chaldee. The first part of the verb is “*irpinn*,” and if the word were in Hebrew, it would be in the Hophal form of “*tarpan*.” The musical agent is feminine, as *irpin* is, and the expected cure is in the future tense.

The six words now analysed form a sentence. The offerent, who is willing to incur the expense of manufacturing and building in this stone, requests therein the authorities to perform a musical service. The services are called *his* services (viz., the offerent’s services or harmonies), as being paid for by him, and inherent in these services the ritualistic offerent recognises the power of cure. But whether this work of cure was on body or soul I know not, as the word *rapa* is used in either sense.

A new sentence now begins with a word which ends with *t-k*. In other words it ends with a feminine suffix second person. Consequently we are not left to hypothesis in saying that the word contains seven letters, concerning three of which we have already made hypotheses, so that we may still make four. I have therefore marked in the plate four letters, *a*, *k*, *u*, and *r*. The word would therefore be *asakura-t-k*, “Thy fee is.” The root *sakar*, from which the name of the Patriarch Issachar is derived, means to bargain. It may be said that it is not fair to put *asakar* and *sakar* as the same root, but the practice of putting in an aleph before a word beginning with a sibilant is not uncommon in dialects akin to Chaklee. Thus we have *asman* equals *zeman* for time; *sabta* for *ashbata sabbath*, and so on. It may be said also that the introduction of the “*t*” before the final letter *k* proves the noun to be a feminine, whereas it is masculine; but the noun is a participial one which lends itself easily to the formation of a feminine form.

Nasuhati Sahidi-Jah, “the gift of me Sahidi-Jah,” compare Daniel vii, 15, “The spirit of me Daniel.” In these two words there are thirteen letters, but eleven of them have already been made available in the previous hypotheses. Let the reader pause here a little to consider what is implied by such a statement. Newton proved gravity by one hypothesis, one calculation, and one correct result. Here I prove these two words to be Chaldee by two hypotheses, thirteen calculations, and thirteen correct results. The two hypotheses are that a certain two letters are “*s*” and “*h*.” The calculations are the putting thirteen letters into their places, and the results are found by looking into the Chaldee Lexicon, wherein we read “the gift of me Sahidi-Jah.” The fact that the word Sahidi-Jah has a meaning of its own, one which can now be read

quite independently of any context, is a large addition to our wealth of proof. Sahid means witness, Sahidi means my witness, and Sahidi-Jah means Jah is my witness.

As I admitted early in this paper that I was not yet in the region of strong probabilities, so now I claim that by accumulative heaps of correct results any further proofs are quite unnecessary. In the whole of the rest of the plate there are but two unknown letters to be found, and any one who has followed me so far will I hope be satisfied that the ending is the product of the beginning. It is not necessary to analyze word for word so easy a sentence as "Minneh Hilulat I Babalahi di Iban," the meaning of which is "from whence come praises to his Gods of Iban."

DUNBAR I. HEATH.

*Esher, Surrey.*

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#### NOTE.

On reaching Kades in May 1879, we were disgusted to find that the marble sarcophagi and the Temple ruins, were being broken up and demolished, to fill the yawning trenches that the Fellahin navvies had dug for the foundations of a *Sugar Factory*.

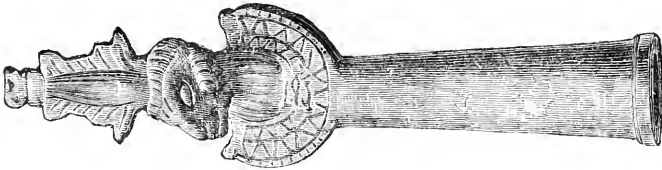
It appeared that a Damascus merchant was speculating in sugar, so the Fellahin said: in cotton, so the Dragoman affirmed; had bought the village, and, wishing to run up buildings cheaply, was going to utilise such marble as he found in the ruins near. We bargained with backsheesh, that at any rate the as yet unbroken sarcophagi should be buried in the trench as they were, and then enquired for antiqua.

Fifteen feet below the ground had that day been dug up a silver coin so bright and fresh it might have but just left the mint. "Of Tyre—Tyre, the holy and unsullied one"—so ran the motto. Bearing on one side the Roman Eagle, the Roman Prefect's initials, and the date corresponding to 46 B.C., and on the other, the powerful, though rather heavy face of the Sidonian Hercules Melkarth.\* In the evening, a Mograbi builder, from the Moorish colony we had passed some four miles to the south, near Hazor, came to the tent, and said he knew of a god, that had been found in the same cotton and sugar factory foundation trench a few days before, but it was very small, and at the village four miles away. I told him to bring it early next morning, and at 4 A.M. he was squatting in the dusk and cold, hugging his god and waiting our

\* The coin is figured—and disfigured—in the illustrated edition of Farrar's "Life of Christ," p. 366.

bargaining. The bargaining might have been for the whole village, factory, temple and all, so vehement were the protestations of the worth of the god in question. All the villagers and masons joined in, words waxed high, and terms could not be come to. We said we could not do business that day, packed up and slowly rode off, looking as if we were not at all interested in the little bronze we were leaving. But the season was late; there would be no more travellers this year, and the Moor could not let this chance of a windfall pass.

As we rode away, cries were raised, and all the village ran after us to lay the curio at the Khawâja's feet, and humbly take whatever was offered. So for a few francs this little Egyptian ram-headed, Pshent-capped, Sceptre head, or Staff head was brought from Kadesh. How it



was brought there is a problem; was it in battle, or in royal progress, in peace or in war? Whether it ever did service in the Temple, or at Court, whether it is bronze, or, as is more probable, a mixture of bronze and gold, the Chrysocalcon, that was in old time the king of metals, is unascertained. All that is known about it, is that as far as the British Museum collection of Egyptian bronzes goes it is pronounced unique.

H. D. RAWNSLEY.



THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE new expedition has been commenced by several discoveries of very great interest. The first is that of Kadesh, the sacred city of the Hittites, a nation which at present occupies a good deal of attention among those engaged in the antiquities of the Holy Land. It was found by Lieutenant Conder, who had formed a theory as to its locality from previous study in England, and was rewarded by recovering the site not far from where he had placed it. The identification seems, up to the present, to be generally accepted.

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After his journey to the Orontes, and on the arrival of his surveyors, Messrs. Black and Armstrong, Lieutenant Conder began his preparations for Eastern Palestine. Unfortunately he found that the disturbed state of the country would prevent the carrying out of his original design, which was to begin the Survey in the North. He therefore changed his plans, and now proposes to begin it in the South. He has accordingly ridden through Western Palestine from Beyrout to Jerusalem, where he was at the date of the last letter received.

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On his way he paid a visit to Tyre. Here he found a curious tomb, apparently of great antiquity, close to the modern cemetery of the town. In accordance with the Oriental conservatism, this may, he says, be also the site of the ancient cemetery of Tyre. He also examined the question of the Egyptian harbour, and other doubtful points in Tyrian Topography. At Khurbet Umm el Annud he was able to trace the plan of the ruined temple. At Jerusalem he has lighted on a discovery which may prove of overwhelming interest. Those who have read his "Tent Work" will remember his theory that the crucifixion may have taken place, not on the traditional site, but on the north of the city at the place still called "the Place of Stoning," namely, a small hill above "Jeremiah Grotto." The neighbourhood in the time of Mejr ed Deen was called el Sahâra, and was then an ill-omened place associated in the Moslem mind with death and judgment.

The hill itself, seen from one point of view, is singularly *like a skull*. It is also a spot which, from its commanding position, would seem well fitted for a place of punishment, because it commands the city, and anything done upon it can be seen from the city walls. Immediately west of the knoll, Lieutenant Conder has found a most remarkable Jewish tomb, which he describes at length. It belongs to the later Jewish period; it is not apparently a Christian tomb; no other Jewish sepulchre has ever been found so near the ramparts, and the discoverer asks the question — *Can this be in truth the Tomb in the Garden?*

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We are indebted to the Rev. C. W. Bardsley for an account of his discovery at Jacob's Well. If the chapel which formerly stood over the well was of early Christian period, the stone mouth described and figured by him is probably no other than that of St. John iv. 6.

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The commentary on the inscription at the Pool of Siloam, now reprinted at p. 141, was issued as a separate pamphlet on June 10th. We have to thank Professor Sayce for presenting it to the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*. The Rev. Isaac Taylor has sent us some notes upon Professor Sayce's reading.

There is also a paper on the same subject in the *Zeitschrift* of the German Society, but unfortunately of little value, because the writer had only the imperfect transcript published by us last April.

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The paper on Ain Qadis, by the Rev. H. Clay Trumbull, of Philadelphia, seems to clear up a great mystery. It is now forty years since Dr. Rowlands described in most glowing terms a fountain called Ain Qadis, which he identified with Kadesh. No one has hitherto succeeded in reconciling his description with any fountain near the place pointed out by him. Mr. Trumbull has, however, re-discovered the place, which, whether it is on the actual site of Kadesh or not, is certainly a spot where Israel could have rested "many days."

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The Germans are conducting excavations on Mount Ophel, under the direction of Herr Guthe. Lieutenant Conder, under the understanding that he was not to anticipate Herr Guthe's announcements, was taken over the works.

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M. Clermont Gamneau is recovering from his long attack of fever, and has resumed his archaeological researches, which are at present confined to the neighbourhood of Jaffa. He hopes to send an account of certain discoveries recently made for the next *Quarterly Statement*.

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The first volume of the "Memoirs" has now been issued. The volumes of "Special Papers" and "Name Lists" will be sent out some time this month. The second and third volumes of "Memoirs" are in the press, and will be issued as soon



as possible. The volume of "Jerusalem Work," which will be illustrated by a large portfolio full of plans, will be sent out about the beginning of next year.

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A new edition of the Great Map has been prepared by Mr. Stanford, and is now ready. The supporters of the Society will confer a great benefit on the cause of Palestine research by getting this map taken by libraries, schools, colleges, and public institutions.

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The reduced map (modern) will be ready for printing in August, and will be issued as soon as possible. Mr. Saunders's *Introduction to the Survey* will also be issued in the course of the quarter. The two ancient maps should be ready in the autumn.

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The General Committee has been strengthened by the names of the Bishop of Liverpool, Mr. W. Adams, Mr. W. Dickson, Mr. Douglas Freshfield, Mr. Oliver Heywood, Rev. Prof. Sayce, Rev. William Wright, and Colonel Yule.

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We are informed by Mr. Kershaw, the Librarian of Lambeth Palace, that the Archbishop of Canterbury is anxious to let it be known among the Members of this Society that he desires to increase the usefulness of the library by rendering it more accessible for purposes of study and the *loan* of books. A collection of modern works on the history and antiquities of Palestine has been formed in the library; many Greek versions of the Scriptures, commentaries and other Biblical MSS. are here treasured, and here will be found the collection of the late Professor Carlyle, consisting of MSS. brought from the East, of great value to Oriental and critical scholars.

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Arrangements can now be made for lectures on the Survey and its Biblical Gains. The Rev. Henry Gray and the Rev. James King will continue to give their services to the Society during the next winter.

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The income of the Fund from all sources from March 16th, 1881, to June 21st, was £1,073 11s. 4d. The amount in the Bank at the meeting of General Committee of June 21st, was £1,068 9s. The sum required before the end of the year is about £2,000.

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A Cheap Edition of "Tent Work in Palestine," has been published by Messrs. Bentley and Son. All the small illustrations which were in the Library Edition, and two of the full-page drawings, will be found in the new Edition, which has been carefully revised by the author. An additional chapter has also been added on the "Future of Palestine." The work will be read with greater interest now that the progress of the Survey may be followed on the Map.

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It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and the most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a bank. Many subscribers have adopted this

method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

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Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

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While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that these rest solely upon the credit of the respective authors, and that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* the Committee neither sanction nor adopt them.

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## MEETING OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

THE Annual Meeting of the General Committee was held at the Office of the Society on Tuesday, June 21st, at 4 o'clock.

The Chair was taken by Mr. JAMES GLAISHER, F.R.S.

THE CHAIRMAN informed the Committee that he held in his hand many letters regretting inability to attend, including one from Sir Moses Montefiore, who forwarded a cheque for £10 (the second donation this year) for the funds of the Society. The Secretary then read the Report of the Executive Committee for the last year, which was as follows :—

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“Your Committee elected at the last General Meeting, held on March 16th, 1880, have, on resigning their trust, to render to you an account of their administration during the last year.

“1. The Committee have held thirty-two meetings since their last election.

“2. The subjects which have occupied their attention have been the following :—

“I. The publication of the Map, and “Memoirs.”

“The first edition of the Map was ready in May, 1880 : a second edition followed in the autumn. These two editions were prepared by the Ordnance Survey Department, Southampton. The plates were then placed in the hands of Mr. Stanford, by whom a third edition has been issued. The whole number printed has been 800, of which 699 have been sent out to subscribers, three have been used for office purposes, 17 have been given away, and the rest have been taken by the agent. A fourth edition is now ready.

“The first volume of the “Memoirs” is now ready, and has been issued to subscribers.

“The next two volumes, viz., the “Special Papers,” and the “Name Lists,” are very nearly ready, and will be sent out next month.

“II. The Reduced Map.

“The plates of this map have been completed, and have been sent back for certain additions. The map will be ready for printing in a few weeks. The following testimony from a recent traveller in Palestine, the Rev. A. G. Girdlestone, to the value of the small map, will be interesting :—

““I desire to thank the Committee for having kindly placed at my disposal in January an advance proof of their reduced map. And I cannot do so without testifying to its great utility for travellers. I had special opportunities for testing it, as I walked by its aid from Jaffa to Jericho right across the country, and from Hebron to Baniyas, through nearly its whole length. I was frequently without any other means of finding the way, and it proved invaluable. Its great advantage was most manifest when we walked beyond its limits and lost its aid. I walked through large portions of Moab and Gilead, east of Jordan, and found the existing map nearly useless. And similarly in passing northwards from Baniyas, we sorely missed its aid.”

“III. The publication of the reduced map in two forms, adapted to the geography of the Old and New Testament.

“It was found that many of the subscribers were disappointed at the prospect of receiving only a modern map of the country. But as the Committee could not, as a body, make identifications and lay down boundaries, it was thought best to entrust the work to a geographer. Mr. Trelawney Saunders accepted the invitation of the Committee to undertake these maps. They are now far advanced, and will it is hoped be ready in the autumn. The Society will therefore possess four maps of Western Palestine, viz., the great map on the scale of one inch to the mile, the reduced map of Modern Palestine three-eighths that scale, and the two reduced maps on the same scale of Ancient Palestine.

“IV. Mr. Saunders has also written for the Committee a work entitled an ‘Introduction to the Survey of Western Palestine.’ This geographical account of the country is based upon the water basins, and is therefore withheld until these have been laid down for the engraver.

“V. The expedition to survey the East of the Jordan. This expedition, necessary for the completion of the Survey of Palestine, was first formally considered at a meeting of the Committee held on October 19th, 1880. A meeting of the General Committee was convened on November 30th in order to discuss the proposed survey. This was held by permission of the Dean of Westminster in the Jerusalem Chamber. The chair was taken by the Dean, and the meeting was addressed by Mr. Glaisher, Mr. Macgregor, Mr. Douglas Freshfield, Colonel Warren, Mr. Eaton, Rev. Dr. Ginsburg, Professor Palmer, Professor Hayter Lewis, Lieutenant Conder, and the Chairman. The following resolution was unanimously adopted :—

“That it is now desirable to undertake without delay the Survey of Eastern Palestine, under conditions similar to those which proved to have been thoroughly successful in the case of Western Palestine.”

“A prospectus was therefore drawn up, showing what is the present state of our knowledge, what is required to be done, and the means by which the Society propose to perform the work.

“The Prospectus was sent to all former supporters of the Fund, with results which have been, so far, encouraging ; that is to say, although the Committee hardly hope to reach the sum they asked for the first year, it has been proved that a great deal of interest has been aroused in the project, and the Committee have felt justified in sending out their party.

“They have been so fortunate as to obtain the services of Lieutenant C. R. Conder, R.E., the officer who was in command during the greater part of the former survey, and of Lieutenant Mantell, R.E. They have also received permission from the War Office to engage the services of Messrs. Black and Armstrong, formerly of the Royal Engineers, who were with Captain Stewart at the commencement of the survey in the year 1872. The expedition started in April, and have already done some preliminary work on the western side, including the very interesting recovery of the ancient sacred city of the Hittites, Kades on the Orontes. The general instructions to the officers in command are as follows :—

- " 1. To produce an accurate map on a scale of one inch to a mile.
- " 2. To draw special plans of important localities and ruined cities.
- " 3. To make drawings or take photographs of buildings, sites, tombs, &c.
- " 4. To collect all the names to be found.
- " 5. To collect geological specimens, antiquities, &c.
- " 6. To make casts, squeezes, photographs, and copies of inscriptions.
- " 7. To collect legends, traditions, and folk-lore.
- " 8. To observe and record manners and customs.
- " 9. To excavate if time and opportunity permit.

" VI. Meetings in support of the new survey have been held at Edinburgh, Manchester, Belfast, Liverpool, Hull, Bolton, Cardiff, Winchester, Romney, Newport, Abergavenny, and other places.

" The Committee have next to ask that a vote of thanks be passed (1) to the Rev. Professor Sayce for placing at their disposal his valuable reading of the ancient inscription recently found at the Pool of Siloam ; (2) to the Rev. C. W. Barclay for sending to them a drawing of the ancient mouths of Jacob's Well, which he succeeded in uncovering ; (3) to Mr. Lawrence Oliphant for valuable advice and information in the present state of Eastern Palestine ; (4) to the Royal Geographical Society for a grant of 100*l.* towards the purchase of instruments ; (5) to the Rev. Greville Chester, the Rev. Dr. Porter, Mr. St. Chad Boscawen, M. C. Clermont Ganneau, the Rev. W. F. Birch, Mr. Trelawney Saunders, and Mr. Dunbar Heath for papers communicated to the *Quarterly Statement* ; (6) to the Rev. Dr. Porter, Mr. William Adams, the Rev. W. F. Birch, the Rev. J. L. Carrick, Mr. William Dickson, Mr. George Monk, and all those who have promoted the success of meetings in aid of the Society ; (7) to Miss Peache, the Rev. H. Hall Houghton, Miss Wakeham, Mr. E. Gotto, Mr. F. Story, Mrs. Wolff, Mr. Burns, Rev. C. Watson, Mr. Fordham, Professor Pusey, Mr. C. F. Fellows, Rev. F. E. Wigram, Rev. M. T. Farmer, Mr. Ormerod, Mr. Budgett, the Dean of Lincoln, Sir Moses Montefiore, Rev. Canon France Hayhurst, Mr. Oliver Heywood, Miss Borrer, Mr. Dykes, Miss Buxton, Lady Tite, Lord Clermont, Mr. Herbert Dalton, Rev. W. H. Walford, Miss Bridges, Mr. Eustace Grubbe, Miss Ward, Mr. Lloyd, Miss Edwards, Sir Charles Wilson, Mr. S. Montagu, Mr. Cyril Graham, Mr. F. D. Mocatta, Rev. Joseph Lyon, Messrs. Rothschild & Co., Mr. A. F. Govett, Sir Julian Goldsmid, Mr. Lewis Biden, Messrs. Sassoon & Co., Mr. Nathaniel Montefiore, the Bishop of Lichfield, Mr. G. Raphael, Mr. E. Trimmer, Mr. E. L. Raphael, Captain Burke, Mr. Middleton, Mr. Bevan, and Mr. Dent for donations varying from 100*l.* to 5*l.* ; and (8) to all Honorary Secretaries and others who have given their assistance for nothing.

" VII. The Committee have to regret the loss by death during the last twelve months of—

M. de Sauley.

Mr. Edward Miall.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Mr. George Wood.

" VIII. In accordance with the powers conferred upon them at the General Meeting of Tuesday, March 29th, Mr. Lawrence Oliphant and Mr. Van de Velde have been invited to join the General Committee, and have accepted the invitation.

“IX. The following is the Balance Sheet of the year 1880:—

		<i>Cr.</i>			<i>Dr.</i>				
1880.		£.	s.	d.		£.	s.	d.	
Jan 1.	Balance .. ..	893	10	1		1,236	7	8	
	Less unpaid account ..	249	13	11					
		<hr/>							
Dec. 31.	Subscriptions .. ..	..	..	..	1880.				
	Lecture account .. ..	..	..	..	Dec. 31.	Maps and Memoirs .. ..			
	Publications .. ..	..	..	..		Salaries, Wages, Rent, Change of Office, Advertising, Insurance, Stationery, and Sundries .. ..			
	Photographs .. ..	..	..	..		Printing .. ..	717	17	5
	Maps and Memoirs .. ..	..	..	..		Postage and carriage of Parcels .. ..	448	7	10
	Balance of unpaid account ..	..	..	..		Law Expenses .. ..	144	19	2
		..	..	..			10	12	6
		..	..	..		Balance .. ..	2,558	4	7
		..	..	..			1,365	4	1
		<hr/>					3,923	8	8
							<hr/>		

Examined and found correct.  
W. MORRISON.

“The Society, therefore, commenced the operations of the year with a balance, deducting the unpaid accounts, of 1,100*l.*; the subscriptions received up to the present date are 1,638*l.*; the current expenses are about 300*l.* a month; the balance in hand at this date is 1,068*l.* 9*s.* Of this sum about 200*l.* is due for instruments and outfits.

“X. It was with a feeling of deep responsibility that the Committee decided on sending out the expedition to the East of the Jordan. The heavy expenses which it will entail for four years at least have not yet been fully guaranteed by an increase in the number of annual subscribers. At the same time so great is the interest shown in the enterprise, that up to the present time a larger amount of subscriptions have been sent in than during the whole of the last year. It is therefore reasonable to hope that the money will be found, as in the preceding Survey, by the voluntary efforts of the subscribers. The sum of 2,000*l.* is asked for before the end of the year, and the Committee will gratefully receive promises of assistance towards that amount.

“XI. The Committee have to express their satisfaction at the appointment of M. Clermont Ganneau to an official post in Palestine, where his great knowledge and archaeological zeal will no doubt enable him to make valuable discoveries.

“The Committee have now to resign into your hands the trust committed to them at the last meeting.”

This report was adopted unanimously.

It was proposed by Professor DONALDSON, and seconded by LORD TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, that the Executive Committee be re-elected for the ensuing year.

This was carried unanimously.

It was proposed by Mr. HENRY MAUDSLAY, and seconded by Mr. William SIMPSON, that the following gentlemen be invited to join the General Committee:—

The Bishop of Liverpool.	Sir Albert Sassoun, C.S.I.
Mr. William Adams.	Mr. William Dickson, F.R.S.E.
Mr. Douglas Freshfield.	Mr. Oliver Heywood.
Rev. Professor Sayce.	Mr. E. Thomas.
Mr. W. Aldis Wright.	Rev. William Wright.
Colonel Yule, C.B., R.E.	

The CHAIRMAN then called the attention of the General Committee to the signal services rendered to the Society during the last twelve months by Colonel Warren, C.M.G., R.E. It was resolved unanimously that a special vote of thanks be passed to Colonel Warren in acknowledgment of those services.

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the Meeting was adjourned.

## MEETING IN THE QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST.

On the 23rd April a large company, at the invitation of the Rev. Dr. Porter, President of the Queen's College, assembled in his own house, in the college buildings, for the purpose of hearing from him something of what had been done towards the exploration of Palestine, and what was in contemplation by the new Survey undertaken by the Royal Engineers of England. The company was received by the President in one of the large rooms of his private residence. The new ordnance maps of Palestine, and many objects of interest belonging to the country, were on view, and attracted considerable attention. Amongst those present were :—The Lord Bishop of Ossory, the Mayor (Mr. E. P. Cowan, J.P.); Mr. Wm. Ewart, M.P.; Mr. E. J. Harland, J.P. (chairman of the Harbour Commissioners); Mr. James Musgrave, J.P.; Mr. John R. Musgrave, J.P.; Mr. James Torrens, J. P.; Mr. Samuel Lowther, M.P.; Mr. F. D. Ward, J.P.; Mr. Thomas Sinclair, J.P.; Mr. S. G. Fenton, J.P.; Rev. Dr. Busby, Rev. Dr. McKay (president of the Methodist College), Dr. Parker (headmaster do.); Rev. Dr. Meneely, Rev. Dr. Bellis, Dr. Steen, Professor Watts, Professor Wallace, Professor Kileen, Professor Leitch, Rev. Dr. Murphy, Professor Nesbitt, Professor Everett, Dr. Hodges, Rev. Thomas Welland, Rev. Charles Seaver, Rev. Richard Irvine, Rev. M. Clarendon, Rev. Hugh Hanna, Rev. Thomas Hamilton, Rev. J. H. Moore, Rev. George Shaw, Mr. Otto Jaffé, Mr. John Jaffé, Mr. R. W. Corry, Mr. Quartus Ewart, Mr. H. Matier, Mr. Glass, Mr. S. Wallace, Mr. W. L. Finlay, Mr. Wm. McNeill, Mr. Chas. Thomson, Mr. W. Young, Mr. E. H. Clarke, Elmwood; Mr. Alex. Jate, County Surveyor for Antrim, &c. There was also a large number of ladies present.

Rev. Dr. PORTER delivered a short address. He said the reason he appeared before them was to give some information relative to a country in which they all took an interest, and more particularly to tell them something regarding recent explorations. Every one would admit that the religious element was one that entered largely into everything connected with Palestine. In that country they had three important religions, each of which had exercised a paramount influence upon the destinies of mankind. First, there was the Jewish religion, next in succession the Christian religion, and then the Mahometan. The most sacred shrines of these three forms of religion were to be found in Palestine. With the exception of the shrine at Mecca, there was none more highly venerated than the site of the ancient temple, and the burying-place of the patriarch Abraham. The ancient house of Israel looked upon this land—and rightly so—as the land of their fathers, and that great people also looked forward to that land as the place of their future hopes and aspirations. He was delighted to see some representatives of that ancient and historic race present there



in their midst that afternoon. With regard to the Christian religion, and its connection with Palestine, he need say but little, as many places there were held sacred by every section of the Christian Church. They had only to mention the names of Jerusalem, Bethlehem, Bethany, Nazareth, or the Jordan to call forth affection and sympathy, as they were places round which they cling, and ever must cling. Palestine was interesting historically. Some of the earliest chapters of the world's history opened up before them in connection with that country. After referring to some of the early events mentioned in the Bible connected with this land, the speaker went on to refer to the Canaanitish tribes who, he said, had been discovered to possess a literature, and a language of their own. The Hittites exercised more than an ordinary influence, and he believed they were the inventors of the alphabet that had been ascribed to the Phœnicians. All the places throughout Palestine had an important bearing on Roman history. The physical aspect of the country was also of great interest to the student, the surface formation being the most unique in the world. After explaining the position and physical bearings of the River Jordan, the president referred to the architectural wonders of the country. He called attention to the huge stones which were used in many of the buildings, and the difficulties that must have been experienced in getting them placed. He himself had seen some specimens which were computed to weigh some 1,250 tons. These would be difficult to manage; but he supposed if Mr. Harland had them down at the Queen's Island, he could find some means of lifting them. Some very large stones were placed 100 feet from the ground, and as there were some engineers present that evening, perhaps they could explain the process by which they were got to that position. Palestine was the mother of commerce. Tyre and Sidon were great cities; they were the London and Liverpool of the world then; and perhaps Beyrout might be compared to Belfast. These cities did a great timber trade, but he could not say whether any of it had found a place in the composition of the White Star Line. They were also famous for manufactures and arts. Linen may have found a place there—that linen which was perfected by the looms of Belfast, of which trade Mr. Ewart might be regarded as the representative. Such being some of the objects of interest presented in Palestine, he would ask what was being done at present to develop them, or give the public more knowledge of what the land possessed. The exploration scheme had done a great deal, it had thrown a flood of light upon its archaeological and physical qualities, and other matters of great interest in that wonderful country. Great changes had recently taken place. The ordnance survey of Jerusalem had been executed just as thoroughly as that of any part of our own country, and that by the Royal Engineers. It was gratifying to find the attention of the Government being drawn to this Survey, and these men giving their time to such an important work. The Americans tried to survey a portion of the land, but they disputed amongst themselves, and the company was broken up. As to what would be done in future, he might say that a meeting was held recently, under the chairmanship of the Dean

of Westminster, who had taken a deep interest in the work from the first, and it was proposed now to proceed to the country east of the Jordan. The surveying party had the assistance of Lieutenant Conder, of the Royal Engineers, and as the staff was an efficient one, and as they intended to work there for three or four years, much good, no doubt, would be the result. The speaker, during the course of an interesting address, gave a graphic account of his experience in the East, which was listened to with much pleasure.

The MAYOR rose, and said—Ladies and gentlemen, I have been asked to perform a duty which I have great pleasure in fulfilling. I feel sure it will meet with your approval, when I say that I have been asked to move a vote of thanks to Dr. Porter for his great kindness to-day in bringing us here to listen to such an interesting and instructive lecture as he has been pleased to deliver. It will require no words of mine to secure for this proposition a hearty reception. We all owe a deep debt of obligation to Dr. Porter for giving us the opportunity of examining his most excellent maps, and for the information he has given about past explorations in Palestine, and also about that which is to come. I need not detain you, and I must say it gives me the greatest pleasure to move this resolution.

Mr. EWART, M.P., seconded the resolution. He said—I merely rise to express the great pleasure it has given me to be present on this occasion. We all feel under a deep debt of gratitude to Professor Porter for the very learned and excellent lecture he has given us regarding a most important part of the world. (Hear.) I can speak for myself, and say that it has made an impression on me that I will never forget, and it has stirred up a wish within me more than ever that I might have an opportunity before I die of visiting the country.

The LORD BISHOP of OSSORY, who was cordially received, said—As a stranger, and as one who is present by mere accident, I may say that it has given me the greatest possible pleasure to listen to such a lecture as Dr. Porter has just delivered. It contained a vast deal of information, and was conveyed in a lucid and happy manner. There are two things that make me personally interested in this subject. One of these is that I was at a period of my life an engineer, and that long before I ever dreamt of being a parson, and at a time surely when I never thought of being a bishop. I know the work pretty well, and I must say it could not be committed to better hands than the Royal Engineers of England. The other reason is that I know a little of Oriental literature, although I have not travelled in the East; but I hope that my feet shall yet stand within the gates of Jerusalem. (Hear, hear.) I have no doubt that the vote of thanks that has been moved and seconded, will be carried most warmly.

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## MEETING IN MANCHESTER.

On the evening of June 17th, 1881, a meeting was held in the large room of the Association Hall, Peter Street, in this city, in aid of the Palestine Exploration Fund. The chair was occupied by Mr. Oliver Heywood, and amongst those present on the platform were Lieutenant-Colonel Warren, the Venerable Archdeacon Anson, the Venerable Archdeacon Birch, the Rev. Canon Stowell, Mr. H. B. Jackson, and the Rev. W. F. Birch (the Hon. Secretary). A letter of apology having been read from Professor Greenwood (Principal of Owens College), the Rev. W. F. Birch read a statement of the amount subscribed to the fund in Manchester. In 1875 it was resolved to make an effort to raise £500 in Manchester for the fund, and that sum was raised within a year. In the following year £100 1s. 7*d.* was subscribed; in 1877, £101; in 1878, £101 3s. 6*d.*; in 1879 the amount fell to £76 6s. 6*d.*; in 1880 to £66 12s. 6*d.* That money had been subscribed by not more than 200 people in Manchester. There were other gentlemen who sent their subscriptions directly to London, but it was felt that in a great place like Manchester, a much larger sum than £66 ought to be returned for the important object with which the fund was started.

The CHAIRMAN said he thought the Society had a right to hope and expect that larger contributions will come from this district than heretofore. It was with a sense of disappointment that he listened to the statement of the Hon. Secretary that during five successive years, the subscriptions, not large to begin with, had been steadily diminishing, while the work which was being done had been steadily progressing. It was impossible to carry out great undertakings without considerable funds, and those who were invited to give considerable contributions not unnaturally liked to know what was being done and had been done. Until the Society was established in 1865, there had been no really systematic investigation and research of Jerusalem and the Holy Land; but since then, under great difficulties, and with great zeal and perseverance, systematic investigation had been going on. We knew infinitely more of Palestine now than we did 15 years ago, both of the topography and the geography of Jerusalem buried 60 feet below its rubbish, and of the character of the country and of its natural history. It was under those circumstances that the Society asked for help. It was between 15 and 16 years since Sir Charles Wilson first began his survey, which was followed within two or three years afterwards by the interesting investigations which Lieutenant-Colonel Warren himself began and perseveringly carried on for upwards of three years, in and under Jerusalem; and since that time Lieutenant Conder, Lieutenant Kitchener, Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, and others had been pursuing the work in different directions.

Lieutenant-Colonel WARREN then gave an interesting sketch of the results of the work carried on under the auspices of the Palestine

Exploration Fund, in which he was assisted by several maps and diagrams. It was at first proposed that the Survey of Eastern Palestine should be undertaken by our American cousins, but after a reconnaissance of the eastern side had been made that plan fell through, and the work now devolved upon the Exploration Fund, aided by a number of Americans.

On the motion of the Venerable the Archdeacon of Manchester, seconded by Mr. H. B. Jackson, a hearty vote of thanks was accorded to Lieutenant-Colonel Warren for his address, and it was resolved to raise £100 a year for five years, in Manchester, towards the fund for the Survey of the Eastern portion of Palestine.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman for presiding brought the meeting to a close.

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#### MEETING AT LIVERPOOL.

A CROWDED meeting was held on the evening of June 18th, 1881. The Lord Bishop was in the chair. Lieutenant-Colonel Warren addressed the meeting in support of an explanation of the work of the Society. It was resolved to establish a local branch in Liverpool, and to raise £100 a year for the support of the Society. The Venerable Archdeacon Bardsley accepted the post of Honorary Secretary.

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Meetings have also been held at Romsey, March 28th, and Southampton, March 29th, addressed by the Rev. Henry Geary and Colonel Warren at Abergavenny, May 3rd; Cardiff, May 4th; Newport, May 5th, and Ledbury, May 6th, addressed by the Rev. James King.

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THE ANCIENT HEBREW INSCRIPTION DISCOVERED  
AT THE POOL OF SILOAM IN JERUSALEM.

## I.

By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE.

IN June, 1880, an important discovery was accidentally made at the Pool of Siloam on the southern side of Jerusalem. One of the pupils of Mr. Schick, a German architect long settled in Jerusalem, was playing here with some other lads, and while wading up a channel cut in the rock which leads into the pool slipped and fell into the water. On rising to the surface he noticed what looked like letters on the rocky-wall of the channel. He told Mr. Schick of what he had seen, and the latter accordingly visited the spot as soon as possible.

The channel in question is an ancient conduit which conveys the water of the Virgin's Pool (*Birket Sitti Maryam*) on the eastern side of the city to the so-called Pool of Siloam. It is cut through the rock, and so forms a subterranean passage through the southern spur of the hill on which the Mosque of Omar stands. The Pool of Siloam lies on the eastern side of the ancient valley of Tyropœon, at a considerable depth below the summit of the Temple hill. The passage connecting the two pools has been explored by Robinson, Tobler, Colonel Warren, and others. According to Colonel Warren, its length is 1,708 feet ( $569\frac{1}{3}$  yards),\* though the distance from the one pool to the other in a direct line is only 368 yards. The passage, however, is not straight; it winds considerably, and there are several *culs de sac* in its course, from which we may infer that the engineering knowledge of its excavators was not sufficient to prevent them from missing their way. As we shall see, the newly found inscription shows that the passage was excavated from both ends, the workmen meeting in the middle, like the excavators of the Mont Cenis Tunnel. The height varies greatly, but the width is pretty uniform. I attempted to walk up it from its lower or Siloam end, along with my companion Mr. J. Slater, but after proceeding some distance the roof became so low that, in order to proceed it would have been necessary to crawl on all fours through a thick deposit of black mud, and this, as we had no suitable dresses, we declined to do. However, I made my way sufficiently far to acquaint myself fully with the mode in which the channel had been constructed.

\* Robinson makes it about 586 yards.

The roof is flat rather than arched, but the floor is hollowed into a groove, to admit the passage of the water, so that the general form of the conduit is that of an inverted sugar-loaf, thus  $\cap$ . In some places I observed water trickling through fissures in the rocky wall of the channel, and here and there deposits of black mud had found their way into it through similar breaks in the rock. The whole bed of the channel, however, was covered with a layer of soft mud from half-a-foot to a foot and a half in depth. The walls of the conduit, like the roof, are for the most part left rough; but now and then I came across small portions which had apparently been smoothed, as well as hollows or niches in the face of them all.

The inscription discovered by Mr. Schick is in a niche of this kind, at the lower end of the conduit, and about 19 feet from the place where it opens out into the Pool of Siloam. The conduit is here from 20 inches to 2 feet in breadth, and the niche in which it is engraved is 27 inches long by 26 wide, the niche itself being cut in the rock-wall of the channel in the form of a square tablet, to a depth of an inch and a-half, and made smooth to receive the inscription. It is on the right-hand side of the conduit as one enters it from the Pool, and consequently on the eastern wall of the tunnel. The upper part of the tablet or niche has been left plain, though a *graffito* has been scratched across it, which is probably of late date. The lower part alone is occupied with the inscription, which consists of six lines, and an ornamental finish has been added below the middle of the last line in the shape of two triangles, which rest upon their apices, with a similarly inverted angle between them. On the left side of the tablet the rock is unfortunately fractured, resulting in the loss of several characters in the first four lines. According to the Rev. W. T. Piltner's measurements, the upright lines of the characters in the first line are about half-an-inch in length, those in the second line about  $\frac{3}{4}$ ths of an inch, while in the remaining lines they average  $\frac{5}{8}$ ths of an inch. In the wall immediately opposite the tablet a triangular niche has been cut. Mr. Schick suggests that it was intended to hold the lamp of the workman employed in engraving the inscription. At the time the inscription was found, the greater part of it was below the level of the water which flows from the Pool of the Virgin into the Pool of Siloam. This will explain why it was not seen by former explorers of the conduit. The passage of the water has filled the characters with a deposit of lime which makes it difficult to read them, and in the last line the letters are almost entirely smoothed away by the friction of the water. Before the inscription could be copied it was first necessary that the level of the water should be lowered. This was done at the expense of the Palestine Exploration Fund, the Committee, immediately after hearing (in August) of the discovery, having authorized Dr. Chaplin to draw upon them for the money necessary for the work.\* At the same time Mr. Schick was asked to take a better copy of the inscription than the one which had been sent to

\* According to Dr. Kautzsch (*Allgemeine Zeitung* for April 29th) the German Palestine Exploration Society also sent money for the same purpose,

England. This he did in January, but as he was unacquainted with Phœnician epigraphy his success was not great, and the copy could not be read. A second copy, which arrived in England on the 1st of March, and was published in the last *Quarterly Statement* of the Fund (April 1881), proved equally unintelligible.

Meanwhile, I had succeeded in taking what I believe to be the most perfect copy of the inscription that can well be obtained. An accident I met with in Cyprus brought me unexpectedly to Jerusalem at the beginning of last February, and one of my first occupations there was to call on Mr. Schick, and enquire about his discovery. He showed me his copy of the inscription—the same *facsimile* as that forwarded to London in January—and explained to me the difficulties he had laboured under in attempting to make it. I saw at once that it contained characters of the early Phœnician alphabet, and accordingly started as soon as I could for the conduit where it was found, in company with another gentleman, Mr. J. Slater.

Mr. Schick had not exaggerated the difficulties which stood in the way of making an accurate transcript of the inscription. The last line of it was only just above the level of the water, which, though reduced very considerably below its former level, was still from 4 to 6 inches deep, and flowed with a steady and rapid current. In this it was necessary to sit in order to copy the concluding lines of the inscription, and the cramped position necessitated by the narrowness of the space was very fatiguing to the limbs after an hour or two's work. As there was no light so far up the conduit, the characters could only be seen by the dim light of a candle. This Mr. Slater was good enough to hold for me,—conduct the more heroic in that he suffered severely from the mosquitoes with which the conduit swarmed. As the letters were filled with lime, they could be distinguished only by tracing the white marks of the lime upon the darker surface of the smooth rock. Besides the letters, however, every accidental scratch and flaw in the stone was equally filled with lime, thus making it impossible for any one unacquainted with Phœnician palæography to take a correct *facsimile* of the inscription.

The copy of the inscription here published is the result of three separate visits to the spot where it was found. It was only by repeated observation that the actual forms of some of the characters became clear to me, and it will be seen that there are several which still remain doubtful. Since my return to England, I have received another copy of the inscription, made independently of my own, by the Rev. W. T. Pilter, which the author has been kind enough to send me. The commentary will show of what service a comparison of this with my own copy has been to me. I understand from Mr. Pilter, that Dr. Guthe, the head of

but this seems not to be quite correct. Dr. Kautzsch has been in such a hurry to vindicate the German Palestine Association, that he supposes Mr. Schick's copy of the inscription, published in the *Quarterly Statement*, to be mine.





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∏, ∏	.....	יד
2	.....	טו
3	.....	טז
6	.....	יז
4, ? 4	.....	יח
4	.....	יט
0	.....	כ
1	.....	כא
2	.....	כב
ρ	.....	כג
4. 4	.....	כד
w	.....	כה
x	.....	כו

the German Palestine Exploration Society, who has lately arrived at Jerusalem, is having the whole conduit cleared out, in order to discover whether a second inscription is visible at the other end.

The inscription is the oldest Hebrew record of the kind yet discovered. The word **אש** which occurs thrice in it made me at one time believe that it was a Phœnician monument, **אש** being the Phœnician relative pronoun. M. Halévy,\* however, pointed out that **אש** must be only a defective spelling of the Hebrew **איש**,—which, by the way, throws light on the derivation of the Phœnician relative pronoun,—and since the language of the inscription is in all other respects that of Biblical Hebrew, including an example of *waw conversive*, that characteristic peculiarity of Hebrew idiom, no doubt can now remain as to its true nature. It is an early contemporaneous specimen of the language of the Old Testament, written in that ancient form of the Phœnician alphabet already known to us from the Moabite Stone and a few legends on seals.

The form of the alphabet, however, belongs to an even older period than that of the Moabite Stone. While the words are divided from one another by single points, and the opening sentences by double points, as on the Moabite Stone, and while, too, the majority of the letters have exactly the same

\* See the *Athenæum*, May 14th, 1881.

forms as those represented on the monument of King Mesha, three of the latter, *waw*, *zayin*, and *tsadhé*, are more archaic in shape than the corresponding letters in the Moabite inscription. The *zayin* was first identified by Dr. Neubauer, and, like the *tsadhé*, presents us with a form from which the forms found on the Moabite Stone and in later inscriptions are derived by dropping the loop, and in the case of the *tsadhé* by yet further modifications. (, Moabite ; , Moabite ). The form of *waw*,

though older than that of the Moabite alphabet, nevertheless resembles that of the early Hebrew seals, as well as of the Nimroud lion weights (8th century B.C.) The *koph*, again, resembles that of the ancient Hebrew legends rather than that of the Moabite and early Phœnician texts. So, also, does the *béth* with the long horizontal line at its base. On the other hand, the *daleth*, *caph*, *lamed* and *tau* are those of the Moabite Stone, not of the Hebrew seals, but the long rounded "tail" of the *caph*, *mem*, *nun* and *pe* remind us more of the Hebrew than of the Moabite inscriptions. The *kheth*, too, has three horizontal bars instead of only two as on the Moabite Stone. On the whole, the Siloam inscription presents us with a form of the Phœnician alphabet considerably older than any previously known, and more closely resembling that of the Moabite Stone than any other, although the early form of the *waw* found in it, which was lost in the Moabite alphabet, long survived in the more conservative alphabet of the Jews. An interesting specimen of the alphabet of the ancient Hebrew seals will be found in the last number of the *Journal* of the German Oriental Society (xxxiv, 4), bearing the inscription "Belonging to Abd-Yahu (Obadiah) servant of the king." As it was brought from the neighbourhood of Diarbekr, it may have formed part of the booty carried away from Judæa by Sargon or Sennacherib. I may add that the form of the *zayin* in the Siloam inscription supports De Rouge's attempt to derive the Phœnician alphabet from the hieratic form of the Egyptian alphabet during the period of the Hyksos; though as much cannot be said of the *waw* and *tsadhé*.

Palæographically, therefore, the age of the newly-found inscription is greater than that of the Moabite Stone. Now a glance at the map will show that the Moabites must have obtained their alphabet, not directly from Phœnicia, but through either Judah or the southern half of the Kingdom of Israel, more probably the latter. As it is difficult to suppose that a more archaic form of the alphabet was in use at Jerusalem than at Samaria during the same period, it would follow that the alphabet of the Siloam inscription, and therefore the inscription itself, would be more ancient than the inscription of Mesha, that is to say, than the ninth century B.C. We may accordingly assign it to the age of Solomon, when great public works were being constructed at Jerusalem, more especially in the neighbourhood of the Tyropœon valley. At all events, the historical records of the Old Testament do not warrant our assuming that further works of the kind were constructed at Jerusalem until we come to the time of Hezekiah, who "stopped the upper watercourse of Gihon, and

brought it straight down to the west side of the city of David." (2 Chron. 32, 30.) This could not be the conduit of Siloam, as the city of David lay on the western side of the Tyropœon. Isaiah refers to this work of Hezekiah when he tells the rulers of Jerusalem that they had "gathered together the waters of the lower pool" (ברכה) and had "made also a ditch (or reservoir) between the two walls for the waters of the old pool" (ברכה) (Isaiah xxii, 9, 11; see vii, 3.) The paleographical evidence of the inscription, however, is wholly against our assigning it to so late a period as the time of Hezekiah; and this is the only evidence that is at present procurable.

The seal brought from the neighbourhood of Diarbekr affords further evidence in this direction. The king, whose servant the owner calls himself, would be the king of either Judah (or Samaria) or of Assyria, and we are therefore justified in dating it as least as early as the seventh century B.C. This brings us near the period of Hezekiah. But, as we have seen, the alphabet of Siloam is older than that of the seal.\* The construction of a tunnel like that which connects the Pools of the Virgin and Siloam implies both skill and wealth, such as would be more consistent with the epoch of Solomon than with any other in the history of the kingdom of Judah. So far as we know, Phœnician workmen were not afterwards employed by the kings of Judah, and it may be doubted whether any native Jew possessed the engineering ability displayed, as the inscription seems to show, in the excavation of the conduit. Dr. Neubauer has pointed out to me that the work must have been begun at both ends simultaneously, the workmen finally meeting in the middle, like the excavators of the Mont Cenis tunnel. This will account for the *culs de sac* met with in the passage. It was no wonder that one of the workmen, perhaps the chief engineer himself, recorded the successful completion of the undertaking in writing. The only difficulty is to explain why the upper half of the tablet in which the inscription is engraved is left smooth, the lower half alone being occupied with the inscription. I can only suggest that a historical record of the work was intended to be inscribed in the unengraved portion of the tablet, but that for some reason or other the intention was never carried out, while the existing inscription itself, being merely the composition of a private individual, was engraved in a place where it would be permanently concealed by the water.

The size and clearness of the letters show that writing was no very unusual accomplishment in Jerusalem at the period when the inscription was engraved. At the same time, some of the letters have duplicate forms, which equally seem to show that it was in a somewhat unfixed state. *Alaph* has two forms, one of which is identical with the form found on the Hebrew coins, while the other is the form of the Moabite

\* Another seal of Hebrew origin, with the legend  $\text{לשׁמעיִהוּ בן עזריהוּ}$  and a figure which has been compared with "the Golden Calf" of Dan, found on the banks of the Euphrates, cannot be cited as evidence, as it may be of the period of the Exile.

and Phœnician inscriptions: *zayin*, also, has two forms, the loop appearing on the left hand side in one of them, on the right hand side in the other; so, too, perhaps, have *war* and *mem*, though I do not feel absolutely certain about the form  $\Upsilon$  and  $\Psi$ . I can throw no light on the curious ornament which serves as a *finis* to the inscription.

Historically, the inscription gives us no information beyond the mere record of the cutting of the conduit. Topographically, also, our gains from it are small. We learn that the Pool of Siloam was known as the *B'récáh*, or "Pool," and if my reading is right the *Biráh*, or "Castle," mentioned in Neh. ii, 8, and vii, 2, already existed on the Temple area. Josephus calls the latter the *Bápis* (*Antiq.* 15, 11, 4), and it stood not very far from the modern gate of St. Stephen and the Virgin's Pool. In the Roman period it was known as the Tower of Antonia. M. Halévy, however, has very ingeniously suggested that the mention of the '*elep ammáh* or "thousand cubits," in the fifth line may throw light upon two passages of the Old Testament, Josh. xviii, 28, and Zech. ix, 7. In the first the rendering of the A. V. should be corrected into "And Tsela', the Eleph and the Jebusi, that is Jerusalem," which would mean that Jerusalem consisted of the three quarters of Tsela', Eleph, and Jebusi, the latter being the Jebusite stronghold, captured by David, to the west of the Temple hill. In the second passage a slight alteration of the punctuation (reading  $\eta\aleph\aleph$  for  $\eta\aleph\aleph$ ) would make the sense clear, and give us "he shall be as Eleph in Judah, even Ekron as Jebusi." If M. Halévy is right, the "thousand" cubits of the conduit gave its name to the rocky height, through which it was cut, so that the southern part of the Temple hill, facing Jebusi or the "City of David" was known as Eleph or "The Eleph."\*

Metrologically the inscription seems to fix the length of the Hebrew cubit, or '*ammáh*, the tunnel which, according to Colonel Warren, is 1,708 feet in length, being said to be a thousand cubits long. In this case the cubic would equal  $20\frac{1}{2}$  inches. But it must be remembered that a thousand is a round number, and should not be pressed too closely.

For philology and epigraphy the value of the inscription is very great. It not only gives us the Phœnician alphabet in a more archaic form than any previously known, but it brings before us the Hebrew language as it was actually spoken in the age of the kings. The Hebrew scholar cannot but be struck by what may be termed the biblical character of the language. The very idioms to which he has been accustomed in the Old Testament reappear in this ancient record. At the same time it offers more than one peculiarity. Unless my reading is wrong, we have in the second line  $\text{שלש אמה}$  instead of  $\text{אמת}$ . The same peculiarity, however, is presented by the first word of the last line, which, although in the construct state, ends with *hê* instead of *tau*. It would therefore appear that the engraver carried the tendency to reduce a final *th* to *h* even

\* See the *Athenæum*, May 14th, 1881.

farther than the classical Hebrew of the Bible. He has also written **א** to express the vowel *a* in two instances which cannot be paralleled in Biblical Hebrew, **במאתי** in line 5, and **תאחה** in line 6. The same *scriptio plena* shows itself in **מוציא** (line 5), though on the other hand **אש** is throughout written defectively for **איש**. The spelling of the latter word is interesting as it suggests the etymology of the Phœnician relative pronoun **אש**. Other peculiarities of the inscription will be the use of the Hitlpa'el of **חכה** in the peculiar sense of "eagerly working at," and the employment of a word unknown to Biblical Hebrew, which terminates with **זרה** (line 3).\*

But the chief interest of the inscription lies in the indication it affords of the extent to which writing was known and practised among the Jews in the early age to which it belongs. It thus confirms the testimony of those Old Testament scriptures which claim to have been written during the oldest period of the Jewish State. And its evidence will have to be considered in future enquiries as to the epoch at which the Phœnician alphabet was first introduced among the Hebrew people. Above all, its discovery leads us to hope that other Hebrew inscriptions of an ancient date are yet to be found in Jerusalem itself. "Underground Jerusalem" has been as yet but little explored, and if we may find a record of the kind in a spot which is easily accessible, and has been not unfrequently visited, what discoveries may we not expect to make hereafter when the Temple area can be thoroughly investigated, and the subterranean watercourses of the capital of the Jewish monarchy laid open to view.

TRANSLITERATION OF THE INSCRIPTION IN THE HEBREW SQUARE  
CHARACTER.

- 1 הן . (ה)נקבה : וזה . היה . (ע) בר . המקבה : בעוד (החצ)  
ב(ם . ה)עלו .
- 2 הגרון . אש . אל . רעו . ועוד . שלש . אמה . להפה .  
(? החצבי)ם . [ק?]ת[?]ו . א(ש
- 3 . אל . רעו . מנד[?]ה . ינע[?]זדה . בצר . מה . מן . קמ(ה . וי)  
חכו . בירה בא
- 4 נקב[?]ה[?] . ה(ת)חכו . החצבם . אש . ילקרת . רעו . גרון :  
אל . (ג)רון . וילכו
- 5 המים . מן . המוציא . אל . הברכה . במאתי . אלף . אמה . מן
- 6 תאחה . ה(נ)ק(ר)בה . חצב(ר) . על . ראש . החצב ז(ה)

\* M. Derembourg has suggested that the **מוציא** of line 5 is to be identified with the **מוציא** of the Talmud. See Neubauer, "La Géographie du Talmud," pp. 152, 153. The Talmudical Motsa, however, is described as being near Jerusalem, not as forming part of the city, and as also bearing the Greek name of Kolonia (*Athenæum*, May 14th, 1881).



*Translation.*

Behold the excavation ! Now this is the further side (*or* the history) of the tunnel. While the excavators were lifting up the pick, each towards his neighbour, and while there were yet three cubits to the mouth (of the tunnel) the excavators were hewing. Each came to his neighbour at a measure's length (?) . . . . in the rock on high ; and they worked eagerly at (the) castle they had excavated (?) ; the excavators worked eagerly each to meet the other, pick to pick. And the waters flowed from their outlet to the Pool for a distance of a thousand cubits, from the lower part (?) of the tunnel (which) they excavated at the head of the excavation here."

*Commentary.*

Line 1. The sense obviously requires הן, for which there is just room. I had conjectured that this word ought to be read when I received Mr. Piliter's copy. In this he has two characters which are clearly הן followed by a point. His copy, however, shows no trace of a ה before the next word, though without it the grammar would be awkward, and I have therefore ventured to supply the missing letter. I was unable myself to make out the first letters of this line.

I read נקבה ; Mr. Piliter's copy has מקבה, in which case we had better translate "tunnel" rather than "excavation." The verb means "to bore" and is therefore well fitted to denote the construction of a tunnel. In Assyrian it is used of the construction of watercourses. For a similar signification of מקבת in Hebrew see Is. li, 1. מקבה should not be rendered "hammer" as in the A. V. (1 Kings 6, 7 ; Is. xlv, 12 ; Jer. x, 4), but "boring-tool" as is plain from this inscription. The name of Macchabæus, therefore, even supposing it were written מקבי and not מכבי as it is, would not mean "the hammer."

The character which precedes בר is unfortunately doubtful. My first copy gave ק, but קבר is used in Hebrew only of graves, not of excavations generally. In my third copy I made the character ה ; הבר, however, for הבור would give but poor sense, and the grammar would be awkward. Mr. Piliter's copy has 8, like the *facsimile* published by the Palestine Exploration Fund in their last *Quarterly Statement* ; this is obviously impossible. Dr. Neubauer has suggested דבר, which would give the meaning required, and agree with the Biblical style. I wish I could adopt it without misgiving, but my copies agree in delineating a loop rather than an angle, and I am therefore inclined to read עבר, supposing the sense to be that the lower end of the tunnel where the inscription is engraved had been the further side of the excavation, which was begun first at the other end.

After בעוד comes a fracture of the rock, and it is possible that more letters ought to be supplied than those with which I have conjec-

turally filled up the lacuna. After ב there is not room for more than two letters, and החצב is spelt defectively without ך in line 4.

I believe my restoration of העל is certain. The last letter is clear; the preceding one, though much obliterated, can only be a ל, and before that comes a small triangular cake of lime which is too small to represent a *daleth*, and can therefore only be ע. The sense given by העל is just that which is wanted.

Line 2. גרון must signify "a pick" here, not an "axe." This will be also its meaning in 1 Kings vi, 7.

For the Biblical idiom איש אל רעו, "each to the other," see Judges vi, 29; 1 Sam. x, 11, &c. The old form רעו is found in Jer. vi, 21. M. Halévy was the first to notice that אש is a defective spelling of איש. It is similar to the defective spelling of החצב. The spelling throws light on the etymology of the Phœnician relative pronoun אש, which will have originally meant "man," and accordingly had no connection with the Hebrew relative אשר, which originally signified "place." Over the first letter of רעו is a mark, which does not seem to be a mere accidental scratch, but which I cannot explain.

Instead of אמה we ought to have had אמת. In the last line, however, the engraver has made the final letter of a feminine noun in the construct state ה instead of ת, and it would therefore seem that the tendency of Hebrew to change final *th* into *h* had in his case gone considerably further than in the classical language of the Old Testament. If so, the inscription will afford us an interesting specimen of the local dialect of Jerusalem.

We may notice that the article is expressed in writing in להפה, in contradistinction to בצר in the following line.

After the break in this line, caused by the fracture of the rock, we have, according to my copy, the lower part of a letter which is either a ם, a ן, or a ך; then a point; then the remains of a character which may be either א or ק, and then space for two letters, one of which I have copied very doubtfully as ת. The other copies give no help. As the sense requires the third pers. pl. of a verb, I supply the final ך, and read conjecturally קצו, "they hewed off." See Hab. ii, 10. The sense shows that we have to supply א before the final ש.

Line 3. Here my copies would make the first character ב. מדה, however, and the word which follows it, are extremely puzzling. The three last letters of the second word are certain, and are among the clearest characters in the whole inscription. Yet the only Hebrew root with which they can be brought into connection is זוד, "to seethe." It is curious that Mr. Piltner's copy has מצה instead of מדה, "unleavened bread," which reminds us of the use of the hiphil of זוד in Gen. xxv, 29, in the sense of preparing food. But neither the context nor the grammar agree with this reading, whereas my מדה suits the passage well. Of the next word I can make nothing; the last three characters, as I have said,

are certain, and the first seems certainly **י**. At all events that is the reading of all my three copies, as well as of Mr. Pilter's copy.

For the construction of **מה**, see Numb. xxiii, 3 ; Judg. ix, 48.

Dr. Neubauer is clearly right in suggesting **קמה**, written defectively for **קומה**.

The verb which follows is certified by its recurrence in the next line. In the latter line, the second letter has to be supplied, which I suppose to be the **ת** of Hithpael, though Dr. Neubauer suggests (with less probability, I think) **הן חבו**. In Biblical Hebrew, **חבה** means to "expect" or "desire eagerly;" here the Hithpael would have the sense of "working eagerly at" a thing.

If my reading is right, **בירה** would be the castle at the north-eastern corner of the Temple area, near the Virgin's Pool, which is mentioned in Neh. ii, 8 ; vii, 2, and is called *Bâpis* by Josephus ("Antiq.," 15, 11, 4), the Antonia of the Romans. In this case, the word would not be a late one, as is usually assumed. The omission of the article may be explained by the use of the word as a proper name. In 1 Chron. xxix, 1, 19, *Birâh* is used for the whole Temple. Mr. Pilter's copy has **בימה** instead of **בירה**, but this is untranslatable.

Line 4. The first word of this line is difficult both to read and to construe. My copies have **נקב. ה(ת)חבו**, which is also the reading of Mr. Schick's *facsimile*; but I cannot translate it. Mr. Pilter, however, reads **נקבה.**, placing the point after the **ה**, though, it is true, he seems to read only one *hê*, and this reading, with much hesitation, I have ventured to adopt.

It is, however, very probable that Dr. Neubauer is right in making **בירה** a compound of the preposition **ב**, and then reading **נקב** with the translation: "And they worked eagerly in the . . . at a hole."

For the phrase **אש לקרת רעו** compare Gen. xv, 10. We may notice that **לקראת לקרת** is written defectively.

The *waw conversive* of **וילכו** unmistakably marks the Hebrew character of the inscription. It may be added that M. Stanislas Guyard has lately pointed out the existence of a "true" *waw conversive* in Assyrian ("Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie égyptiennes et assyriennes," ii, 4, p. 135, note 5).

The *scriptio plena* of **מוציא** is remarkable. In Biblical Hebrew we find only the Kâl formatives **מוצא**, **מוצאה**, not the Hiphil **מוציא**.

**ברכה** is the common Biblical term for the "pools" or "reservoirs" which existed at Jerusalem and elsewhere. We may observe that the Pool of Siloam is called "the B'rêchâh" *par excellence*, as though it were the chief reservoir at the time the inscription was made.

**במאתי** I explain as a compound of the preposition **ב** and the noun **מאתי**, a *scriptio plena* of the Biblical **בתי**. In the Bible the

word is used only of time, but it properly means "extension," and the temporal use of it is derived from the local one.

Throughout the inscription **מן** is written in its uncontracted form. This cannot be regarded as an Aramaism, but, on the contrary, as a mark of antiquity, like the use of **מאתי** in a local sense.

Line 6. The first word of line 6 is certainly **תאחה**. The sense seems to require some word parallel in meaning to **מנייא**. I can think only of **תהת**, 'aleph being written as in **מאתי**, and **hé** taking the place of *tau*, as in the **אמה** of the second line. But I must confess that the meaning of "lower part" would be more suitable to the Siloam end of the tunnel than to the other, to which it refers. It may, however, signify the grooved channel in the floor of the conduit, through which the water flows.

The next word is read **הנקובה** by Dr. Neubauer, doubtless correctly.

The noun **העב**, with the form of abstracts like **אָפֶסֶם**, is not found in Biblical Hebrew, **מחעב** taking its place. The participle **עב** is used of the quarrymen who cut the stone for Solomon's temple in 1 Kings v, 15 (*Heb.* v. 29).

**זה** is used adverbially, as in Dan. x, 17. I could see no point between it and **ההעב**, and therefore conclude that it was regarded as an enclitic.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.—Since the above was written, Dr. Neubauer has made two happy suggestions, which not only explain the difficult passage in line 3, but are also of great topographical importance. He proposes to make the first letter of **בירה** the preposition as in **בצר**, and to regard **ירה** as a geographical name Yerah. The translation will accordingly be: "They worked eagerly at the excavation in Yerah." Now Yerah at once reminds us of the famous passage in Gen. xxii, 14, where Dr. Neubauer's suggestion justifies us in the rendering, "of which it is said to-day, in the mount of the LORD Yerah." Here the name is identified with the Temple-mountain, that is, with the very part of Jerusalem in which the tunnel was excavated. But more than this, Yerah is the same word as Yeru, and Yeru forms the first part of Jerusalem. Since Melchizedek is called King of Salem, it is possible that the western portion of Jerusalem was originally known as Salem, the Temple-mountain being Yerah or Yeru, the enclosure of the two sites within one wall giving rise to the compound name Jerusalem. It is noticeable that the punctuators make the latter word a dual. Dr. Neubauer's other suggestion is equally attractive. He would read **מעה ירודה** and render "to Motsah of Yeru-ziddah." Motsah was a place belonging to Benjamin, and near Jerusalem, according to Josh. xviii, 26, and my copy shows that the character I have read as *daleth* is not formed like the other *daleths* of the inscription, but like the left hand part of the *tsedhé*. With Yeru-ziddah, I would venture to compare the still unexplained name of Bezetha, on the north-east side of Jerusalem. Bezetha might very well represent Beth-Zidtha.

Dr. Neubauer has also drawn my attention to Is. viii, 6 : "Forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly," where we should rather render "despiset." The passage looks as if Ahaz had made a conduit for the rapid passage of the waters of Siloah, while the people ironically said of them that they went only softly. In this case the tunnel in which the inscription has been found would have been either constructed or repaired by Ahaz.

After the above had been revised, I read the article of Dr. Kautzsch on the Inscription in the last number of the *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins* (iv. 1, 2), but learned nothing from it. A "copy" of the Inscription is published, which is as incorrect as that published in the last *Quarterly Statement* of the "Palestine Exploration Fund," and Dr. Kautzsch's readings based upon it are naturally worthless, as is also, for the same reason, his supposition that the Inscription is not older than the age of Hezekiah.

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## II

### POSTSCRIPT.

A FEW words may be added by way of supplement and correction to the above. In the first place, an important argument on behalf of its antiquity may be drawn from the fact that the modern Pool of Siloam is called in it simply "the Pool." This implies that no other artificial reservoir of the kind existed at the time in Jerusalem. We are thus referred to an earlier epoch than the age of Isaiah, who mentions no less than four reservoirs, "the upper pool" (Is. vii, 3), "the lower pool" (Is. xxii, 9), "the old pool" (Is. xxii, 11), and the newly made "ditch," or more properly "tank" (*ib.*). The latter, I fancy, was the reservoir still existing to the south of the Pool of Siloam, which I am inclined to identify with "the old pool." The Pool of Siloam is called "the pool of Siloah by the king's garden," in Neh. iii, 15, and "the king's pool," in Neh. ii, 14, a designation which seems to show that it had been constructed by some famous sovereign. We know of none before the time of Ahaz and Hezekiah who could have executed the work, except either David or Solomon. As no other artificial reservoir appears to have existed in Jerusalem when the inscription was engraved, it is more probable that the reservoir was made shortly after the conquest of Jebusi by David, and the encirclement of the new capital by a single wall, than when the Temple was actually being built.

It is difficult to suppose that the reservoir existed before the conduit which supplied it with water from "the dragon well," as it is termed in Neh. ii, 13. I believe, therefore, that the reference in Is. viii, 6—"forasmuch as this people refuseth the waters of Shiloah that go softly,"—must be to the reparation of the tunnel by Ahaz, not to its original excavation. Ahaz had cleared out the passage, and so allowed the water to flow rapidly

through it; his disaffected subjects ironically declared that it went only slowly.

The two *culs de sac* found in the conduit, occur, according to Colonel Warren's measurements, at a distance of 900 feet from its outlet into the Pool of Siloam. The two false cuttings "go in for about 2 feet each" on either side of the tunnel. Here, therefore, must have been the place in the middle of the conduit where the two bodies of workmen met, to find that they had not followed exactly the same line, but that the ends of their two tunnels overlapped each other. A passage was accordingly cut from the one to the other, the space between the two turning out to be not more than the average breadth of the conduit itself.

Since the publication of my pamphlet, I have received a letter from Mr. Piliter, in answer to my questions about certain doubtful characters in the inscriptions. Another visit to the inscription for the purpose of specially studying the doubtful letters I had indicated, has had the following result. In the first line the reading **דבר** is settled, the first character of the work being unmistakably a *daleth*, not an *'ayin*. We must therefore translate "This is the history of the excavation." It is further clear that the inscription was originally intended to commence with the words "Behold the excavation," and that the smooth upper part of the tablet was intentionally left uninscribed.

In the third line Mr. Piliter reads **בני (?) ה י (ת?) זדה**. We may therefore look upon the reading *Motsah Yeru-siddah* as fairly certain, since my copies leave no doubt that the point follows the **ה**, and does not precede it, while the doubtful letter can well be a *resh*. At the end of the line Mr. Piliter still reads **בימה**. I believe, however, that I distinctly saw **בירה**.

At the beginning of line 4, Mr. Piliter finds **חבר . בקבה**, the first word being "clear." This is very satisfactory, and does away with the necessity of assuming the difficult *hithpa'el* form. Mr. Piliter adds that some of the letters are no longer so clear and distinct as they were; "perhaps Dr. Guthe's repeated washings of the stones to get rid of our candle-grease, and make his own gypsum cast, have washed away some of the lime deposited, which was so useful to us."

A. H. SAYCE.

## III.

## THE DATE OF THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION.

PROFESSOR SAYCE has, I believe, overlooked certain considerations which bear on the date to be assigned to the Siloam inscription.

On p. 145, he gives it as his opinion that it represents an earlier stage of the Semitic alphabet than the Moabite Stone, and he assigns it with some confidence to the time of Solomon. On p. 152, however, with his usual candour, he draws attention to an historical argument of great weight, brought forward by Dr. Neubauer, which would bring the date down to the reign of Ahaz. But the paleographical evidence, he argues, is "wholly" in favour of the earlier date.

On the other hand, I think that it may be maintained that the paleographical probabilities, as well as the historical evidence, are in favour of the later date.

The Moabite stone belongs to the beginning of the 9th century B.C. If the Siloam inscription is of the time of Solomon, it would belong to the beginning of the 10th century, if to the time of Ahaz to the middle of the 8th. Here then is a very definite issue. To the practised eye of the paleographer, there ought to be no great difficulty in deciding whether the inscription is either a century older, or more than a century later than the reign of Mesha.

The sole argument urged by Professor Sayce in favour of the earlier date is that three of the Siloam letters, *tsalhe*, *waw*, and *zayin*, seem to him of more archaic forms than on the Moabite Stone. At the same time he admits that several other letters belong to the more recent type which is used in the legends on the ancient Hebrew seals.

Now even if we admit the assumption as to the antiquity of the forms of the three letters, the conclusion by no means follows. It may be laid down as a paleographic canon, that the date of an inscription is to be determined by reference to the most recent rather than to the most archaic forms which it contains. The presence of one or two late forms is decisive evidence of the late date of a whole inscription, while the presence of one or two early forms is of no very great significance, as they can be accounted for as local survivals. For example, in Athenian inscriptions of the 5th century, we find the archaic form of the *lambda*,  $\lambda$ , whereas the new form  $\Lambda$  has already made its appearance in the Greek alphabet in the 7th century, as is evidenced by the Abu Simbel inscription. The old form of the *lambda* at Athens is clearly a mere survival, and it would be preposterous on such a ground to argue that an inscription such as the Erechtheum survey must be antedated by three centuries, and assigned to a time earlier than the reign of Psammetichus. But this is in fact what Professor Sayce has done, when he ante-dates his inscription on the sole evidence of two or three letters which seem to exhibit exceptionally early forms.

It must be contended that such a mode of argument is illegitimate, and

that the Siloam inscription, like all other inscriptions, must have its date determined by reference to the age of the most recent of the forms which it exhibits.

Now at least half of the Siloam letters appear in forms which are unmistakably later than those on the Moabite Stone. The curvature to the left of the tails of the tailed letters, viz., *beth*, *kaph*, *mim*, *nun*, and *pe* is more pronounced than on the Moabite Stone. Here we see in operation one of the chief causes which ultimately transformed the old Semitic alphabet. The *cheth* with three bars is also later than the Moabite form with two bars, and so is *q'oph*, whose head is partly opened, while the earlier form is completely closed.

But an argument to which still greater weight must be assigned is derived from the variant forms in which the letters *aleph*, *waw*, *mim*, and *resh* are written. The old Moabite forms of these four letters are used in the Siloam inscription side by side with the later forms, which subsequently supplanted them. These letters establish decisively the fact that the Siloam alphabet is a TRANSITION ALPHABET, belonging to a period intermediate between the Moabite alphabet of the 9th century, and the newer forms by which in the 6th century they were replaced.

Referring to the Siloam alphabet given by Professor Sayce on p. 144, the first *aleph* is the form on the Moabite Stone, while the second is the 6th century form which is found in the Gebâl and the Nora inscriptions, and also on the early Hebrew shekels, which are ascribed by de Sauley and Lenormant to the times of Ezra and Nehemiah. Again, the first form of *resh* approximates to the Moabite form, while the second is later. The same is the case with *waw*. The second form in Professor Sayce's table is Moabite, while the first, instead of being earlier, as Professor Sayce alleges, is decisively later, as is proved by its being used on the early shekels of the time of Ezra.

The two forms of *mim*, however, yield an argument so conclusive that they would by themselves suffice to settle the controversy. We actually have in the Siloam inscription, side by side, the two forms of this letter which are commonly used as the most convenient test to distinguish between the first and second epochs of the Semitic alphabet. The earlier, or zigzag form, is essentially the same as the Moabite form, and occurs twelve times. In the form which it had during the second epoch, with the horizontal bar and the cross stroke, the letter occurs twice, in lines 3 and 5. Now this later form is not found on the Moabite Stone, or in the earlier Phœnician inscriptions, or on the Assyrian Lion weights which belong to the beginning of the 8th century. On the other hand, it is found on the Eshmunazar sarcophagus, in the Gebâl inscription, in the second Sidonian, and many other inscriptions from the 6th century downwards. On the Assyrian contract tablets, however, which belong to the 7th century, it is usually found, but occasionally approximates to the earlier form. Now in the Siloam inscription, the Moabite, or 9th century form appears twelve times, and the Sidonian or 6th century form appears twice. In the 7th century, as we learn from







the contract tablets, the old form had nearly disappeared; while at the time when the Siloam inscription was engraved, the new form was just beginning to come in. The evidence furnished by this letter alone might enable us with considerable confidence to assign the Siloam inscription to the middle of the 8th century, the exact date of the reign of Ahaz.

Professor Sayce bases his sole argument for the early date on the assumption that the forms of the three letters, *waw*, *zayin* and *tsadhe* are older than those on the Moabite Stone. Even if this were the case, his conclusion would by no means follow, the later forms of *mim* and other letters affording decisive proof that the more archaic forms must be regarded only as survivals.

But I cannot even admit that the forms of these three letters have the antiquity that is claimed for them. Much, no doubt, may be said in favour of the archaism of the forms of *tsadhe* and *zayin*, but with regard to *waw*, the very form which Professor Sayce considers to be so ancient is actually the later Hebrew form, exactly as found on the shekels of the time of Ezra, and manifestly the transition form from which the Asmonean letter was obtained. Both *zayin* and *tsadhe* are letters of comparatively rare occurrence, and the evidence as to their history is therefore scanty. The letter *zayin* does not happen to be met with on any of the early shekels, but the looped form, which Professor Sayce considers to be so early, is found on the coinage of Bar Cochba, which was imitated from the earlier shekels, and has actually been transmitted to the modern Samaritan alphabet.

As to the very peculiar shape of *tsadhe*, it seems impossible that it can have been the parent of the Moabite form, but on the other hand it can be connected without much difficulty with the form on one of the early shekels. On the whole, it may be affirmed that the weight of the evidence tends to show that Professor Sayce's three archaic letters are merely local Hebrew forms, and decidedly posterior to the Moabite letters.

The conclusion, therefore, is that out of the twenty letters in the Siloam inscription eleven or twelve exhibit forms later than the Moabite Stone, that not one is decisively earlier, and that even if this were the case, it would not affect the argument. Indeed, if it were not for the early forms of *he* and *lamed*, it would not be impossible to bring the inscription down almost to the time of the Captivity. The palæographic probabilities tend, however, very strongly to support the ingenious conjecture of Dr. Neubauer that the conduit was excavated in the reign of Ahaz, that is about the middle of the 8th century.

It may be noted in conclusion that the Siloam inscription throws valuable light on the date and affiliation of the South Semitic alphabets. The peculiar double-looped form of *tsadhe* connects itself with the double-looped forms of this letter, which characterize the South Semitic alphabets, e.g., the Himyaritic , the Harra , and the Thugga . So again the looped *zayin* is connected with the Himyaritic form of the letter  which is also looped.

ISAAC TAYLOR.

## LIEUTENANT CONDER'S REPORTS.

## I.

BEYROUT, *22nd April*, 1881.

HAVING reached Beyrout on the 29th March, and being unable to commence actual operations until the arrival of our men, stores, and instruments, which were not due for a month, we cast about for some useful occupation of the time which must thus of necessity intervene—the month of April being one of the best in the year for field operations. Our projected field of action in the Hauran was for the moment closed, in consequence of difficulties between the Turks and the Druzes; while the time necessary for travelling to the Sea of Galilee, and for making any really useful explorations on its shores, would have been so long as to interfere with our other plans. We therefore determined to devote a fortnight to the investigation of a question which is probably of greater antiquarian interest than any other, of those as yet unsettled in Northern Syria, namely, the recovery and exploration of the sacred southern capital of the Hittites—the famous city of Kadesh on the Orontes.

For this purpose we hired horses and tents, and armed with a circular letter from the Wâly at Damascus, kindly obtained by the Consul (Mr. Jago), we left Beyrout on the 1st of April—the third day after our disembarkation—and journeying across the Lebanon to Zahleh and Baalbek, pushed northwards to the lake and town of Homs, returning by the pass between Lebanon and the Anseiriyeh mountains to Tripoli, where we were caught by the equinoctial gales, and whence, after the delay of two days due to the storm, we returned to Beyrout on the 17th April. The expedition was more successful in its results than we had hoped, and Lieutenant Mantell was not less of opinion than I am myself disposed to be, that the discovery of the true site of Kadesh—a city as old as the time of Moses at least—has been the reward of our investigations.

## BAALBEK.

We were detained for two days at Baalbek awaiting the Wâly's letter; and our studies were, I hope, not without interest. Several inscriptions in the temple-fortress are enumerated by M. Waddington, and others were shown to me in 1873 by Mr. Wright; but one which we lit upon, in a small ruined chamber behind the northern apse of the basilica of Theodosius in the great court, is possibly unknown. It is written in long narrow letters rudely painted in red on white plaster, and has been partly obliterated by the fall of the plaster. The form of the letters seems to indicate Byzantine origin, and the inscription seems probably to be of the date of the erection of this basilica (379 to 395 A.D.). It occupies a space of 1 foot 9 inches by 3 feet 3 inches, but there are traces of other letters to the right. On the left no further letters can have existed, the inscription

being close to the south-west corner of the vault, near the ground. After carefully cleaning the plaster the following letters became clearly visible :

ΠΡΟΨΗ  
 Ν . . . Ρ . . Α . .  
 ΤΟΝΡΥ . . . ΕΝΔΥΑ . .  
 ΡΟΥΑΑΜΒΑΝΩΝΦΩΚΑΙΑΝ  
 Υ . . . ΟΥΠΡΟΦΑΙΘΥ . Ο .

I have not the means at hand for attempting to decipher this text, although several words, including the *προσλαμβανων φως* of the fourth line, are easily legible. It may be noted that the peculiar form of the Ω (which resembles a W), is observable in another inscription at Baalbek, namely, in the round temple which was dedicated in later times by the Christians to St. Barbara. Here, on the stones of the interior, is painted a red cross on a white ground in a yellow circle, with the inscription *ρουτωνίκη*, the form of the Ω being that of a W. There are many other crosses cut on this building, and also on the bases of the columns in the Temple of the Sun, or smaller temple. It is curious to observe that the basilica of Theodosius has its apses at the west end, showing that the practice of orientation was not invariably adopted until after the close of the fourth century—a conclusion which agrees with the direction of Constantine's basilica at Jerusalem.

The basilica of Theodosius is built on the same central line with the great temple, of which only the six pillars remain. Lieutenant Mantell took careful azimuth and altitude observations, which determine the bearing of this line as  $77^\circ$  east of true north. The sun rises on this line on April 28th and August 14th (as nearly as can be determined), and sets on February 24th and October 17th.

It may be remarked that the mourning for the sun-god Thammuz occurred in the sixth month of the Jewish year on the fifth day (Ezek, viii, 1-14), or about the middle of August—as nearly as can be reckoned considering the periodical intercalation of the Vedar month. This mourning was succeeded by a joyful feast three days later. Possibly the orientation of the Sun Temple may have some connection with the rising of the sun on this line on the 14th August. It is also noticeable that the Jebel Sunnin appears on the west framed by the pillars of the great temple, the centre line of which passes about  $3^\circ$  to the left of the apparent summit. Whether this be designedly so arranged, or is merely accidental, seems doubtful.

The inscriptions on the bases of the two columns of the portico at Baalbek, attributing the erection of this sanctuary, built in honour "of all the gods of Heliopolis," to Antoninus Pius, and to Julia Domna, wife of Septimus Severus, and daughter of Bassianus, priest of the sun at Emesa (Homs), are well known. In the southern vault, by which the great platform is usually reached, there is, on one of the keystones, a bust of Hercules in high relief, with the inscription *DIVISIO MOSCI*, as recorded by M. Waddington. In the southern parallel vault are inscriptions shown to

me in 1873 by Mr. W. Wright, also on keystones of the arched roof; the first, on the east, DIVISIO CHON; the second near the west, CIRSV. In the same vault is one keystone ornamented with a female bust in high relief, and another with some floral emblems. These are scarcely visible in the darkness, but the vaults were originally lighted by windows in the arches, which are now filled up with rubbish.

On the north side of the great court are other fragments of inscriptions on pedestals projecting from the walls, doubtless once supporting statues. I do not know whether they have been previously copied, but they are apparently too fragmentary to have any value. The first noticed is:—

. . OHOICI . . . NEMI

The second to the left:—

IO . . LANΔA.

As the temples of Baalbek were dedicated to all the gods, it becomes of interest to study the symbolism of the niches and other decorated portions. One of the alcoves on the north wall of the great court has five niches with carved roofs, the central one having a head of the sun-god surrounded with rays, like that at Rukhleh on Hermon. On the left is a niche with the figure of a man, and another with an eagle flying among stars. On the right the design represents fishes swimming on a great shell; the fifth design is unfortunately obliterated, but perhaps represented some kind of beast, all creation being thus shown surrounding the sun-god.

. Among the busts carved on the roof of the colonnade surrounding the smaller temple may be recognised Diana with her quiver, Ceres with the cornucopia, a winged genius—perhaps Eros or Ganymede, a warrior—possibly Mars, a graceful Dionysius with bunches of grapes, and other figures with attributes less easily interpreted. Dr. Robinson speaks of one as a Leda. Hercules with his lion's skin and club is sculptured, as above noted, in the southern vault. On the west side of the colonnade lies a portion of the fallen roof, with a design representing a female suckling an infant—probably one of the nurse-goddesses of Asia. The size of this block may be imagined by the fact that innumerable names of visitors have been written on a single fold of the drapery.

The frieze which is sculptured on the retaining wall of the raised western cella of the smaller temple has been mutilated by later occupants of the place; but it is sufficiently preserved to show that it originally represented some kind of religious dance. One figure blows a long pipe, a second appears to have some kind of horn, a Pan's pipe lies at the foot of the latter, and to the left the thyrsus is plainly visible in the hand of a long robed figure with floating hair. Beneath this cella is a vault, in which a tomb was discovered, containing human bones and other relics. These would probably belong to the Christian period, when this temple was converted into a church.

The exterior masonry at Baalbek is generally drafted, though not with the regularity of the Temple walls at Jerusalem. A careful examination

shows, however, that the tooling of the stones is entirely different. Those at Jerusalem were worked with a toothed instrument, while at Baalbek a pointed chisel had been employed. The *criss cross* dressing never appears at Baalbek, and seems to be distinctive of the Herodian masonry at Jerusalem. In 1873, Mr. Wright pointed out on the north wall some Greek masons' marks, but I was unable to find these again, perhaps in consequence of the direction of the light.

Magnificent as is the ornamentation of these great temples, the work seems never to have been completed. We were much struck with evidences of unfinished work; capitals sketched in stone, but not cut out; mouldings terminating suddenly, and leaving an unfinished line along the cornice. At the great height at which many of these details are placed, the imperfections are invisible: but in many cases, when closely examined, there can be no doubt that the design has never been completely worked out.

From Baalbek we travelled along the western slopes of the Antilebanon, passing Nahleh, which preserves the Hebrew name Nachal ("a Torrent"), due to the fine stream in the gorge beneath, and where are remains of a temple; Lebweh, the Libo of the Antonine Itinerary, near to which is one of the principal sources of the Orontes; and the village, El 'Ain, which seems not improbably to be the Biblical Ain (Num. xxxiv, 2), south of Riblah; and on the evening of this day (6th), we reached Râs Baalbek, where we found Christian ruins and a tradition of a ruined monastery, with a holy spring, the water of which was said to give milk to any nursing mother who might make a pilgrimage to the spot—a tradition which may be found in other parts of Palestine, as, for instance, at Bethlehem.

From Râs Baalbek we rode north-west to visit the fine blue pool of 'Ain el 'Asy, the largest source of Orontes, situated in a desolate gorge under Lebanon, and thence to the little mediæval hermitage of Mâr Marûn, where the Maronite saint is said to have had his eyes put out by a certain Nicola. The caves are situated in a cliff east of the river, and look down on the rushing stream beneath. A masonry wall, with loopholes, once protected the passage in front of the eaves—a narrow ledge of rock; the site was one well fitted for a hermitage, and similar caves occur west of the river, a few miles further north, at a site called Maghâret er Râhib ("Monk's Cave").

#### KAMU'A EL HIRNIL.

About noon we reached the conspicuous monument called Kamû'a el Hirmil, from the village of Hirmil, which is not far from it, on the opposite or western side of the Orontes. The Kamû'a ("Monument") is perhaps the most conspicuous landmark in Syria, standing on the summit of swelling downs of black basalt, with a view extending northwards in the vicinity of Homs, and southwards in fine weather to Hermon. We carefully measured and sketched the details of the monument, but it has

been visited by Robinson and Vandeveld, and the beautiful drawings of detail made by the latter (now in possession of Mr. W. Dickson, in Edinburgh) leave little to be desired. The building appears to have been solid, and is founded on three steps of black basalt. It measures 10 yards side at the base, and consists of two stories each, with flat pilasters and cornice, and a pyramidal superstructure above them. The height, as calculated from the vertical angles taken by Lieutenant Mantell, appears to be as follows (a much higher estimate than that given by Bœdiker):—

	ft.	in.
Three basalt steps ....	3	6
First story, including cornice ....	28	0
Second „ „ „ ....	21	0
Pyramid ....	26	0
	<hr/>	
Total ....	78	6

On the lower story are designs in relief. On the east a wild boar hunted by two hounds, flanked by bows and quivers, with spears and other implements represented above. On the north are two stags, one standing, one lying, with horns like the fallow deer—spears and other weapons flank and separate them. On the west are bears, one walking and followed by its young one, the other rising erect. On the south-east the monument, which appears to have suffered from earthquake, has fallen down; and the design on the south side is partly destroyed, the fore-part of a dog pursuing a stag being, however, still visible.

The monument is built of coarse limestone. The walls near its base are covered with the Wasûm, or “tribe marks,” of the Turkomans, who inhabit the desolate basalt moors which stretch to the north almost to the shores of the Lake of Homs. The details of the cornices and pilasters, some of which we measured carefully, appear to belong to a late period of classic art, and the whole structure seemed most to resemble the work of the second century A.D. in Syria. According to local tradition, the Kamû'a is the tomb of a Roman emperor, and there is nothing about the monument which seems to necessitate the idea of any earlier origin. It may be noted that the name CONNA occurs in the Antonine Itinerary between Heliopolis (Baalbek) and Laodicea (Tell Neby Mendeh), in just about the proper position for the Kamû'a, of which name CONNA may be perhaps a corruption.

From the Kamû'a we rode north-east to Riblah (Num. xxxiv, 2), a large mud village, with poplars, close to the Orontes on the east bank, and thence to Kuseir, the seat of a Caïmakam, or lieutenant-governor, lying some 3 miles south-east of the Lake of Homs. The following day (8th April) we devoted to a thorough examination of the southern and eastern shores of this interesting lake, and on that day we discovered the actual site of the great Hittite city.

## KADESH.

Before detailing our observations on the spot, it will perhaps be best briefly to explain the reasons why special interest attaches to this site. The conquest of the great eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties of Egyptian kings, in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries before Christ, extended over the greater part of Palestine and Syria, and even as far as Asia Minor. Amongst their most formidable opponents were the Kheta, a light-coloured hairless people, wearing high caps and dresses somewhat similar to those of the Assyrians, but specially distinguished by their pointed and turned up boots, like the modern Turkish slipper. The Kheta are by most antiquarians identified with the Hittites who inhabited Northern Syria (Josh. i, 4), and who had monarchs of their own in the time of Solomon (1 Kings x, 29; 2 Kings vii, 6). Thothmes III encountered these formidable mountaineers in his expedition against Meggido, and one of the pylons at Karnak, discovered by the late Mariette Bey, gives a list of towns, including the names of Kinnesrin, Aradus, Aleppo, and other places in Northern Syria conquered by Thothmes III after his subjugation of the plains of Palestine and Galilee.

The most important contest, was, however, that between Rameses II and the Hittites, in the fifth year of the Egyptian monarch's reign, when he marched against the city of Kadesh on Orontes. A formidable league was formed to oppose him. The Wysians, the Teurcians, the Dardanians, the inhabitants of Aradus, Aleppo, and Carchemish, and even the Trojans (Iluna), and the tribes of Mesopotamia (Naharain), are said to have gathered to the Hittite standard, with many other unknown tribes. On the hieroglyphic pictures the Semitic bearded allies are distinguished by dress and arms from the beardless Hittites, who are supposed by some antiquarians to have belonged to a Turanian or Turkoman race from Asia Minor, which had overrun and subjugated the fertile plains of the Orontes, and had even penetrated to the very borders of the Egyptian territory.

According to the ordinary chronology, the expedition of Rameses II occurred while Israel was being oppressed by Jabin, King of Hazar, with his chariots of iron; and, as it is clear from Egyptian records that the Canaanites were allies or tributaries of the Egyptians at this period, it is highly probable that the iron chariots came from Egypt, and belonged to that formidable force of chariots which Rameses brought up to the plains of Kadesh to subdue the Hittites. The route pursued by Rameses was no doubt controlled by the impossibility of crossing rugged mountains with a force of chariots, and the road which we know him to have followed either on his return or on his advance—and probably on both occasions—led along the sea-coast towards Tripoli, passing the Dog River north of Beyrout, where three tablets carved in the rocks by his order still exist.

Thothmes III, who had attacked Kadesh in the thirtieth year of his reign, founded a strong fortress near Aradus (er Rûad) and Zamira (es

Sumra, near the river Eleutherus), at the foot of Lebanon, and it seems probable that Rameses would have advanced from the same fortress—that is to say, from the Western Plain across the pass which separates the Lebanon from the Anseiriyeh mountains, and leads from Tripoli to Homs.

The town of Kadesh on Orontes is generally said to have been on an island in a lake; but the representation in the Ramesseum at Thebes of the great battle between Rameses II and the Hittites appears rather to show a fortress surrounded by a river, and situated not far from the borders of a lake. The name of this river in the hieroglyphs is Arunatha, or Hanruta, and the city is described as lying “on the western bank of Hanruta at the lake of the land of the Amorites.”

The various references to Kadesh on Orontes were kindly collected for me in 1880 by the Rev. H. G. Tomkyns. The portion of the great battle-piece representing the town is to be found copied in Sir G. Wilkinson's “Ancient Egyptians,” vol. i, p. 257. The city is shown with a double moat crossed by bridges; on the left a broad stream flows to the lake, but on the right the piece is obliterated, and it is impossible to see whether the moat ran all round, or whether the town lay between the junction of two streams. Three higher and two smaller towers are shown, and the Hittite army occupies the ground to the left of the river, near the shores of the lake.

Mr. Tomkyns also called my attention to another representation of the town to be found in the Denkmäler of Lepsius (III, plates 158, 159), where the plan is a long oval with a single moat. Three high towers are seen projecting above the rest, and the moat leads downwards on the left, and also away on the right, no bridges being shown.

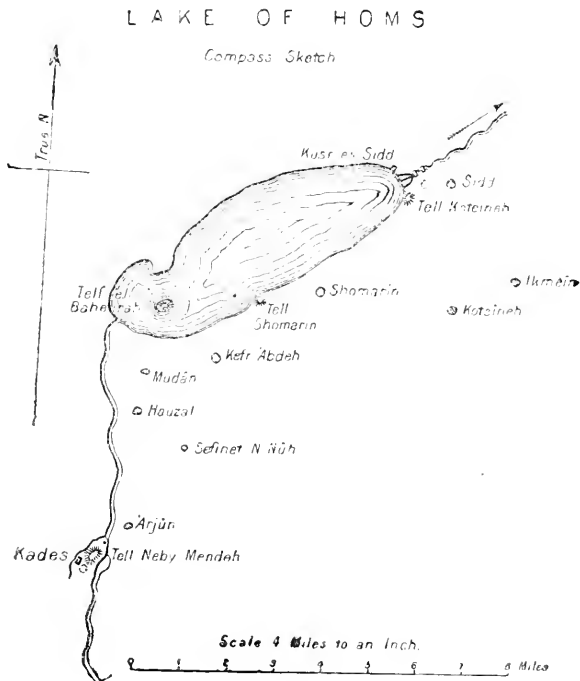
The lake, near or in which Kadesh stood, has long been identified with the Baheiret Homs, or Baheiret Koteineh, the lake 6 miles long and 2 miles broad, through which the Orontes passes between Riblah and Homs about 8 miles south-west of the latter town. This lake, according to Abu el Feda, the geographer, was called in his times Bahr et Kades; but the title is no longer known, and the actual site of Kadesh was doubtful. It is true that an island exists in this lake, but the Egyptian account of the fight cannot be understood easily on the supposition that this island, three-fourths of a mile distant from the shore, was the place attacked, and I was never able to understand the topography of the battle until, when standing on the true site of Kadesh, it became suddenly all clear.

The Egyptian army was arrayed south of the city of Shabatun, with the brigade of Amun behind and the brigade of Ra west of Shabatun. Shasu (or Arab) spies were here brought before the Pharaoh and gave false intelligence to the effect that the King of the Hittites was far away, near Aleppo, whereas he lay really in ambush behind the town of Kadesh. Rameses accordingly began to *descend* towards the region north-west of Kadesh, and there halted to rest. His scouts here informed him of the secret which they extorted from some Hittite prisoners, and the forces near Shabatun were ordered to advance. The King of the Hittites passed over the ditch south of Kadesh and fell upon and routed the brigade of Ra,



which retreated "on the road *upwards* to the place where the king was." Rameses was thus attacked on his right flank, and his retreat cut off by 2,500 chariots of the allies. He, however, charged the Hittites, and drove them before him to the Orontes, where many of their soldiers and chariots were lost, and where the king of Aleppo was drowned. The battle is said to have been "in the plain of the land of Kadesh." On the following morning, Rameses attacked the city, which yielded to him, and a peace was made with the Hittite king and written on a plate of silver, the text of which venerable treaty remains to the present day preserved in the official account of this campaign.

Such, then, was the problem to be solved—the discovery of a moated city on Orontes near the lake of Homs, in such a position as to agree with



the minute description of the Egyptian scribe. This site we lit upon unexpectedly in the important ancient city generally known as Tell Neby Mendeh, situated on the left bank of Orontes about four English miles south of the lake of Homs: for we discovered that the name Kades was known to all the inhabitants of the vicinity as applying to extensive ruins on the south side of this great Tell, while Neby Mendeh is the name of an important sacred shrine on the highest part of the hill, close to which a

small Arab village has now grown up. Not only is the name of Kadesh thus preserved, but in looking down from the summit of the Tell, we appeared to see the very double moat of the Egyptian picture, for while the stream of Orontes is dammed up so as to form a small lake, some 50 yards across on the south-east of the site, a fresh brook flows on the west and north to join the river, and an outer line of moat is formed by earthen banks, which flank a sort of aqueduct parallel with the main stream. The united waters flow northwards from the Tell, and fall into the lake of Homs. Thus only on the south is Kadesh not naturally protected with a wet ditch, and the moat may very possibly have formerly been completed by cutting a cross channel from Orontes to the northern stream.\*

We spent some considerable time in examining this important site, and in taking compass observations from the Tell. The mound is remarkably conspicuous from all sides, and the view from the top is extensive. On the south the plain of the Buká'a is visible, stretching between the Lebanon and Antilebanon, as far as the ridge or shed on which the Kamú'a stands up against the sky-line. To the east is the rich fertile plain which extends from Orontes, some 20 miles, to the foot of the mountains, and the fine peaks above Palmyra, streaked with patches of snow, form the extreme distance. On the north-east the plains of Homs stretch to the horizon, and great Tells, the sites of buried cities, rise from the flat expanse, while a dusty mound, and a few white domes and minarets, with dark gardens to the left, mark the position of Homs itself. On the north the long narrow lake gleams between its shallow marshy shores, and three large Tells, one in the water, two on the eastern shore, are specially conspicuous. The north-west shore is bare and black, the basalt moors rising westwards, to form a long low ridge, and dotted here and there with black Turkoman encampments, while behind these downs is seen the distant chain of the Anseiriyeh mountains, with the great crusading fortress of Krak des Chevaliers (Kal'at el Hesn) in a conspicuous position on the heights.

To the south of these mountains a gap occurs, and on the west and south-west the ridge of Lebanon, with dusky brushwood and rocky spurs, rises to the snow-clad summit of the Cedars. The rich plateau east of the Orontes is scattered with mud villages, with here and there a group of poplars, but the basalt moors are almost entirely uncultivated. In the arable land a race of Fellahin, whose black beards and hooked noses bear a strong family likeness to the feature of the ancient Assyrians, as shown on the bas-reliefs, is settled; but the Turkomans, who may perhaps be considered to be the modern representatives of the Hittites, are encamped on the moors, and are found far west in the pastures below Kal'at el Hesn.

\* Dr. Robinson states that the only traveller who had visited Tell Neby Mendeh in his time was Dr. Thomson, of Beyrout, who in 1846 found a ditch running from Orontes to the stream on the west (which he calls el Mukadiyeh). This ditch we did not see, but it possibly exists still rather further south than the point on which we followed the stream. Dr. Thomson especially notices that the Tell was thus isolated on an island between the two streams.

The scene is perhaps almost unchanged from that on which Rameses looked down as he crossed the western watershed and descended to the south-west shores of the Hittite lake ; and the same mixture of Turanian and Semitic nationalities which students trace on the walls of the Ramesseum is still observable by the traveller in the vicinity of Kadesh.

Dr. Robinson, whose journey only extended as far north as Riblah, identifies the site of Tell Neby Mendeh with the Laodicea of Lebanon (also called Laodicea Scabiosa), mentioned by Ptolemy and Polybius, and shown on the Peutinger Tables. The distance from Homs, and the fact that Polybius mentions a lake and marshes near this Laodicea, serve to confirm this identification, which does not in any way interfere with the supposition that the town was formerly called Kadesh. Laodicea ad Libanum (as it is called by Strabo and Pliny) was one of the six towns named by Seleucus Nicator (about 300 B.C.) in honour of his mother Laodice ; and the fact that the site at Neby Mendeh was that of an ancient capital of the district, would naturally have commended it to the Greek monarch, while at the present day we find, as in so many other cases in Palestine, that the ancient Semitic appellation has survived the more modern foreign title, and that Laodicea is once more known as Kadesh.

Tell Neby Mendeh is a great mound without any trace of rock—so far as we could see—extending about 400 yards in a direction about 40° east of true north. The highest part is on the north-east, where is a Moslem graveyard looking down on gardens in the flat tongue between the two streams. The height is here perhaps 100 feet above the water. On the south-west the mound sinks gradually into the plough land. The village is situated about the middle of the Tell, with the shrine of Neby Mendeh—a large square building with a very white dome, at the north-west angle of the group of houses, which are rudely built of basalt chips in mortar, with mud roofs. Large mud ovens are erected east of the village. On the south-west, at the stream of el Mukadiyeh, is the Tâhûnet Kades, a modern mill built of older materials, chiefly of basalt, and immediately north of this the brook is crossed by a bridge of one arch, while a second arch crosses the outer channel or aqueduct, these bridges being just in the same position in which they appear on the Egyptian picture, and while on the one hand they are of modern masonry, on the other they lead to roads, the line of which is probably unaltered. The stream is fresh and flows quickly ; we saw a good many fish swimming in it, and fragments of column shafts lay on the ground near the mill and the bridges.

The principal ruins are on the flat ground east of the mill. Here in 1864 Dr. Thomson found the peasants breaking up the stones ; and long trenches have been dug, from which blocks of limestone have been excavated and carried away. The ground is strewn with chips of limestone and basalt, and fragments of pottery all over the ploughland. A piece of wall is still standing, built of small rubble in hard mortar, which is full of pounded pottery and charcoal, while courses of thin well-burnt bricks, like those used by the Romans, are built in between the courses of rubble. Still further east are the foundations of a building called el Kamû'a,

about 50 feet square, with remains of a doorway in the south-east corner. Some broken pillar shafts lie near, and the walls appear to have been ornamented with pilasters in low relief, the details of which, as well as those of a fragment of cornice, resemble the moulding at Kamû'a el Hirml. These probably are remains of the Laodicea of later times, for even in the early Christian period this city was the see of a bishop.

Recrossing the western bridges we followed the stream of el Mukadiyeh southwards, and found lying in a field a fragment of sculpture representing a seated figure without head or shoulders. It was of very rude execution, and probably not very ancient. No inscription was visible on the stone.

Crossing to the south of the village we regained the great dam with sluices which is built right across the Orontes, at the foot of the Tell on the east. It occupies the position of the eastern bridge shown in the Egyptian picture, and though the masonry is apparently modern, the foundations may perhaps be ancient. The mill on the dam has several fragments of ancient masonry built into its walls, and the door lintel has a curious design, with an Arab inscription much defaced, and a central circle enclosing what appears to be a sabre or cutlass.

Near the eastern end of the dam—which is some 25 yards or more in length—a Greek tombstone has been built into the causeway, and had apparently been lately excavated. The following letters were very clearly legible on the stone which lies on its side :—

OABI  
 TYMBOYEHET ....  
 MACEAAYAXENAIN  
 AMMAIYHNAΔEIPHA  
 TPIC . . OYNHY  
 TEPEIAN  
 ETQN  
 NA

So far as a cursory examination throws light on the text, it would appear to have belonged to a priest of Emesa (*Ἀμμιασῶν*), and to contain his age at the time of his death (*NA*). This inscription proves the late period of construction of the upper part of the masonry in the dam.

The inhabitants of the village were quite unaccustomed to seeing Franks, and much alarmed at our appearance accompanied by soldiers. They denied that any inscriptions existed on the spot, and would not allow that they had ever found coins or other antiquities in digging. Nevertheless, I have rarely met with any site which seemed more likely to repay careful examination, and it seems highly probable that, if a mine could be driven through the Tell, Hittite remains might be discovered. It is just such a mound which has lately, at Jerâblûs (the northern Hittite capital of Carchemish on Euphrates), produced the valuable sculptures now in the British Museum. The interest taken by Professor Sayce and other learned authorities in the recovery of monuments similar to the

Hamath stones and the inscriptions of Carchemish and Asia Minor, would, I think, lead them to attach great importance to a complete examination of the ruins at the site of Kadesh, which, it will, I think, be generally admitted we have now at last recovered. The suggestion that the Hamath stones were of Hittite origin, was, I believe, first put forward in 1873 by the Rev. W. Wright, of Damascus, and it is now generally admitted on the authority of Professor Sayce. The Hamath stones were cut in basalt, and the chief material used in the village houses at Tell Neby Mendeh is the same—a hard compact volcanic stone. It is possible that a minute examination of the village buildings, and of the interior of the shrine of Neby Mendeh, might result in the discovery of inscribed stones even above the surface; but we were unable to see or hear of any such during our visit.

Tell Neby Mendeh appears to be a sacred site of great antiquity, and this again is not unnatural when we reflect that the name Kadesh itself indicates a "sacred" city consecrated to the sun-god, or to his consort Astarte. Neby Mendeh is said to have been a son of "Our Lord Jacob," though which of the twelve tribes, is intended—unless the word be a corruption of Manasseh—it is not easy to understand. The spring from which the tributary stream of el Mukadiyah flows is called et Tannur ("the Oven") a term applied (I believe in the Koran itself) to a certain deep chasm, whence, according to Moslem tradition, the waters of the Deluge first broke forth; and it is evident that a tradition of Noah's flood still exists in connection with the Tell and the lake, for some three miles north of the Tell and east of the river there is a curious site, known as Sefinet Neby Nûh, "the Ark of the Prophet Noah."

It is a great platform of earth, some 300 yards square, with small mounds at the four angles, as if representing the remains of towers. It is surrounded with a ditch about 40 feet deep and wide. No traces of masonry are visible, and the platform is covered with furrows, having been converted into a ploughed field by the peasantry. The direction of the sides is about north-east and south-west. An ancient road runs northwards, a little to the west, and on this, close to 'Arjân, about half-a-mile from Tell Neby Mendeh, we found a Roman milestone lying fallen—another detail which favours the identification of the Tell with the Laodicea of the Itineraries.

Before quitting the subject of Kadesh on Orontes, a word must be said as to the position of Shabatuna, the place whence Rameses II advanced to attack the Hittite capital. This town or fortress was situated north of the position occupied by the most advanced brigade of the Egyptian army. Rameses, at sunrise, went further upwards, and arrived south of Shabatuna; he then went "further downwards," and came to the vicinity of the lake. The defeated brigade of Rameses retreated "on the road upwards to the place where the king was." The final advance on Kadesh was made in the evening, and the Hittites were driven into the Orontes.

Now all these indications of topographical features are easily explained on the supposition that Rameses was advancing by the pass which leads

from the plains of Tripoli to the lake of Homs. It is evident that in an advance of some 15 or 20 miles from the vicinity of Shabatuna, the Pharaoh crossed a ridge and descended into the plains north-west of Kadesh, near the southern shores of the Hittite lake.

Just such a ridge intervenes between the broad plains of Homs and the small basin called el Bukei'a, which lies west of the watershed, and which is commanded by the castle on the mountain to the north, the great stronghold Kal'at el Hosn. The lake of Homs is some 1,500 or 1,600 feet above the Mediterranean, and the top of the basalt ridge forming the pass is probably about 2,000 feet above the same level. The Bukei'a basin, which is a fertile plain about 5 miles wide, full of springs, which feed the river Eleutherus, dotted with clumps of oak and covered with Turkoman encampments, is surrounded with basalt hills, 400 to 500 feet high. The great Crusading fortress, on its steep limestone ridge, looks down on the whole region. To the west, the Mediterranean is seen beyond the low hills, and the broad seaside plain; to the south, the spurs of Lebanon rise from the Bukei'a basin; to the south-east, the greater part of the lake of Homs is seen, with two black mounds, one being the Tell Neby Mendeh, the other the island in the lake itself.

A narrow pass is seen leading through the basalt ridge from the western basin to the long flat eastern slope which stretches to the borders of the lake. In the Bukei'a basin, south of Kal'at el Hosn, a suitable situation for the great camp of the Egyptian armies might be found. By the eastern pass Rameses would have ascended and again descended in a distance of some 15 miles before reaching the battle-field. On the west an equally easy line of advance would have brought the Egyptian reinforcements from the sea-coast to the Bukei'a basin. The question thus naturally suggests itself whether Kal'at el Hosn may not stand on the site of Shabatuna, and of that fortress at the foot of Lebanon built by Thothmes III, not far from the river Eleutherus.

I find that this identification has already been proposed in 1874 in a paper communicated by M. Blanche, the French Vice-Consul at Tripoli, to the Institut Egyptien, on 7th August, and, through the kindness of this gentleman, I am able to give the arguments in favour of this view, which agree with the discovery of Kadesh at Tell Neby Mendeh.

The last syllable Na, in the name Shabatuna, is probably an Egyptian affix, such as was commonly added to Semitic words. The word to be understood is the Hebrew Shabat, or Sabbath, which, in modern Arabic, would take the form Sebta, "rest" (as in the case of the Ballûtet Sebta at Hebron). Now, immediately north of Kal'at el Hosn is the deep gorge in which the white monastery of St. George, with its red-tiled roof, is seen nestling; and about a mile below the monastery is the wonderful intermittent spring whence rises the Nahr es Sebta, or "River of Rest," the Sabbathic river of the ancients (see "Wars," vii, 5, 1), which still flows on an average once a week from its cavern. Here, then, in the immediate vicinity of Kal'at el Hosn, the name Shabat still exists, and is known from remote period to have always existed, and there seems, therefore, no

good reason to doubt that the fortress of the Crusaders occupied the site of an older Egyptian stronghold commanding the important pass from the sea-coast to Tripoli.

Our attention, after leaving the site of Kadesh, was devoted to the examination of the lake itself, which is generally allowed to be mainly and perhaps altogether artificial. We visited the shore at the point nearest to the island, which is called Tell el Baheirah, "The Mound of the Lake." The shore is flat and marshy; the island is about three quarters of a mile from the mainland, and perhaps a quarter of a mile in length. We found it to be entirely laid out in gardens, which are cultivated with a mattock. A few huts (el Mezz'ah) exist on the south-west, the peasantry crossing over on rafts formed of inflated skins, which are, however, only large enough for one man each, and quite unmanageable in a wind. Three of these rafts we saw, on each of which a man stood punting with a long pole, and drifting eastwards to the shore. We were informed that it would take five hours to make a raft, and that with the wind in the west the island could not be reached from that side of the lake—if, indeed, the raft could be used at all. The idea of constructing boats or large rafts to convey animals seems never to have occurred to the natives; but my interest in the island was much lessened by the previous discovery of the site of Kadesh on the mainland. There is no reference in the Egyptian records to any attack on an island situate at so great a distance from the shore—no account of rafts or boats; while the picture of Kadesh shows a double moat with bridges, indicating a river rather than a lake; for the Hittites can scarcely be supposed, even if we consider the scale of the Egyptian picture to be distorted, to have constructed bridges nearly a mile in length, from the island to the shore, as would be necessary if this part of the lake were as wide at that time as it now is.

Leaving the island, therefore, unvisited, we rode along the right bank of the lake, near which there are several mud villages and fine corn-fields and lentil patches. Tell Shomarin is a conspicuous green mound on the edge of the water, and Tell Koteimeh a larger one, with a flat top and evidently artificial. Excavations in these Tells, as well as in two others between Kadesh and the lake, might lead to interesting results. On the north-east there are low cliffs of white limestone, but on the north-western shore the basalt appears to come down almost to the water, and the only traces of habitation are a few miserable ruins of basaltic stone, among which the Turkoman encampments are spread out.

Our camp was pitched close to the Sidd, or great dam, which was built across the mouth of the lake, and which banked up the waters to a height of 10 feet above the level of the original river bed. The existence of the lake is mainly, if not altogether, due to the construction of this fine engineering work, and the original "Lake of the Land of the Amorites" would probably only have occupied the southern or upper part of the present basin, where the shores are flattest.

The view from the Sidd in the evening was interesting, though not remarkably picturesque. The flat basaltic slopes on the right, concealed

the pass by which Rameses approached. On the south-west, the black mounds of Kadesh and of the island were conspicuous, and Lebanon, with its snowy ridge, rose behind them. A strong breeze blew down the lake, which was covered with tiny "white horses," and broke in surf on its shingly shore. Great piles of cumulus towered above the mountains, and a flock of pelicans was soaring over the water, flapping slowly against the wind.

The lake of Homs is mentioned by Talmudic writers under its present name as Yam Hemetz (Tal. Jer. Kilaim, ix, 5; Tal. Bab. Baba Bathra 74 *b*), and the Rabbis state that it was not a natural lake, but a reservoir formed by Diocletian at the junction of several rivers. In the time of Abu el Feda tradition ascribed the building of the dam to the favourite Arab hero, Alexander the Great; but while we have evidence that the construction dates from the early Christian centuries, at latest, we have no sound reason for supposing that the Hittites were the original engineers of the dam. The object of constructing this great work was that of heading up the waters of the Orontes for the purpose of irrigating the plains round Homs. A great aqueduct between earthen banks (after the Egyptian and Chaldean fashion) leads from the east end of the Sidd to the gardens of Homs. Similar channels once existed west of the stream, and other earthen aqueducts occur near Kadesh; and again, further south, running across the cultivated plain from the Orontes, which flows west of it.

We examined the Sidd or dam carefully, but the waves were breaking over it, and the water was rushing through the ruined sluice and through the gaps in the masonry, so that it was impossible so early in the year to walk along it. The total length is about half a mile, and the thickness 25 feet at the top. The dam is built in the shape of a very flat V with the point towards the lake. The difference of level between the lake surface and the stream below the dam is as nearly as possible 10 feet. On the outer or lower side, the thickness is increased by stepping the masonry regularly in each course. On the inside the construction is probably the same. The masonry is a coursed rubble of flat pieces of basalt, undressed, set in hard white mortar full of pounded pottery, with a little charcoal. The rubble was originally faced with small ashlar, also of basalt. There were at the western end buttresses on the lower side at frequent intervals. Near the centre of the dam there appears to be a pillar or vertical pier of masonry. This could not, however, be reached. The general impression obtained, by comparing the masonry with other monuments I have examined in Palestine, is, that the whole structure is Roman work; and the Talmudic story, which attributes the dam to Diocletian, may perhaps be founded on fact.

There were several sluices and passages for the water, and masonry aqueducts leading off at different levels. The various streams now run at will, from all sides, and unite to form the main stream of Orontes at the mills about half a mile below the dam. At the west end of the dam a small mediæval tower has been built on a solid rubble base. It consists of a vaulted chamber with an upper story without roof. The walls are



battlemented ; the total height is 28 feet ; the exterior measures 28 feet by 25 feet on plan. There are loopholed windows, and on the east a doorway 8 feet from the ground, the lintel of which consists of an inscribed block of basalt, which has been built in sideways, and is evidently not *in situ* ; the inscription is boldly cut on a sort of tablet surmounted with a rosette, possibly meant for a cross in a circle, but much worn by the weather. The text is as below, and may possibly have some connection with the history of the dam. Of the tower and the lintel-stone we took careful measurements, plans, and sketches, as well as of the masonry of the dam. The inscription is perfect, and too well preserved to allow of any hesitation in transcribing.

ETOY  
CHAY  
IAΔ  
AAI  
OUIAAAE  
OYAAAYII  
EXAIPE

It contains a date, and appears to be of early Byzantine origin, from the form of the letters—as compared with the dated inscriptions of the Hauran, collected by Waddington.

A small town once stood on either bank of the Orontes below the Sidd. Tradition says that the village Sidd (which takes its name from the “dam”) was removed from this site to its present position down on the small Survey which accompanies this report. There are five basalt shafts 32 inches in diameter, lying about 300 yards from the little town, which is called Kusr es Sidd, on the left bank of the river. They at present surround a modern tomb made of mud and stones, and covered with rags stuck on little stakes, so as to form streamers. A stone cut into the shape of an arch 3 feet 2 inches diameter, and 1 foot thick (a single block of basalt) has been laid on the south side of the tomb to form a kibleh, and piles of basalt chips are heaped up on the fallen pillar-shafts. The site is thus evidently a sacred shrine, to which pilgrimages are made, and it is called “Jerfiyet Aly,” “the slave of Aly.” Probably this modern Wely marks the spot where a small temple was once dedicated, perhaps by the builders of the Sidd.

Such are the main results of our visit to Kadesh on Orontes, including the recovery of the name at a site which fully agrees with the monumental records, and with the topographical notices which are to be found in the great Court Epic of Pentaur ; the recovery of traditions showing the site to be an ancient sacred place ; the exploration of the lake and dam ; and the examination of the site of Shabatuna and of the route of the Egyptian advance. The Survey of the lake is laid down from compass observations taken at various points, and the eastern shore may be looked upon as well fixed, while the western shore is more roughly indicated.

## APPENDIX.

[In connection with the discovery of Kadesh may be read Professor Sayce's learned paper on the "Monuments of the Hittites," published in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology* (vol. vii, Part II). These remains and inscriptions—the reading of which will probably throw as much light upon the early history of the Bible as the cuneiform inscriptions have already done—are found scattered over a wide area: at Karabel, on the road from Ephesus to Sardes, which shows that they extended as far as the seaboard; in Central Asia Minor, Cilicia, Phrygia, and Lycaonia; at Aleppo, Carchemish, and Hamath, in the earliest times the "children of Heth" were in the south of Palestine. This sacred city on the Orontes has now been found; of Jerusalem itself it is said (Ezek. xvi, 3) that her "father was an Amorite and her mother a Hittite." As regards the characteristics of Hittite art, they are thus described by Professor Sayce:—

"It is modelled upon the bas-reliefs of Nineveh, or rather the gems of ancient Babylonia, and like them represents human figures and other objects in relief upon stone. But it has a peculiar roundness and thickness; the limbs of the figures are short and thick, and there is little attempt made to delineate the muscles. The feet are shod with boots which have the ends turned up, the head is usually covered with the so-called Phrygian cap, and a spear is often placed in one hand. A modification of the winged solar disk of Assyria is not unusual, and at Eyuk we find a representation of a doubled-headed eagle, which seems the prototype of the Seljukian eagle of later days. At Eyuk also we have two sphinxes, which, though modelled on an Egyptian model, differ profoundly from the Egyptian type, while the mode in which the feet are represented reminds us of the prehistoric statue of Niobe on Mount Sipylus. At Boghaz Keui, the female deities wear mural crowns, from which we may infer the Hittite origin of this decoration of the Ephesian Artemis. The mural crown seems to have been a specially Hittite invention. On the other hand, the general character of the sculptures at Boghaz Keui, where some of the deities, for instance, are represented as standing upon animals, shows its dependence not on Assyrian, but on early Babylonian art."

As regards their history, it is learned from Assyrian and Egyptian monuments that they were the leading people of Western Asia from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries B.C. Their city of Kadesh, so curiously found by Lieutenant Conder, disappears from history after the thirteenth century B.C. Their city of Carchemish (now Juabis) was finally captured by Sargon, B.C. 717, when it became the seat of an Assyrian Satrap. Their connection with the Bible narrative is well known.

Professor Sayce is of opinion that the Hittites did not speak a Semitic language; and that they did not belong to the Semitic race. "Their features and physical type are those of a northern people, and their northern origin is confirmed by their use of boots, which is, at least, as old

as the beginning of their writing, since the boot is the commonest of the Hittite hieroglyphics. The boots are always represented with turned up toes, like the boots of the mountaineers of Asia Minor and Greece at the present day."—Ed.]

### Homs.

From the lake we rode to the city of Homs, where we remained for the Sunday. I made such inquiries as were possible respecting the site of the famous Sun Temple at this place, of which the Roman Emperor Heliogabalus was high priest, but no known remains exist, although Homs is full of ancient pillars and stones, with Greek inscriptions. A possible site is the great mound of the fortress south of the town, where a sacred place called Mes-haf 'Othmân still stands. The great mosque contains the remains of the basilica built by Constantine; several of the pillar bases being *in situ*, while capitals of early Byzantine character are scattered about the courtyard. On one of the bases we were shown the following inscription:

ΚΥΚΛΟΤΕΡΗΚ ΚΟΨΜΟΙΟ ΤΥΠΟΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΚ ΕΚΟ . .  
ΕΘΝΕΑΠΑΙΘΙ ΑΜ ΧΟΝΤΑΚΟΦΑΙΚΦ ΡΕCΙΝΗΝΙΟΧ . .

### KALAT EL HOSN.

Our return journey from Homs led along Midhat Pasha's new road, north-west of the lake, and we made a long detour to visit the magnificent castle Kal'at el Hosn, which has been already described and explored by M. Rey. It is probably the finest specimen of Crusading work in Syria, and almost perfect, the battlements and machicoulis still remaining in place. We made a collection of masons' marks, some of which are unlike any previously collected in other parts of Palestine. Many of these occur on drafted stones, the drafts having (as at Sôba and in other instances) the diagonal dressing distinctive of mediæval work. This is an additional instance of the fact (which has not as yet been generally grasped) that the Crusading masons in Syria, as in Cyprus and other places, made use of the draft in masonry which they themselves hewed. It has often been supposed that such masonry was always more ancient, and was re-used by the Crusaders; but the presence of masons' marks on the drafted stones, and that such stones are often cut in the form of voussours for pointed arches, seem conclusively to prove that drafted masonry was actually cut by the twelfth century builders for use in their fortress walls.

There is a finely executed Gothic inscription on the walls of the chapel at Kal'at el Hosn. I find, however, that it has already been deciphered by M. Rey. The text, which has many abbreviations, reads:—

Sit tibi Copia.  
Sit Sapientia  
Formaque detur  
Inquinat Omnia  
Sola Superbia  
Si Comitetur.

## TRIPOLI.

From Kal'at el Hosn, we travelled to Tripoli, where we were detained by the storm, and were most kindly and hospitably received by M. Blanche, the French Vice-Consul. From him I gathered many interesting traditions and other indications connected with the neighbourhood. We also visited the Dancing Derwish Monastery, and were much interested in the details of the symbolism observable in the performance, which, as is generally allowed, had its origin in an astronomical worship, the tradition of which is, however, apparently lost to the performers.

The ancient name of Tripoli is unknown, but the name Kadîshah, applying to the river on which it is built, may indicate that here also an ancient Kadesh is to be sought. North of the town is the sacred shrine of el Bedâwa, which M. Blanche assures me was an old church of St. Anthony of Padua, of whose title the Arab is a corruption.

In the courtyard is a basin or tank containing fish, which are held sacred by the Moslems. Vows and offerings are made to them, and in time of war they are said to disappear, and to depart to fight for the Prophet against the infidels, returning to Tripoli on the conclusion of peace. This occurred even during the late war with Russia, and no doubt accounts for the successful defence of Plevna. M. Péretié, at Beyrout, assures me that there is another tank of these sacred fish at Acre, in the great mosque, and when we remember the sacred fish of the lake of Derceto at Ascalon, and the sacred bath of Venus mentioned in the Mishna as existing at Acre, there seems good reason to suppose that in these traditions we have the survival of the Dagon and Derceto worship of the Phœnicians.

Several other curious traditions have been related to me recently and carefully noted, but the only other point of interest for which space can be found in this long report is the curious chapel of Marîna, south of Tripoli, to which our attention was drawn by M. Blanche, and which we visited on our way down the coast.

## MARINA.

A ledge of limestone, with a rock-wall facing east, and curving out above so as to form a natural roof, here constitutes a narrow platform with a rock-screen, which has been at one time covered with frescoes painted on a coating of cement. The greater part of the cement has fallen off, but one row of designs with inscriptions is left. A niche in the wall formed a sort of apse, and seems still to be used, for the blackened stone gave evidence that some kind of lamp had recently been burnt before the picture. The place seems to have belonged to a hermitage, and various caves and rock-excavations were visible to the south. A pit, as if for a tomb, is sunk at one end of the platform, and another smaller recess under an arcosolium occurs in the rock-wall.

The frescoes were originally painted in a series of square partitions,

but at a later period a large head has been painted over the older designs, and is flanked with coarse letters nearly double the size of the older inscriptions. The designs are as follow, commencing on the right :

First panel.—A saint visiting another saint represented as in bed, while a third figure, also with a nimbus, stands behind ; the saint raises his hand as though about to heal the invalid. Above, in Gothic characters, carefully painted in white on a blue ground, are the letters PATMRSS.

Second Panel.—A child with a nimbus, brought by a long-robed figure on the right to another saint on the left. The older inscription is nearly illegible, but the Gothic letters remaining of it read thus :

. . . PTSABATS  
SPE . .

Over the lower line a larger inscription has been painted in characters and with contractions similar to those found in the thirteenth century inscriptions at Bethlehem.

AH MITPIOC

Third Panel.—A robed saint with nimbus, kneeling to a second on the right, who appears to extend a cloak or some similar article towards him.

The Gothic inscription is mutilated, but the letters remaining are SICUT -- LO -- IT : ANTE ABATE PROTE -- FILIA -- SUAM : beneath which is the remainder of the Greek inscription on panel No. 2, viz. :

OAFIOC.

Fourth Panel.—Two long-robed figures, with nimbi, are standing in conversation. The Gothic inscription is almost illegible, the words GEORGII -- NIRIA alone being plainly recoverable.

Fifth Panel.—A large design of the Saviour, seated, with the Virgin to the right (spectator's left), and Joseph to the left. The panel measures 72 inches in length by 30 in height. The original Gothic inscriptions read MATER and AS IOSEPH ABTI, over which the Greek texts appear, much contracted, but reading Μητρης θεου and Ιω on either side of the four letters IC. XC. (Jesus Christ).

Sixth Panel.—A man in a tree bearing apples ; beneath is a hart or stag ; and some native visitor has added a lion in black ink ; and signed his sketch in Arabic.

Seventh Panel.—A nimbus only is left, with an inscription in Gothic letters above, ANUNCIAT : VIRGOMARIA, showing that the design represented the Annunciation. The Greek letters, ΜΡ...ΘΥ ("Mother of God") are scrawled across the Latin inscription, and the whole of the fresco is thus converted into a kind of pictorial palimpsest.

Eighth Panel.—A saint, with a hammer, probably Christ as the carpenter. There is no Gothic lettering visible, but the Greek reads thus :

ΗΑΙΜΑΡΙΑ

This, though much confused, is evidently to be rendered Η. Αγια Μαρια, and belongs to the design on the seventh panel to the right.

We took a sketch with dimensions of these frescoes, and a rough plan

of the place. In sheet XVIII of the "Memoirs" a similar case will be found (Section B., s. v. Deir el Kelt), where inscriptions of two periods occur above one another. The Latin inscriptions at Marina cannot well be earlier than the twelfth century, and the character of the Greek letters appears to belong to the thirteenth—as determined by M. du Vogüé.

Returning from Tripoli by land to Beyrout, we found Messrs. Black and Armstrong awaiting us, and commenced our active preparation for the Eastern Survey. Meantime I may, in conclusion, express my conviction that a most interesting field of operations awaits the archæologist almost untouched in Northern Syria.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

## II.

JERUSALEM, 24th May, 1881.

IN marching down the coast from Beyrout to Jerusalem, we halted for two days at Tyre, for the purpose of investigating more closely the various points which have given rise to discussion in connection with its topography. The most important of these are: 1st, the extent of the ancient city; 2nd, the position of the Egyptian harbour; 3rd, the site of the Temple of Melkarth; 4th, the extent and situation of Palké Tyrus.

### I.—THE ANCIENT SITE OF TYRE.

It is generally agreed that the original city stood on the islands and reefs which were separated from the shore by a channel, filled up by the mound which Alexander the Great constructed during the course of his famous siege of Tyre. Two islands originally existed, and are traditionally believed to have been connected by a mound, constructed by Hiram, the contemporary of Solomon. A careful inspection seems to lead to the conclusion that very little, if any, subsequent change has occurred since this connecting mound was made, and that the smaller island, which then lay south of the main reef, is represented by the promontory which projects at the sea corner of the present headland, enclosed by the Crusading walls. That the reefs presented in the middle ages the same outline as at present, seems to be clearly indicated by the line of the 12th century fortifications, which rise close to the cliffs from the flat ledges of rock existing everywhere, both on the west and on the south. The promontory, representing the smaller island, rises some 30 or 40 feet above the sea, and is bounded by cliffs of soft sandy limestone above the flat reefs. There are no indications of any artificial alterations on these cliffs, and it seems very improbable that the action of the sea can have materially diminished the area of the island, for on the south, as will be seen immediately, the remains of the Egyptian harbour are clearly

traceable, while all along the west the reefs have been hewn, with great patience and ingenuity, so as to form a series of small harbours, landing-places for boats, and shallow docks, &c., salt-pans, which are probably attributable to the early Phœnician period of Tyrian prosperity. In one place only on the west is the line of reefs broken, by a little round bay with a fine sandy beach measuring some 70 yards in depth, and perhaps 100 yards across north-east and south-west. It is probable that the original channel, dividing the small southern island from the larger one, here ran out on the west. On the south also there is a corresponding bay, but much shallower, measuring about 200 yards east and west, which may define the limits of the smaller island on the east. The area thus limited appears originally to have included about four or five acres. On this islet stood a temple, which the Greeks called that of Jupiter Olympius. A sarcophagus measuring 7 feet by 5 feet 10 inches and 2 feet 5 inches in height (outside dimensions) lies on the smaller island. It is quite plain, and cubical in shape, with a pillow for the head of the corpse cut inside at one end.

The western flat reefs, below the Crusading walls, extending to the north-west end of the larger island, present many points of interest. Fragments of the mediæval fortifications, rubble masonry bonded with pillar shafts of granite and syenite, lie fallen upon them. The rise of the tide (about 18 inches) brings the water, on a calm day, almost on a level with the reefs, and in stormy weather they must be partially covered. In the summer, however, safe landing places, and chamels for small boats, occur in every direction, many bearing signs of having been artificially enlarged and altered, while in other parts there are remains of an ancient concrete pavement, full of fragments of pottery, which seems to have been spread over the sharp and uneven ridges, to form an open quay close to shore. In one place there is a basin some 3 feet deep and 40 to 50 yards long, surrounded on all sides by the reef. It has no entrance, but a boat could be easily dragged over the narrow rock-mole on the outside, and the basin would thus form a rude dock for the smaller craft in summer time. North of this, on a somewhat higher level, are the basins called *Burak es Salib*, "Pools of the Cross"—four large salt-pans divided by cross-walls of rock some 3 feet thick. One of these pools measured 35 feet by 22 feet, the depth being about 3 or 4 feet apparently. These excavations were full of sea water, but are no longer used as salt-pans. Many smaller pans exist close by, and in other places along the reefs, resembling those at 'Ath lit, which are still known by their proper name, *el Mellâhah*.\*

Near the north-west angle of the reefs there is a heap of fallen pillar shafts, which, though quite black externally, show, when broken, a fine pink granite. They are some 2 feet in diameter, and look at first sight

\* It may be remarked that the existence of these salt-pans and jetties forms an argument—were a new one needed—against the exploded notion of the partial submergence of the site of Tyre in consequence of earthquake shocks—an error which seems to have originated in the account given by Benjamin Tudela.—C. R. C.

like the remains of a small shrine on the reef, but possibly they may have been collected by the Crusaders for use in the walls, or for the construction of a jetty, like those which they formed at Cesarea, Ascalon, &c., and even at Tyre itself in the Egyptian harbour, and they may thus have been left unused in their present position.

The above observations along the reefs seems to indicate that the Phœnician port included, not only the two main harbours on north and south, but also a series of quays, landing-places, and small harbours, on the west. On the east the accumulation of blown sand on the mound of Alexander has rendered the extent of the original site doubtful; but it seems probable that the line of the Crusading walls on this side, founded as they probably are on rock, would mark approximately the limits of the island. Within this line—which is indicated by the position of the Algerine Tower in the Orange Gardens on the south-east, and by the small mediæval tower on the north-east of the city, which contains a well, and is partly built of rustic masonry, such as the Crusaders used—the ground is everywhere covered with fragments of broken masonry and pillar shafts. The inhabitants use this open space, east of the modern town, as a quarry, digging down to a depth of 10 or 15 feet, and excavating good building stones. Small gems, Cufic and Byzantine coins, and other antiquities are often found, belonging apparently to the early Christian period; and a hoard of gold coins is said to have been lately discovered, but of what epoch I was unable to learn.

The total area which seems thus to have been enclosed, within the insular site formed by joining the two islands, is little short of 200 acres; and considering the small size of all the famous cities of Phœnicia (Sidon, Byblos or Aradus, the latter only occupying 100 acres) this appears amply sufficient for the site of a town, even of the importance of Tyre.

It would not be difficult to sink shafts beneath the superficial excavations now made by the townspeople, and results of interest might probably be expected at a depth of some 30 feet; but, in any further explorations at Tyre, it would seem clear that the only place where excavation would be likely to succeed, is in that part of the site which lies east and south-east of the present town, within the area of the Crusading walls.

As regards the necropolis of ancient Tyre, we made an interesting discovery. The modern graveyard occupies the ground north of the smaller island, and in this part there is a cliff, bounding the little bay already mentioned on the south-west side of the larger island. About 6 feet above the beach is a narrower cleft, which has been, I believe, recently broken through, or enlarged by the *fellahîn*. We squeezed into it with difficulty, and found within a grotto, which had been pointed out to us under the name *Mughâret el Mujâhed*, "Cave of the Champion." There seems little doubt that it is an ancient tomb, a domed cave about 8 feet by 10 feet, and 11 feet high. A shaft exists above, the roof being covered in with flat slabs of stone, which were all in place. No sarcophagus remains, and, unless the shaft has been at some time or other opened and again closed, no sarcophagus can ever have been placed in the chamber.



There is on the north-east side a flat shelf or step, measuring 5 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 2 inches, on which, perhaps, the sarcophagus or coffin may have rested. No remains of wood or bones were noticed on the floor. The roof of the cavern is probably some 20 feet below the present surface of the ground on the top of the cliff. The discovery of this tomb, with the shaft arrangement which distinguishes the Phœnician from the ancient Jewish tombs, seems to indicate the possible existence of an old Phœnician cemetery, in the cliffs under and near the modern graveyard; and this may account for the puzzling circumstance that the island city had no apparent necropolis. Remains of sunk places in the rocks immediately south of the cave may, perhaps, represent other tombs which have been destroyed in quarrying, but it is possible that some of these are salt-pans. In accordance with the ordinary conservatism of the East, I may, perhaps, suggest that the features of modern Tyre preserve ancient Phœnician localities. That the necropolis is unchanged; that the site of the great temple is indicated by the ruined cathedral; and that the Eurychoros, or "wide-place," may have been identical with the broad Meidân, which is now found inside the line of the Crusading walls, and west of the modern town or village. The necropolis of Tyre was sought by Renan at the important cemetery in the hills east of the plain, a distance of nearly two miles; but it seems probable that, although in later times the rich may have hewn their sepulchres on the mainland, the older tombs, at the time when (according to Pliny) a strait, 700 passus broad, divided the island from the shore, would have been hewn in the cliffs of the reef, and still exist buried some 20 feet beneath the modern graveyard.

## II.—THE EGYPTIAN HARBOUR.

The opinion of Renan and other writers appears to be that the ancient southern harbour of Tyre is no longer traceable;\* and it is stated by Professor Socin that the supposed mole, on the south side of the town, was more probably the boundary of a piece of land artificially reclaimed from the sea. We gave considerable attention to this question during our recent visit. Lieutenant Mantell and I examined the mole and the harbour by swimming across it in various directions, thus ascertaining the depths, and closely inspecting the portions furthest from land; and the conclusion at which we arrived was different from that of the authorities mentioned, being to the effect that the harbour is distinctly recoverable, and that the only changes which have taken place are due to the wilful blocking up of the inlets to the port, and to the filling in with stones of portions of the interior; over which stones the sand has now

\* Lieutenant Conder, writing without books at hand, has here fallen into a slight error. Renan does not think that the Egyptian port is no longer traceable. He supposes that the site generally proposed, and accepted by Lieut. Conder as the Egyptian port, was formerly a part of the island, and that the mole was a retaining wall. He places the Egyptian port farther east, and supposes that it has now been entirely silted up. (*See* Renan, "Phœnicie," p. 569, and "Memoirs of the Survey," vol. i, sheet 1, § B.)—ED.

drifted, and partially silted up the harbour. Even in the narrowest part there is still, however, an anchorage for small boats, which we found lying close to shore; while the water was far beyond our depth in that part of the port lying nearest to its western entrance.

It should be remembered that the ancient ports along the Syrian coast, including the famous Phœnician harbours, are extremely small. The harbour of Sidon includes 20 acres, the Sidonian or northern port at Tyre only occupies 12 acres. The harbour at Cæsarea, and that inside the reef at Jaffa, are equally unfitted for the requirements of modern navigation; and it seems never to have occurred to the Tyrians to construct works connecting the various rocks in the two great reefs, which run out southwards and northwards beyond the actual harbours; although the existence of these reefs was no doubt the determining cause in fixing the site of the island city, as safe anchorage in the open roadsteads was thus obtained, from whichever direction the wind blew on shore. Strabo (xvi. 2) speaks of the Egyptian harbour as open, referring probably to the reef which runs out southwards, but the space enclosed within the southern mole is nevertheless equal to the area (12 acres) of the Sidonian harbour.

The southern harbour we planned carefully. It is divided in two by a pier which runs out from land, and which, in calm weather, is visible at a depth of 2 or 3 feet below the surface, but is now covered by the silt and by sea-weed. The southern mole runs out westwards from the land, at the extreme south-east angle of the ancient city, as defined by the Crusading wall.

It consists of ancient concrete full of large pieces of pottery, and had two paths paved with concrete, each about 4 feet wide, with a wall some 6 feet thick between them. The length of this mole is about 500 yards, the western and eastern ends are closely defined; and Lieutenant Mantell walked along a good portion which lies under water, between the extremities, and found in one place those fallen columns on the line of the wall.

The pier from the shore divides the harbour into two portions, the western measuring about 400 feet north and south, by 500 feet east and west, while the eastern measures 400 feet at its widest, opposite the shallow bay previously noticed, which is enclosed in the harbour, while on the east the harbour narrows to a point between the cliffs and the mole.

There are two entrances at least to this port, through the mole, one being 50 feet wide. They have been partially filled with great blocks thrown down apparently from the wall on the mole, but we were obliged to swim across each. Other entrances no doubt also occurred in the part now under water, but the main adit was from the west, where is a gap, in the reef which runs between the mole and the shore, of 140 feet. This entrance is skilfully constructed with an inner traverse, formed by a small tongue in the reef, so that the approach is completely defended from the waves outside. The water is here still very deep, but large blocks have been thrown down to close the entry, and the harbour is too small, and too much silted up, to be of any present value.

Having carefully planned this harbour (which is, however, I believe, shown on Gaillardot's "Survey of Tyre"), we were unable to come to any other conclusion than that it represents the Egyptian harbour. The reefs which run out 600 yards or more, in continuation of the rocks through which the western entrance is cut, break the force of the sea so that a calm open roadstead is formed within, in which a small bark was lying at the time of our visit. Without reference to the history of Alexander's siege of Tyre, I am unable to remember what was then done by his ships to the southern harbour. It is possible that the filling in of the port may, however, have been accomplished by the notorious Fakhr ed Dîn, who mined the harbours of Acre and Sidon, and who seems to have had a special aversion to maritime structures: there appears, however, no more reason to doubt that the Egyptian harbour still exists, than to question the identification of the equally small Sidonian harbour north of the present town of Tyre.

### III.—THE TEMPLE OF MELKARTH.

I have suggested above that the Christian church at the south-east angle of the modern town may stand on the site of this famous temple. Melkarth ("the King of the City") was the Tyrian sun-god, identified by the Greeks with Hercules; and it is worthy of notice that from the site of the cathedral (which probably replaced the older basilica said to hold the bones of Origen), a clear view is obtained of the great centre of sun-worship, Mount Hermon. The ruined cathedral stands on the highest part of the larger island, in a position marking as nearly as possible the centre of the ancient city; and the ruined apses are directed towards Hermon. The fact that Christian churches were originally built on the sites of heathen temples (as at Rome, Constantinople, or Jerusalem), is too well ascertained to need more than a passing notice; and in the case of Tyre we find, lying within the Crusading building, various enormous granite shafts, two being double with diameters of 3 feet 6 inches, the length of the blocks being 26 feet. Such monoliths are entirely unlike any work of the Crusaders, and the rude marble bases and capitals lying in the ruins, are too small to have been placed in connection with them. The shafts must have been employed as piers from which the vault ribs sprung, and would have had a clumsy and unsuitable appearance even then in contrast with the small masonry and delicate mouldings of the Gothic structure. The material of these huge shafts is a fine red granite, which must have come from Egypt; and the Crusaders are little likely to have imported such stones, as they were always on bad terms with the Egyptian Saracens. Such monoliths are, however, still to be found at Jebeil (Byblos), and in other Phœnician towns, and it seems far more probable that the Phœnicians, who by religion and commerce were so intimately connected with the Egyptians, would have brought the pillars to adorn their great temple, which no doubt faced the rising sun on a line not far different from that of the orientation of the Christian basilica.

The church has been already described by other explorers. We noted some smaller grey syenite shafts and a pillar base with the Greek cross, flanked by four globes, and having the  $\Lambda$  and  $\Omega$  below, the material being a good white marble. This stands *in situ* on the south side of the central apse. We also found a marble capital of Gothic design, and both of these details were sketched and measured. The ancient font which was visible some years since has been, however, removed. I noticed that the windows of the apses show two periods of construction, the original "dog tooth" moulding, which ran round them inside, having been replaced in the upper part with small stones.

The ashlar is of small size throughout, and the centre of the walls of rubble, as usual in Crusading buildings. The material is a soft sandy limestone from the neighbouring cliffs. Only a few masons' marks are visible.

We copied the inscription which occurs at the foot of the wall, outside the north apse on its north. It is already known, but was seen under a good light.

PONTHN  
OHOMH  
O . . OI . . N  
KPHTHΣ

It is said that during the excavations of Sepp in 1874, a set of sacerdotal robes, a silver cup or chalice, with rings and other treasures were discovered in the cathedral.

I made inquiry as to the festivals of St. Barbara and St. Mekhlar, said by Professor Socin to preserve the cultus of Melkarth, but found no one acquainted with either name. The Maronite church is called after Our Lady, and the Greek after St. Thomas. St. Catherine is also worshipped in the town. These churches with their little belfrys, and the minaret of the single mosque, break the sky line in the long row of badly built cottages which constitute modern Tyre. There are also one or two better houses with red tiled roofs. The little Sidonian harbour was full of small craft; the walls of the buildings along its mole, with heavier masonry below and smaller above, are decidedly attributable to the 12th century, as the upper storeys of the towers present round arches, such as are never used by the modern native builders.

Various antiquities were presented to us, and I purchased a small yellow glass coin or medal, of which two were offered. It represents the sun-god with his whip standing in his chariot drawn by four horses, and was said to have been found in an excavation near the cathedral.

#### IV.—PALÆ TYRUS.

In describing Tyre, Pliny ("Hist. Nat.," v, 17), gives it a circumference of 19 miles including Palæ Tyrus, the place itself extending 22 stadia.

The latter estimate would agree fairly with the area above described as

probably occupied by the island city, but if the 19 miles were distributed along the plain between the Nahr el Kâsimîyeh (which Abu el Feda identifies with the Leontes) and the springs of Râs el 'Ain—as has been proposed I believe by M. Renan, we should have to suppose a city almost one quarter as large as London, and quite without parallel in any other town of Syria. Strabo, on the other hand, mentions Palæ Tyrus as existing 20 stadia south of Tyre, and having a stream flowing through its midst, without in any way indicating a large suburb extending over the plain.

A careful examination of the ground between the Kâsimîyeh River, the hills east of Neby M'ashûk, and the springs of Râs el 'Ain on the south, seems to me to point clearly to the conclusion that no such extensive suburb ever existed, and that there is only one site within the area where an ancient town of any extent can have stood. Such ancient sites are clearly indicated in Palestine by various sure signs, such as the grey soil, the numerous thistles, the growth of the yellow marigold, the remains of pottery, cement, and glass, which mark the crumbling mounds long after the original buildings have disappeared. At the great mound of Tell Habîsh, near Râs el 'Ain, these indications of an old site are found. At Neby M'ashûk there are no remains which seem to indicate that there was more than a single building on the hill. The rest of the plain consists of red virgin soil or of sand dunes, with here and there traces of a single building.\* The existence of a great open unprotected suburb extending over a flat plain without water, is entirely contrary to the ordinary Oriental method of growth in the more important ancient cities, where the houses appear generally to have crowded round the central fortress or sanctuary, and to have nestled close outside the walls when they could no longer find space within their circuit.

There are no indications in the way of wells, cisterns, mounds of ruins or other remains in the plain which would lead to the conclusion that a great defenceless open suburb ever existed, and the theory appears to depend only on the loose expression of Pliny, which may, perhaps, be otherwise explained, either as referring to the district of which Tyre was the capital, or else as being merely a blunder of the Italian writer, who had probably not visited the city.

The more definite description given by Strabo is easily reconciled with existing remains; and these, including the sites of Neby M'ashûk, Khubet el Lawâtîn, Wâdy et Tin, Tell el Habîsh, and Râs el 'Ain, may in conclusion be briefly described.

A curious mound of rock rises in the plain due east of Tyre. The summit is about 100 ft. above the sea and 40 above the plain. On all sides

\* At a point about half-way between Tyre and Neby M'ashûk and south of the ancient aqueduct, some boys digging in the sand dunes have found remains recently of a little shrine or chapel. Fragments of marble, of glass mosaïc, of a small twisted pillar shaft, and the shoulder of a small statue in high relief, remains of a marble cornice with feebly executed mouldings, and some curious pieces of dark pottery, seem to indicate that a small Byzantine or Crusading chapel stood here among the dunes.

the bare rock is visible, and on the east is a perpendicular cliff. Close to this cliff, on the south-east extremity of the hill, stands the shrine of Neby M'ashûk, with two domes and a courtyard containing a palm. A few hovels exist north of the building. The rock is quarried on the west; and on the top of the hill there are indications of old foundations. On the north are rude rock steps, perhaps leading up to the ancient building on the summit, perhaps only made in quarrying. On the north-west are some rock-cut tombs of Tyrian character. The great aqueduct to Tyre runs close to the foot of the hill on the south, and once supplied a small mill, but its course seems to be controlled rather by the fall of the ground than by any intention of carrying water to Neby M'ashûk, as no cisterns to receive the supply appear to exist at this point. Parts of the hill were covered at the time of our visit with corn, and this may have concealed ruins, but a large part of the site shows only bare rock, and there is nothing to indicate that Neby M'ashûk was ever the centre or the acropolis of a city or suburb, while the excavations made by M. Renan brought to light only the remains of a small and comparatively modern shrine.

Although Neby M'ashûk does not, therefore, appear likely to have been the acropolis of the theoretical Palæ Tyrus, there is no doubt that it must have been a sacred shrine of antiquity and importance. It has been proposed to identify it with a temple of Astarte, but the name M'ashûk ("beloved") is in a masculine form (the passive participle of 'Ashaka), and the Neby is said to have been a man who was so fascinating that every woman who saw him fell in love with him. Probably, therefore, we have here the more ancient temple of the sun-god, pointed out by the Tyrian islanders to Alexander—the shrine of an Adonis, or youthful solar hero. A curious story is told in connection with the place. A cave is said to exist beneath it and to contain a treasure; the cave is also said to be full of bees, and we were shown a narrow cleft in the eastern cliff supposed to be the entrance and from which honey is said occasionally to exude. We saw, however, neither bees nor honey, and although our guide's story was confirmed by other witnesses on the spot, it seemed improbable that the narrow fissure in the strata should really be the mouth of a cavern. The natives say that if the cave were opened the building above would fall in ruins. The sacred cave (as has been remarked in a recent paper in the *Quarterly Statement P. E. Fund*) is usually an adjunct of a sun-worship centre; while bees and honey are also intimately connected with the sun-god; and bees form the string of the Indian Cupid's bow (Kama Deva). In this tradition we have, therefore, possibly an echo of the old cultus of the heathen divinity now known as the "beloved prophet."

East of Neby M'ashûk lies the great cemetery called Khûrbet el Lawâtîn. Careful inquiry proved that the spelling Awâtîn given by some authorities is incorrect. The word is the plural of *Lattân*, the well known name for a "lime kiln" in Syria, and the character of the site agrees, as will be seen immediately, with this translation of the title. To anyone who has read M. Renan's account of this place, the impression

made by a visit to the spot is very disappointing. There are no excavations at all equal to those at Beit Jebrîn, and the character of the cemetery, in spite of its being an extensive site, is very rude, and quite beneath comparison with many other collections of rock-cut tombs in Palestine. The caves which M. Renan describes as "immense hypogées, of which the roofs have fallen in." appear to me to be nothing else than quarries whence the soft chalk (*Huwârah*) used for burning into lime, has been obtained. Such excavations are common in all parts of the country where the very soft chalk appears, and the name Khûrbet el Lawâtîn "ruin of the kilns," is no doubt an indirection of the origin of these caverns. The niches which have been observed in the walls of these caves appear to be the remains of loculi, occurring at different levels, showing that here, as at *Beit Jebrîn*, an ancient cemetery has been destroyed in quarrying—the original excavators finding it easier to commence operations by breaking up the walls of the tombs, than by cutting into the face of a solid cliff. Similar destruction of ancient cemeteries may be noted wherever modern quarrying has been undertaken in almost any part of Syria. There are no remains visible of the supposed roofs of the caverns, and they do not seem on inspection ever to have been covered in, except in such parts as still are roofed, where the excavations have been pushed deep into the cliff. These caves are now used as goat folds, but they are not of a size or execution in any way comparable to the great caverns of Southern Palestine.

North of the chalk quarries, the hill-side is covered with tombs. We took plans of several of these, all belonging to one type—a square chamber reached by a shaft some 6 to 10 feet deep, and having rude *Kokim* on the four walls. These tombs which, on account of their rude execution, might be thought very ancient, differ only from the Jewish *Kokim* tombs in the existence of the shaft, which takes the place of the small door entered from the face of a low cliff, in the ordinary type of Jewish sepulchre. The Jew hewed a chamber inwards from the face of the hill, while the Phœnician sunk downwards from the flat surface of the hill-top; but the chamber within was in both cases identical in its general arrangement.

The cemetery in question is certainly very extensive, and may contain unopened tombs. It seems, however, by no means clear that it is the ancient necropolis of Tyre, which, as already suggested, is more probably to be sought on the island itself. The existence of the temple at M'ashûk may perhaps account for the cemetery, the Phœnicians being eager to find sepulture near the sacred place, just as the Jew or the Moslem at Jerusalem, and in any sacred city, still desires to be buried close to the sanctuary; but the hill towns or even distant cities may have had their share in this great graveyard, as well as the island town of Tyre, which is distant some two miles from these hills.

Following the hills southwards, we visited the flat valley between Burj esh Shemâly and Burj el Kibly, which is sometimes called *Wâdy et Tin* from the fig trees which occur on the slopes. On both sides of the valley there are tombs, and we obtained plans of some of these, which are simply

*loculi* in the rock : remains of wine presses also occur, and on the south side of the valley, near *'Ain el Judeideh* ("the rock-cut spring") is the curious bas-relief visited by Renan and Guérin. It measures 18 inches by 23 inches, and is surrounded by a rude frame projecting 3 inches. The design (of which a sketch accompanies this report) represents a single male figure in long robes, the head purposely defaced. On the right, at his feet, is an animal most resembling a dog, and on either side an arabesque of grape-bunches and leaves (much defaced) runs vertically—the vine on the left springing apparently from a pot, as is generally the case where this design occurs (see *'Abûd es Semû'a*, *Shefa Amer*, &c., in the "Memoirs"). I am aware that M. Guérin has described these defaced details as representing the heads of sheep surrounded by *nimbi*; but careful examination shows that the curving stem of the vine is continuous throughout. Nor is it clear that the human figure represents the "good shepherd," as the lamb or sheep which he would carry is not distinguishable. The existence of the vine, a symbol of the sun-god ; and of the dog (if dog it be), may indicate that the sun-deity, Hercules, is represented, whose dog is recorded first at Tyre to have discovered the Murex or purple fish, which he brought from the sea in his mouth. It seems clear, moreover, that there is a tomb beneath the block of rock on which the bas-relief is cut, although the entrance is now so completely blocked that excavation would require considerable time.

Hitherto we have found no site which can really be considered to represent Palæ Tyrus. A visit to the fountains of Râs el 'Ain, however, made us acquainted with the importance of the ruin called er Rusheidîyeh, the old name of which is *Tell el Habîsh*, "Mound of the Abyssinian." There is here a great hillock measuring about 400 yards north and south, and including some 25 to 30 acres. It rises about 60 feet above the sea, and has a modern farm-house on the flat summit. The hill was covered with corn, but remains of ancient masonry were visible all over its plateau. On the north-east are two fine springs which have been enclosed with walls like those at Râs el 'Ain, the work, however, in parts looks like Crusading masonry. On the north-west is a small mill originally fed from these springs, but the water now runs in a stream to the sea. It appears, therefore, that at this site the description given by Strabo of Palæ Tyrus, as having a stream running through its midst, as well as the distance of twenty stadia from Tyre, is realized in a satisfactory manner. A small jungle of brambles, canes, and wild figs grows on the edge of the Tell to the north, following the stream to the beach, and at Tell Habîsh we have every requirement for an ancient town, a fine water supply, a lofty and spacious mound, and a small landing place on the beach itself.

Râs el 'Ain, about half a mile south of this great mound, may possibly have formed part of the site of Palæ Tyrus, which would have covered the intervening space if it was indeed a town of any size. We visited the great reservoirs and aqueducts of Râs el 'Ain, and made a plan of the three principal tanks. There appear to have been originally two springs, of which one is enclosed in the great octagonal reservoir called Birket



'Isrâwy, while the other rises in a quadrangular cistern called Birket Sufsâfeh, which is situated 370 feet east of the former, and is connected by a short channel, with a smaller rudely octagonal reservoir situate at the south-western angle of the Birket Sufsâfeh.

The level of the water in these two springs is the same, about 80 feet above the sea. The two groups of reservoirs were connected by an aqueduct, of which only a few traces remain. The walls of the pools are 20 feet thick, faced with fine ashlar of stones, sometimes 5 feet long, and built inside with concrete, formed by alternate layers of pebbles in hard cement, and of flat pieces of stone or pottery. Birket 'Isrâwy has the appearance of having been originally domed over, the walls curving over above the water some 3 feet beyond the perpendicular of the inner surface. This Birket is now surrounded with small houses. Its sides are of irregular length, and were carefully planned by Lieutenant Mantell. On the north and on the east bifurcated channels lead from the surface of the pool to two pairs of vertical shafts of circular form, each 3 feet in diameter. These shafts are lined with good masonry, the stones having their faces cut to the form of the circle. They feed two modern mills, but are evidently part of the original structure of the reservoir.

On the west side of this tank a modern pool has been built; it is now covered with trees and canes, but was distinctly visible from the top of Birket 'Isrâwy. It is called Birket el Mâlti, and said to have been built by the Egyptian Emir Bishîr el Mâlti, apparently about the time of Ibrahim Pasha; while the Birket 'Isrâwy is locally, though no doubt wrongly, attributed to Alexander the Great.

Birket Sufsâfeh ("the willow-pool") measures 51 feet by 48 feet inside, with walls 10 feet thick. It is built on a hill side, so that on the south the path reaches almost to the level of the top of its walls, whereas the walls of the second octagonal tank are some 15 feet high on the west side, and over 20 feet in thickness.

No ancient aqueduct leads from the quadrangular tank, but alterations have been made in its walls, and a modern aqueduct on arches, some of which are pointed, and others round, runs south-west for a short distance from the east side of the tank. Probably these alterations may be attributed to the Crusaders of the 12th and 13th centuries.

From the octagonal tank contiguous to the Birket Sufsâfeh, the original aqueduct to Tyre still runs about 2 miles, to the vicinity of Tell M'ashûk on the north, where it turns round westwards, and disappears in the sand dunes; the water which is carried to the town and rather beyond it, escaping to form a marsh behind the dunes. This aqueduct has the appearance of Roman work, and is lined with concrete. It has a channel, increasing from 2 feet 9 inches near the pool to 5 feet in width, and 6 feet in depth near Neby M'ashûk, where the arch is still intact, the voussoirs surmounted by a series of long slabs laid horizontally as a top covering to the structure. The fall, from Râs el 'Ain to Neby M'ashûk, is at the rate of about 10 feet per mile, which would give a level of about 40 feet above the sea at Tyre, were it continued uniformly.

In crossing low ground the aqueduct is carried on large round arches with strong piers, and a string course is added above these as an ornament. The arches are generally formed by voussoirs of even proportions, but Lieutenant Mantell noticed near Tell Habîsh a row of arches, not truly structural, but formed by cutting the stones of the succession courses into the shape of a round arch, each course being corbelled out so as to form together a complete semicircle in elevation. This unusual construction may, perhaps, be a sign of the early date of the aqueduct, and the arches thus formed are dependent for strength, not on structure, but solely on the hardness of the cement used in building. The masons were, however, evidently not ignorant of the theory of the arch, as voussoirs are used in other parts of the aqueduct.

In addition to the three ancient reservoirs, and the later Birket el Mâlti, there is a fifth pool of quite distinct character situated north-west of Birket 'Isrâwy. An aqueduct with masonry of late character leads to this tank, which is some 12 feet square inside. The arches of its aqueduct were originally round, but near the tank an outer facing of masonry not bonded in, has been added with pointed arches on the north side of the piers. The tank is called Birket es Seïyideh, "Our Lady's Pool," and is a sacred place, pilgrimage being undertaken to visit the spot, and vows offered to the local divinity. The tank was probably filled at one time through its aqueduct from the more ancient aqueduct from Birket es Sufsâfeh, or rather from the contiguous octagonal reservoir. It should be noted in connection with the last-named octagonal tank, that like Birket 'Isrâwy it contains a pair of cylindrical shoots of good ancient masonry, which convey the water to a modern mill.

It seems clear that the original constructors of these fine old water-towers had in view rather the utilization of the springs for mill-work than the supply of the distant city of Tyre by an aqueduct.

The conclusions which suggest themselves after a visit to the spot are, that the three older tanks were originally built for local purposes, that an aqueduct to Tyre (seemingly Roman work) was afterwards made from the smaller octagonal reservoir. That the Crusaders subsequently built the Birket es Seïyideh and its aqueduct, as well as the broken aqueduct leading south-west from Birket Sufsâfeh, and that the Birket el Mâlti is the latest addition to the group of five tanks at present existing. The arrangement will, however, be rendered clearer by a glance at the plan of the older reservoirs.

The general results of our three days of exploration at Tyre may be briefly summarised in conclusion. They include :—

First, the discovery of a tomb (Mûghâret el Mujâhed), which seems to indicate the situation of the ancient Tyrian necropolis.

Secondly, the examination of the existing remains of the southern or Egyptian harbour, and of the reef west of the island city of Tyre.

Thirdly, a suggestion as to the position of the Temple of Melkarth, rendered probable by the conspicuous and central position of a site which has long been consecrated by a Christian basilica pointing towards Hennon.

Fourthly, the examination of the hill of Neby M'ashûk, its traditions and the neighbouring Tyrian cemetery.

Fifthly, the examination of the important mound of Tell Habîsh and the neighbouring springs of Râs el 'Ain, the possible site of Pake Tyrus.

Excavations at Tyre might still produce results of interest and importance. They should be confined to the area within the Crusading walls, or to the sites of el Lawâtîn and Tell Habîsh, where alone promising indications occur. The old necropolis of Tyre may, perhaps, exist untouched beneath the accumulated rubbish heaps of Greek, Byzantine, Crusading, and Arab times, but the vicinity of the modern graveyard would make the exploration a very delicate matter.

It should, however, be remembered that the remains as yet found have been of a very rude and uninteresting description, and that the Phœnician inscriptions discovered by M. Renan in this district were of very late date. Perhaps the most interesting piece of work which could be suggested would be a complete excavation of the cathedral by shaft sunk to rock, or to such a depth as should enable the explorer to determine whether any relics of the famous temple of Melkarth still exist on the spot.

Modern Tyre has been described as a rising place, and there is no doubt that since the Metâwileh settled here, it has grown into a town from a condition of complete ruin. Its trade is, however, quite insignificant, its harbours far too small to be of any value, and its inland communications too difficult to allow of its competing with Acre, Tripoli, or Alexandretta, as a point of strategical or commercial importance.

The fisher spreads his net on the reefs and ruined walls, as the prophet of old proclaimed in one of the most poetic chapters of the Old Testament, (Ezek. xxvii), and the little town is scarcely more than a fishing village with a small coasting trade in cereals, fruits and silk. Our knowledge of other ancient cities leads us, moreover, to conclude that even when the hardy Phœnician mariners were planting colonies in Africa, in Spain, or in France, and were the first of Orientals to discover our own stormy islands, the ports of the mother city, to which the merchants of Asia and the Mediterranean gathered from every quarter, were scarcely larger than the capacity of a fishing harbour in England, while the metropolis itself only covered an area about equal to that of Hyde Park.

The conclusions of archaeologists, which a short though careful examination of the site led me to regard as requiring reconsideration, are as already detailed. First, that the Egyptian harbour has disappeared; considering the existence of a well defined port as large as the northern or Sidonian harbour. Secondly, that the Pake Tyrus was a great suburb covering the plains east and south-east of Tyre; since no indications of such a suburb exist, while the idea is quite contrary to all we know of the size and arrangement of ancient eastern cities. Third, that the necropolis of Tyre lay at Khûrbet el Lawâtîn; since we were able to discover at least one Tyrian tomb on the island, the natural position in which the cemetery might be expected to exist. Fourthly, that the somewhat exaggerated

description which has been given of the caves at the site of el Lawâtîn, should be modified by a comparison with similar excavations in other parts of Palestine. And lastly in general, the expectation of finding at Tyre an immense city equal in size to Rome or Athens, should be controlled by the experience which we derive from the examination of the other sacred or commercial cities of ancient Syria, which, like the modern towns of the country, seem to have been crowded into areas quite insignificant in comparison with those occupied by European metropolises, and strangely contrasting to the world-wide fame which such little cities as Tyre, Sidon, Joppa, or Jerusalem have obtained in later ages.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

### III.

#### FROM BEYROUT TO JERUSALEM.

JERUSALEM, 28th May, 1881.

THE disturbances in the Hauran rendered it prudent to relinquish our original plan of commencing the Eastern Survey on the north; and, as many of our heavy stores were in Jerusalem, it appeared necessary to shift our base of operations to the Holy City, whence we hope to proceed to Gilead and Moab. Leaving Beyrout on 7th May, we journeyed down the coast by Sidon, Tyre, Acre, and Nablus, reaching the capital on Saturday, 21st. We remained two days in Tyre, and one day in Nablus when we revisited the top of Ebal, and rebuilt the cairn erected in the summer of 1872, as the point will probably be conspicuous east of Jordan. From Ebal we beheld the great plateau broken only by the valley of the Jabbok, which is the scene of our expected labours. Many things, however, required to be settled on a satisfactory basis before we could hope successfully to attack our work, and the time spent in thoroughly organizing the expedition will probably be saved later in the increased working power of the party. Meantime a few scattered notes, on the points which were observed along the road, will probably be thought of interest.

Our camps were pitched at Neby Yûnis (where we rested for Sunday, 8th), Sidon, Tyre (where two days were spent), Nakûrah, el Bahjeh, near Acre (where the second Sunday was passed), Sheikh Ibreek, Jenîn, Nâblus. 'Ain el Haramiyeh, and Jerusalem; the result of our explorations at Tyre are given in another report.

#### THE ROAD.

It has been suggested that the main coast road dates from Arab times, but it has all the appearance of Roman origin, not only because Roman milestones have fallen beside it at intervals, but because the broad central rib or backbone of cut stones is visible in places, with side-walls of rough blocks, both of these features being peculiar to Roman roads in Syria. In many places where the road runs along the beach, concrete

was used instead of stone to form the roadway, and the remains of this, set in hard white or pink cement, are still to be found in parts.

The remains of Roman bridges with round arches are also observable both at the River Kâsimiyeh and also at the Nahr Abu el Aswad when the arch is still perfect.

#### KHURBET UMM EL' ANUD.\*

This important site south of Tyre (the old name of which seems to have been Laodicea) was visited by Renan, who found here some late Phœnician inscriptions. There is a temple in a conspicuous position on a rugged hillside, and many other ruins, but they are so overgrown with cope that a long time would be necessary for their exploration. The plan of the temple is very difficult to make out, but it appears to have had three aisles, and to have measured about 180 feet E. and W. (true bearing  $30^\circ$ ), with an outer colonnade 25 feet wide having two rows of pillars. The capitals are Ionic, and the mouldings have a simple and pure character which marks the temple as being earlier than the Byzantine period. Some curious stones which have the form of segments of spheres about 18 inches in diameter (looking like slices from a Swiss cheese) have sockets in the spherical surface. They may, perhaps, have formed parts of some ornamental erections over the cornices, either as bases from which a small needle was raised or perhaps as representations of shallow vases on a base fitted into the socket.

We measured various curious details, including a sarcophagus with a projecting pilaster at one end, and a stone 5 feet square,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, with two square shallow troughs, 1 foot side sunk in the upper part, and rude sculptures on the sides, one of which resembled a headless sphinx or lion apparently with wings.

There is a second block 2 feet 8 inches square, 3 feet high, with a trough 1 foot square and a few inches deep. Possibly these may have been altars, as there seems no other good explanation of the shallow sunk places in which a fire might have been kindled. A double tomb, rock-cut, exists further north, of which we made a plan; but our visit was too short to enable us to obtain a good idea of the site. There is a large amount of broken tessellated pavement on the hillsides below the temple.

#### NAKURAH.

I made special inquiries as to the meaning which the natives attach to this word applied to the pass generally identified with the ancient Scala Tyriorum. Professor Palmer renders the word "trumpet" and suggests that as *Sâr* in Arabic may also mean "trumpet," the natives may have misunderstood Sur (Tyre) to mean a trumpet, and not as in Hebrew "a rock," and that in process of time they may have substituted the word Nâkûrah, applying it to the promontory originally called *Sâr*.

\* See "Memoirs," vol. i, p. 182.

The word *Nákûrah* comes, however (as Professor Palmer tells me), from a root meaning "to pick," or excavate by picking out. It occurs more than once in the survey nomenclature, as in 'Ain en *Nákûrah*, 'Ain en *Nukr*, and the village *Nákûrah* near *Nâblus*, places which have no connection with Tyre. I find that the meaning attached by the natives to the term is that of excavation or scarping, which is exactly the Talmudic use of the word, where it is applied to caves excavated artificially. The name, in fact, of *Râs en Nakûrah*, is derived apparently from the rock-cutting through which the road passes. This has been destroyed in making the new road, which is on a higher level than the old, but the vertical cutting of the rock is still visible in more than one place on both sides of the road. I may, perhaps, venture here to remark that I do not know a single instance in which the Fellahîn have substituted one word for another in the manner that Professor Palmer supposes. They adhere, it is true, often to the Hebrew name of a place, long after the meaning has been lost (as is the case also in our own country), sometimes modifying the sound slightly to give it a modern—and often erroneous—meaning.

In the case of *Sûr*, however, it should be noted that the word is still used by the peasantry to mean a rock, and it is not known, as far as I have ascertained, to mean a trumpet.

#### MESELIEH.

In 1876 I proposed to identify the village of *Meselih*, or *Mithilia*, south of *Jenin*, with the *Bethulia* of the Book of *Judith*, supposing the substitution of M for B, of which there are occasional instances in Syrian nomenclature. The indications of the site given in the Apocrypha are tolerably distinct. *Bethulia* stood on a hill, but not apparently on the top, which is mentioned separately (*Judith* vi, 12). There were springs or wells beneath the town (verse 11), and the houses were above these (verse 13). The city stood in the hill country not far from the plain (verse 11), and apparently near *Dothan* (*Judith* iv, 6). The army of *Holofernes* was visible when encamped near *Dothan* (*Judith* vii, 3-4), by the spring in the valley near *Bethulia* (verses 3-7).

The site usually supposed to represent *Bethulia*—namely, the strong village of *Sânûr*, does not fulfil these various requisites, but the topography of the Book of *Judith*, as a whole, is so consistent and easily understood, that it seems probable that *Bethulia* was an actual site. Visiting *Mithilia* on our way to *Shechem* (see Sheet XI of the Survey), we found a small ruinous village on the slope of the hill. Beneath it are ancient wells, and above it a rounded hill top, commanding a tolerably extensive view. The north-east part of the great plain, *Gilboa*, *Tabor*, and *Nazareth*, are clearly seen. West of these a neighbouring hill hides *Jenin* and *Wâdy Belaméh* (the *Belmain* probably of the narrative), but further west *Carmel* appears behind the ridge of *Sheikh Iskander*, and part of the plain of 'Arrâbeh, close to *Dothan*, is seen. A broad corn vale, called "The King's Valley," extends north-west from *Meselih* towards *Dothan*, a distance of only three miles. There is a low shed formed by rising ground between two

hills, separating this valley from the Dothian plain; and at the latter site is the spring beside which probably the Assyrian army is supposed by the old Jewish novelist to have encamped. In imagination one might see the stately Judith walking through the down trodden corn-fields, and shady olive groves, while on the rugged hill-side above the men of the city "looked after her until she was gone down the mountain, and till she had passed the valley, and could see her no more" (Judith x, 10).

#### JACOB'S WELL.

In 1876 some misconceptions appeared to exist as to the condition of this famous site. The well itself has never been choked. It is 75 feet deep, and still at times contains water. Over the shaft, however, is built a Crusading vault (as described in the "Memoirs"), and this is entered from the present surface through a hole in the roof. The floor is covered with stones, which have fallen from above, and which, until lately, quite concealed the well-mouth. During the present travelling season the vault has been partly cleared by an English traveller, and the mouth of the well is now visible with the shaft as far down as there is light enough to see it. A stone,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet, covers the well, and in it is a circular hole, 18 inches in diameter, with a raised square moulding round it. The dressing somewhat resembles Crusading work. The masonry of the shaft beneath is apparently well finished. There are remains of mosaic pavement round the stone forming the well-mouth, and, as has been already noticed in "Tent-Work," two pillars of the ancient church are still in site in a vault north-west of the well. They are of grey syenite, and it is probable that the other shafts of similar character lying near the enclosure (70 paces square) in which Jacob's Well now stands also belonged, not as some have thought, to the Temple on Gerizim, but rather to the ancient Cruciform Basilica, which was so built as to have the well in the centre of the cross. Excavations would probably result in the tracing of this church under the present surface, but any interference with the place is looked on with extreme suspicion by the peasantry, who imagine that the Franks wish to take the well away to Europe.

#### EN TAPPUAH.

↑ According to the views of recent writers, this place is to be sought south of Nâblus, and west of the plain of el Mukhnah. There are several good springs in the direction, and it seemed possible that en Tappuah, the "apple spring," might still exist under the Arabian form *Ain et Tuffâh* (or *Tuffâh*) somewhere either near 'Ain Abûs, or further south. We accordingly went along the route in question, as far south at Yâsûf, and enquired, both at 'Ain Abûs and afterwards, for the situation of 'Ain et Tuffâh. In spite of this leading question, no one professed to know the site, and the goat-herds (who are the best authority on such questions) denied that any such place existed. They enumerated many other springs which are marked on the map, and curiously enough

suggested that we meant 'Ain Yásuf, which (according to the view advocated in the "Handbook to the Bible") is just where en Tappuah should be sought. Although it is thus only a negative result which we have obtained, it is so far satisfactory that careful enquiry, both in 1881 and 1877, failed to recover the name. So that there is no need to suspect that an important name has been omitted from the Survey in this case.

#### JUFNA.

A curious instance of the way in which small objects may be overlooked occurred in this instance. The village had been visited in 1872 by the Survey party, and subsequently by Lieutenant Kitchener. Colonel Wilson has also been there, and Dr. Clapton has visited the place, yet no one seems to have noticed the sarcophagus side built into the courtyard of the Greek Church of St. George, which stands south of the village in the valley. The design represents three wreaths supported by a winged genii, and three Medusa heads occur in medallions above the wreaths. The side has been broken off and built into the north wall of the courtyard, the door of which bears a modern Greek inscription, with the dates 1858 and 1860.

Inside the courtyard, in a corner, is a fine old Crusading font of the usual pattern, cylindrical, with a square basin and four semi-circular seats forming a quartrefoil within the circle (as at Tekoa and in many other places south of Jerusalem). There is also a rude Byzantine capital outside the Church, and the other portions of the sarcophagus lie near. Thus, in the little shrine of St. George, we have remains of every period from the Roman epoch downwards, and the site with its fine trees and pomegranate bushes is probably an ancient shrine.

#### ER RAM.

At the shrine which is so conspicuous near this village are remains of a former chapel. The lintel stone (as it would seem) with a bas-relief of rosettes, has been found by Dr. Chaplin within the building, and a very curious stone mask is in his possession, obtained from the village. It represents a human face without hair or beard, the nose well-cut, the eyes and mouth very feebly designed.

The mask is hollowed out behind, and has two deep holes at the back as if to fix it to a wall. It is over a foot in longer diameter, and curiously resembles some of the faces of the Moabite collection of Mr. Shapira. There cannot well be any question of its genuine character, and nothing like it has been found so far as I know in Palestine.

#### JETT.

Two Roman lamps with double wicks were shown to me at Nábhus, one is in the form of a bull, the forefeet extended in front to form the spouts for the wicks. These were found in 1874 at *Jett*, and I had often heard of the bull as an ancient idol. The place in question is



situate near the plain of Sharon (Sheet XI), and is an ancient site of importance, probably the Gath of the Egyptian records, and the *Gitta* of which Simon Magus is said to have been a native.

## JERUSALEM.

It is almost exactly six years since I last visited the Holy City, and during this time the growth of the place has been very rapid. A Jewish village, not marked on the Survey, has grown up along the Jaffa road, and the Jewish population is now estimated at 1,500 souls out of some 2,503 inhabitants. The number of Germans has also largely increased, and similar changes are said to have occurred at Bethlehem and Hebron. There is always something new to find in the city, and Dr. Chaplin pointed out to me several interesting details. The under-mentioned inscription is not to be found, so far as I am aware, in previous papers, and was unknown to Dr. Chaplin, nor is it among those collected for the Society in 1873, by M. Ganneau. It was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. S. Bergheim. It occurs on the north wall of the tower in which Herod's Gate (*Báb ez Zahreh*) is built, and is placed on a sort of tablet, measuring 3 feet by 1 foot with triangular wings. The stone is built into the wall upside down, and the existence of the tablet, the form of the letters, and the words in the 2nd and 3rd lines, *Της Αγίας τῆς*, seem to show that it is of Christian and Byzantine origin.

ΓεΡ . . . . . ΔωΝ  
 ΤΑΙΝωΝΥCΙ . . . . . ΤΗC  
 ΑΤΙΑCΤΗC . . . . . ΟΙω  
 ΑΝΝΟY . . . C . . ΙΝΗΘ . ΑΝΤΙωΝ

I have omitted various doubtful letters, as the inscription does not appear valuable. The stone is too rough and crooked to allow of a satisfactory squeeze being taken. It is some 15 feet from the ground, and I copied it standing on a ladder. It was probably taken from one of the early Christian Churches in the city.

In passing through the bazaars and the *Viâ Dolorosa*, Dr. Chaplin pointed out to us various remains of Crusading Jerusalem. The bazaar was known in the twelfth century as *Maluisinat*, and the groined vaulting of the roof seems to belong to this period, while on one of the corbels supporting the arches is cut in mediæval characters the inscription

$$\frac{\overset{\circ}{\text{sc}}}{\text{anna}}$$

Probably there was property belonging to the Church of St. Anne at this spot. There are many other little Crusading relics at Jerusalem of which I have made notes at different periods, and which serve to illustrate the curious mediæval account contained in the "*Citez de Jherusalem*."

## SILOAM.

The excavations now conducted on the Ophel ridge by Dr. Guthe for the German Exploration Society are of great interest. Through

his kindness we were enabled to visit them all, but I should ill repay his courtesy by forestalling his own account of his work. It is sufficient to say that he is engaged in investigating a corner of the city where, perhaps, more than anywhere else, success may be expected to attend the employer, and where, moreover, we are most in want of information. He has shown, moreover, that the Ophel spur was once covered with buildings down almost to the very edge of the pool. It is difficult to give a date for such buildings, but with some exceptions they seem at least not later than the time of Hadrian, and I was disposed to think that the continuation of Colonel Warren's Ophel wall has really been found by Dr. Guthe running southwards. Some remains seem, however, clearly (as Dr. Guthe also thinks) to belong to the Byzantine period, and the excavations require to be extended considerably before any final conclusions can safely be reached.

Dr. Guthe also kindly gave us the opportunity of visiting the now famous inscription in the great rock-cut channel. Far from wondering that it was never seen before, the marvel appears to me to be that it was ever found at all. Two youths of Jewish birth endeavoured to walk along the passage to the north end, but failed to do so—yet stumbled on the inscription, but the water was then running almost on the level of the highest line of the text. It has now been carried off so as to show the whole height of the tablet, which is about 2 feet square, with a face carefully polished and slightly convex. The letters are remarkably distinct, but the flaws in the rock render the text very difficult to follow. The letters are filled with a deposit of lime formed by the water action, and it is consequently impossible to take a squeeze which will give any really valuable idea of the text.

Dr. Guthe has taken several paper squeezes and one gypsum cast, but none of these give a good idea of the letters. With the aid of these, however, and by sketching from the letters themselves, he has produced a copy which will probably supersede all others. This has taken him several weeks of work, and I thought it impossible to rival it in the time at our command. The inscription is on the right hand on entering the passage from the Siloam end, and some 12 paces from the entrance.

It is thought in Jerusalem that Professor Sayce's copy and translation may prove too hasty to be of any value. Mr. Shapira gives a different interpretation to the text, explaining it as referring to the cutting of the tunnel from the two opposite ends. This we know was really how the excavation was effected, and Mr. Shapira's intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew idiom (as a Talmudist of 20 years' education) seems to render his opinion worthy of consideration.

It might appear strange that the visitor who scratched his name in the upper part of the tablet did not see the text, but there was an old water-mark above the inscription when first discovered, and the letters were no doubt hidden. Dr. Guthe has found part of the ancient pool to which the channel ran, and the impression which I obtained on the spot, when carefully observing the scarps on either side of the valley, was, that

the ancient pool of Siloam, the "ditch" which Hezekiah made for the water of the Old Pool (Isaiah xxii, 9, 11) may have been a large sheet of water forming a defence where the wall was lowest, and closing a weak point at the outlet of the Tyropœon valley.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

#### IV.

#### NABLUS. JERUSALEM. THE MOUNTAIN OF THE SCAPE GOAT.

JERUSALEM, 7th June, 1881.

It appears now unavoidable that some delay should occur in commencing the Eastern Survey, in consequence of the difficulties raised by the Turkish authorities which cannot be overcome without patience. Meantime much interesting work remains to be done, in collecting the various discoveries made by residents, and noting the results of excavations and alterations which have occurred during the last five years. During 1872 it was impossible to enter the mosques at Nâblus, but during my recent visit I was able, by the kind assistance of M. Falsher, to visit every monument of interest within the walls of the town, and to collect several new traditions.

In the middle of Nâblus is a quadrangular building with whitewashed walls, containing the tomb of Sheikh Badrân or Sheikh Bedr er Rafia'. The walls are whitewashed, and the roof is supported by four pillars having early Byzantine capitals and grey granite shafts. This is evidently an early basilica which has as yet, so far as I am aware, escaped notice. Sheikh Badrân is said to have been the father of Sheikh 'Amâd ed Dîn, whose sacred place is on Ebal. This also indicates the Christian origin of the tradition, for the companion shrine on Ebal was originally also a church, and the Greeks and Latins alike in Nâblus, regard it as the place where the head of John the Baptist was buried; his body, according to an early but erroneous tradition, being buried at Samaria. 'Amâd ed Dîn ("monument of the faith") appears (according to the description given by Marino Sanuto) to be the place which the Crusaders called Dan, and where they supposed the calf to have been set up by Jeroboam,—the Bethel of the narrative being, according to their explanation, the Samaritan site of Luz on Gerizim.

In addition to the great mosque, the Mosque of Hezu Ya'kûb ("the wailing of Jacob"), and the Leper's Mosque (the old crusading hospital in the north-east angle of the city), I visited the sacred place called Oulâd Y'akûb, "the sons of Jacob," a sight which Robinson sought in vain, and which seems to have an antiquity not inferior to Jacob's well or Joseph's tomb. It is recognized by Jew, Samaritan, and Moslem alike, and is mentioned by St. Jerome in his account of Sta. Paula's journey. It is in the north-east angle of the town, north of the Leper's Mosque, and close

to the "Raisin Mart" (Khân Ezbib). A door on the north leads to a little paved court, with a division of stone, some 6 inches high, beyond which ones boots must be removed. In this court are two small marble pillar shafts, one of which has an Arab inscription, with the name of *Malik 'Amr* and the date 622 A.H. (13th century). In other respects the building seems quite modern. On the south side is a double chamber, the southern half entered from the east, while in the northern half is a large cenotaph of the ordinary kind, covered with green cloths, and having a high pilla with sculptured turban at either end. This, according to the Sheikh, was the tomb of three of the sons of Jacob, to whom he gave the names Reiyâlûn, Sahyûn (apparently Sion), and Bushera (perhaps Asher).

I have also paid a visit to the Samaritan High Priest Y'akûb, for the purpose of enquiring as to various Samaritan traditions. We found him in the little synagogue, where a representative congregation, robed in white, were reading the law in high nasal key much like that of a Jewish service. The Samaritans appear to be prospering, as their numbers have increased from 135 to 160 souls; and I was much impressed with the fine physique and handsome countenances of the men, which seem to contradict the idea that the race is dying out, as does also the fact that the number of males is considerably in excess of that of the females (98 to 62).

I was, however, disappointed by the results of our conversation with respect to the character of Samaritan traditions, not only because I found that the present High Priest has forgotten many things known to Amrân, his uncle and predecessor, and has only a confused remembrance of many important points, but also because in many cases the traditions which he related, as commonly received, are of very recent origin, and traceable to the Crusaders. Thus, for instance, he believed that Dothan was not to be placed at Tell Dothân, the site recognized by Jerome and by modern writers, but at Khân Jubb Yusef, where it is placed by the Crusading historians, north of the Sea of Galilee. He stated that this was to be proved from ancient Samaritan books, and was quite unaware of the unsatisfactory nature of the identification.

The Samaritans have a tradition that the twelve sons of Jacob were buried each within the bounds of his own tribe. The sites which they point out are not, however, in accordance with this view. As regards Joshua's tomb, both the modern Samaritans and the mediæval Samaritan writers are divided into two parties, the one saying that he lies with Eliazar and Phinehas at 'Awertah, the others that he is buried with Nun and Caleb at Kefr Hâris.

I found that Caleb is known among them as Kifl, which renders the identification of the three sites at Kefr Hâris complete; Neby Nun being Nun, Neby Kifl Caleb, and Neby Lusha' Joshua, in accordance with the account of R. Jacob of Paris, and other Jewish travellers of the middle ages.

The tombs of the twelve sons of Jacob, as believed in by the Samaritans,

are all now in the hands of the Moslems, excepting perhaps that of Joseph, to which Jews and Samaritans have access, and where they burn oil and incense on two altars, one at the head, the other at the foot of the cenotaph. Judah lies at Neby Hûdah in el Yehudîyeh (Jehud), north of Jaffa. Dan, at Neby Dan, in the village of Neby Daniân, a little further east. Asher is said to be Neby Tota (the good prophet), in Tûbâs, north-east of Nâblus. Simeon is Neby Shem'ôn, near Kefr Sâta, north of Jaffa. Reuben is Neby Rûbîn, a sacred place east of Yebnah, to which for at least 300 years pilgrimages have been made (far, however, from the lot of the tribe of Reuben). Levi is Neby Lawîn, who has a conspicuous shrine near Sîleh, north-west of Nâblus. Benjamin, Gad, and Naphtali were unknown to the High Priest, who thought they might be the three buried at the Oulâd Ya'kub as above noticed. I believe, however, that Neby Yemîn near Neby Sham'ôn probably belongs to this group, and represents Benjamin.

Issachar, according to the High Priest, is now called Neby Hazkîl (Hazkîl or Ezekiel) by the Moslems, and lies in the village of Rameh. It is very remarkable that Rameh is a border town (Remeth) of Issachar, and that the name Hazkîl occurs again in the same connection in Jebel Hazkîl, which exists on the border of the same tribe near the south-east angle. In this case, therefore, the tradition has some *primâ facie* appearance of being genuine. Finally the High Priest had heard that Zebulon was buried somewhere near Sidon. I presume that he referred to Neby Sebelân in the hills above Tyre. He also stated that other children (probably descendants) of Jacob were buried at 'Asîret el Hatab and at el Bi-zâneh; all these places lie in the districts where in former times the Samaritans were numerous, and none are within the borders of Judæa. I give these traditions for what they are worth as a contribution to the folk-lore of Palestine.

#### JERUSALEM.

I find that the identification of the hill above Jeremiah's Grotto with the probable site of Calvary, which depends mainly on the fact that, according to Jewish tradition, this was the ancient place of public execution, has found favour with a large number of intelligent readers. I have already explained that we are indebted to Dr. Chaplin for discovering the tradition; but there are several facts in connection with this most interesting question which I have only recently ascertained.

The modern Arab name of the place is *el Heidhemâtyeh* ("torn down"), but this is a corruption of the earlier *Adhemâtyeh* as given by Mejr ed Dîn, and there seems no doubt that it is derived from the tomb of a son of the famous Edhem, a historical character. The Sheikh of the Jerusalem Haram gave me this explanation, which is confirmed by Dr. Chaplin. It appears also from Mejr ed Dîn, that the neighbourhood immediately east was called es Sahira, and was an ill-omened place connected in the imagination of Moslems with death and judgment (like the Kedron Valley

beyond it). Possibly in this we may have some trace of the ill-omened site of the ancient place of execution.

Another point concerning this hillock has been noticed by recent visitors, who have seen in its outline a resemblance to a skull. This was mentioned to me by the Rev. A. Henderson, but I could not then remember the circumstance. On walking from the north-east corner of Jerusalem towards the rock I perceived, however, what was meant. The rounded summit and the two hollow cave entrances beneath do, indeed, give some resemblance to a skull, as may be seen in a photograph taken from this point of view by Lieutenant Mantell, which I enclose. It is the skull of an animal rather than of a human being, and I should not like to base



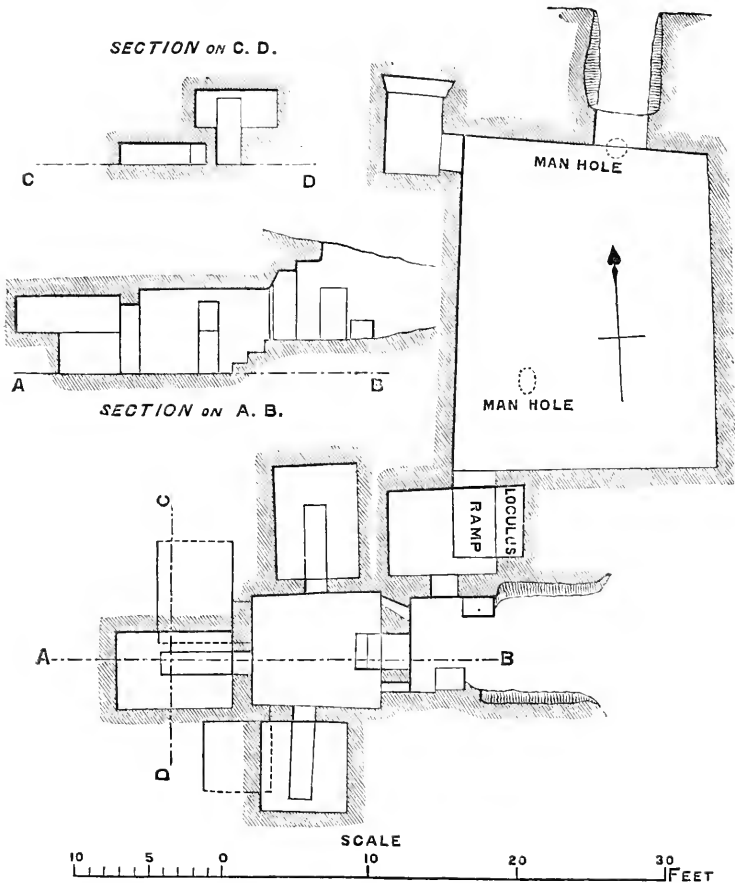
NEWLY DISCOVERED TOMB, 200 YARDS WEST OF JEREMIAH'S GROTTTO.—VIEW FROM EAST.

an argument on so slight a resemblance. It is, however, of interest to note the fact, as many persons consider that Golgotha was a name derived from the form of the ground, rather than from the use of the site as a place of burial or of execution.

It is more important to notice that the site of Jeremiah's Grotto is peculiarly fitted for a place of execution in consequence of its commanding position. From the summit the eye roams above the city walls over the greater part of Jerusalem, while on the west the ground rises beyond the intervening valley like a theatre. There is hardly another

spot near Jerusalem so fitted to be the central point for any public spectacle.

Still more interesting is a discovery which I made about a week ago, of an indisputably Jewish tomb immediately west of the knoll in question. It has only recently been opened, and has not been as yet described, I believe, by any visitor. It is cut in the east face of a very curious rock platform measuring about 70 paces either way—as shown on the Ordnance



NEWLY DISCOVERED JEWISH TOMB NEAR THE CITY, 200 YARDS WEST OF JEREMIAH'S GROTTA.

Survey about 200 yards west of the grotto. The platform is roughly scarped on all sides, in an apparently artificial manner, and on the west is a higher piece of rock, also with sides rudely scarped. The rest of the space is fairly level, but there seem to be traces of the foundations of a surrounding wall in some low mounds near the edge of the platform

I have long been aware of the existence of a curious cistern in the north-east corner of this scarp. It has a domed roof with a man-hole, and also a door with a passage 10 ft. long and 3 ft. wide, leading out eastwards. The cistern is about 8 paces in diameter, and three steps lead down from the door to the level of the cistern floor. This excavation seems originally to have been a chamber afterwards converted into a cistern, and there are sockets for the door-hinges and for bolts in the passage entrance.

The ancient tomb is some thirty paces further south, and the entrance is also from the east. The whole is very rudely cut in rock, which is of inferior quality. The doorway is much broken, and there is a loophole or window, 4 ft. wide, either side of the door. The outer court, cut in the rock, is 7 ft. square, and two stones are so placed in this as to give the idea that they may have held in place a rolling-stone before the door. On the right (or north) is a side entrance, leading into a chamber with a single loculus, and thence into a cave, some 8 paces square and 10 ft. high, with a well-mouth in the roof.

The chamber within the tomb entrance is reached by a descent of two steps, and measures 6 ft. by 9 ft. From either side wall, and from the back wall is an entrance 20 ins. wide and about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ft. high, leading into a side chamber. A passage runs in continuation of each entrance for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft., and on each side is a bench about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. wide and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  ft. high. A similar bench occurs at the end, the whole width of each chamber being thus  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ft., its length 7 ft. 2 in., and its height from 5 to 6 ft. Each would contain two bodies lying beside the passage, but there would scarcely be room for three. In addition to these three chambers, there are two excavations on the floor-level, in the further corner of the central chamber. They are about 5 ft. square, with narrow entrances, and were scattered with human bones at the time of my visit.

The discovery of this tomb is of no little importance in connection with Jerusalem topography. If it be compared with the great cemetery at Sheikh Ibreik, and with the monument of Helena at Jerusalem, it will be seen to belong to the later Jewish period—the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. It is not a Christian tomb, so far as can be judged, for the Christians in Palestine seem mainly to have used the "rock-sunk" tomb. A cemetery of tombs of the form commonly used by the Crusaders, was found in 1873 near the north-east angle of the Jerusalem city walls, but no Jewish tomb has ever been found before so close to the ramparts of the modern city on the north: the next nearest being the tomb discovered in 1873, about 300 yards further north.

It would be bold to hazard the suggestion that the single Jewish sepulchre thus found is indeed the tomb in the garden, nigh unto the place called Golgotha, which belonged to the rich Joseph of Arimathea; yet its appearance so near the old place of execution, and so far from the other tombs in the old cemeteries of the city, is extremely remarkable. I am sorry to say that a group of Jewish houses is growing up round the spot. The rock is being blasted for building-stone, and the tomb, unless



preserved, may perhaps soon be entirely destroyed. It is now in a disgusting condition of filth, which shows that the Jews have little reverence for the old sepulchres of their ancestors. Perhaps some of our readers might feel willing to redeem this most interesting monument from its present state of desecration, and to purchase and enclose the little plot of rocky ground in which it stands. Without such preservation the sepulchre is doomed to destruction sooner or later.

The platform of rock in which the tomb is cut seems possibly to have been the base of a group of towers with a scarped foundation.

The distance from the monument of Helena, and the position with respect to the Cotton Grotto, agrees with the description given by Josephus of the position of the "Women's Towers" (see "Handbook to the Bible," page 352). If the third wall actually extended over this line, it is easy to explain why no other tombs of the same period exist so close to the present city. The extension of the fortifications rendered it necessary to remove the cemetery further off, since the Jews did not allow sepulture within the walls. The cisterns may have belonged to the period when the great towers were here erected, and the passage with steps may even have been a postern from the towers.

If we could feel any reasonable certitude that in this single Jewish tomb (dating about the time of Christ) we have recovered the actual sepulchre in which he lay, an easy explanation of the loss of the site is afforded at once; for the construction, some ten years later, of the "Women's Towers" by Agrippa, upon the rock over the tomb, would have caused the monument to be hidden beneath, or within the new buildings; and thus the sepulchre could no longer be visited, and in course of time its existence was forgotten, until the zealous Helena destroyed the Venus Temple on the present site of the Holy Sepulchre Church, and "beyond all hope" (as Eusebius words it) discovered the rock-cut Jewish tomb, which the faithful accepted as the tomb of Christ.

A careful plan of the site and of the tomb is being made by Lieutenant Mantell,\* as the alterations in this part of Jerusalem are proceeding so rapidly, that on our next visit rock and tomb may alike have disappeared.

#### THE MOUNTAIN OF THE SCAPE GOAT.†

Since proposing the identification of this mountain, I have been unable until yesterday to revisit the spot. Readers of "Tent Work"

\* In making this plan, Lieutenant Mantell found various remains of early Byzantine sculpture belonging to cornices, also pieces of tessellated pavement and of a stone pavement of squares about 6 inches side. These were dug up south of the rock platform, near the spot where Mr. Schick discovered the great sarcophagus, supposed by Dr. Chaplin to have been the tomb of the Empress Eudocia. It is known that the old church of St. Stephen, which she built and where she was buried, existed on this spot, and the cornices and terraces are no doubt fragments of this basilica.

† My identification of this site has been recently called in question by

will remember that there was a place called Tzuk, to which the scape goat was conducted, and where his conductor, seizing him by the legs, pushed him over a precipice, so that rolling to the bottom he was killed, and thus the evil omen of his voluntary return to Jerusalem was rendered impossible. The mountain was in a district called Hidoodim, and the place of precipitation was called Tzuk. It was apparently at a distance of eleven Sabbath days' journey from the city, and was at the entrance to the desert.

In 1876 I was able to show in the *Quarterly Statement* how all these requisites are met by the site of el Muntâr ("the watch tower"), a great hill north-east of Mar Saba, and about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles in a line from Jerusalem. The name Tzuk occurs under the form Sûk (radically exact) at an ancient well near the ridge. The name Hidoodim seems to be preserved, as I first remarked in 1876, in the title *Hadeidûn*, applying to the ridge or spur running north-east from the mountain. The distance is almost exactly that required, and the view of the desert first opens on the traveller from Jerusalem as he nears the summit. Since I proposed the identification, Mr. Schiek has visited the spot; and in our recent visit we were able to recover the names as before from another witness, and to make several other observations of interest.

Lieutenant Mantell, Dr. Chaplin, and myself rode yesterday to the mountain along the ancient road which leads to it from Jerusalem. This road, diverging from the Jericho highway at Bethany, leads west of Abu Dis, and descends into the upper part of the great Wâdy Abu Hindî, which will be found marked on our map west of the mountain. We could trace the ancient roadway by its side walls the greater part of the distance, and verified the nomenclature of the map in a very satisfactory manner in riding along. Ancient wells, the sites of which are marked on the map and their names recorded in the "Memoirs," occur all along the course of the road. The well of *Sûk* or Tzuk (Bîr es Sûk or Herubbet es Sûk) is a little south of the road, on the side of a shallow depression in the wolds which extend unbroken from Abu Dis to el Muntar. It has every appearance of antiquity, with a small aqueduct some 200 feet,

Professor Neubauer, who does not, however, appear to have been aware of the strength of the arguments in its favour, as he refers only to the name Hadeidun. He supposes Tzuk to have been 12 Roman miles from Jerusalem, which is contrary to the explanation of the Mishna, given by Maimonides, and he places the site at Jebel Kuruntul, which is over 13 English miles in a line from Jerusalem. The name Tzuk he proposes to recover in 'Ain Dûk, at the foot of this mountain; but this name (Doch or Dagon) has no connection with Tzuk (צוק).

It may be noticed, moreover, that while el Muntâr is a singularly conspicuous mountain, at the proper distance from Jerusalem, on an ancient road, and reached without crossing any great feature, Kuruntul can only be reached by a long detour northwards from the city; and far from being visible from the Temple, it is not even seen from Olivet, being hidden by the surrounding ridges. Kuruntul has, in fact, no circumstances in its favour, while the distance is about double that at which the site of Tzuk is to be sought.

bringing surface water from the hill slopes on the east. The great block in form of a cylinder, with a round perforation in the middle, covering the rock-cut cistern beneath, has been broken in two. On the well-mouth lies a rude term or pillar 2 feet long and 9 inches in diameter, much resembling a small mile-stone. There is a second stone collar lying beside the well, cut like the broken one in very hard stone, and showing no marks of the cords of shepherds' buckets, either because the well is little used, or because the stone is too hard. The reservoir is full of good water, and our guide said it extended some way under the ground. There is a small hole in the side of the well, through which the water from the aqueduct enters the cistern beneath at the end of the channel, which is also rock-cut.

Some 300 paces east of the well is a cave, with its mouth to the north. It is quite rough, and is 7 feet high and some 10 paces square.

On the spur north of the well—a high ridge, whence Jerusalem and el Muntâr are both distinctly visible, are remains of an enclosure called Rujm Ghuzâleh ("Cairn of the Gazelle"), with a tradition attached, that a favourite horse of an Arab Chief, called "the Gazelle" from its speed and beauty, was here killed in an Arab skirmish. The enclosure is 30 paces east and west, by 24 paces north and south, presenting a single row of roughly cut stones, some being of considerable size (4 to 5 feet long), and one having a socket cut in it as if for a door post.

The identification of the Scape Goat Mountain does not seem to require further evidence than that already brought forward. Still two curious points may be noticed. In the first place the word *Ghūzâleh* contains the root of the name Azazel, rendered "scape" in our version, but generally recognised as the name of a demon. The enclosure is just about the distance at which the last Tabernacle between Jerusalem and Tzuk should occur, and the messenger as he pushed the goat over the precipice would have been in full view. It is again worthy of notice that the name *Hidu* is used for "India" in the Talmud, and that the unusual name *Wâdy Abu Hindi*, "Valley father of the Indian," applies to the main ravine below el Muntâr.

As regards the mountain itself, I was delighted to find that my impression of the precipitous character of its eastern slopes was not exaggerated. El Muntâr is a great rounded hill as seen from the west, but a steep cliff as viewed from the east. A very steep slope of white marl, some hundreds of feet in height, here exists, and it would be difficult for a goat to find foot-hold in climbing on it, while if pushed over the edge it must inevitably roll to the bottom, and would no doubt be killed by the fall.

The view also from the mountain is very remarkable. Jerusalem is in full sight, the Haram Courts are visible, and the Dome of the Rock is only hidden by a group of olive trees. I was not aware that any point in this desert near Mâr Saba could be seen from the city; but the mountain appears through a gap between Olivet and the more southern hills. Thus, when the unhappy goat was pushed over the precipice, the worshippers in the Temple would have been able, by straining their eyes, almost to distin-

guish the figure of the conductor against the sky line, and the stations whence cloths were waved, to give the news of the death of the scape goat, need not have exceeded two or three in number. These observations serve to connect the mountain in a very remarkable manner with the ritual of the Day of Atonement; and the act of dismissal of the goat is brought, as it were, within the same theatre with the other ceremonies of the day. From the Mount of Olives, the course of the messengers could be distinctly seen almost throughout the whole distance of the journey, for no deep valley intervenes between the city and the Muntâr mountain, a narrow shed running out and connecting the hill with the Olivet chain.

Nor is the view east less striking; a traveller ascends the brown or tawny hill side, and finds himself at the top of the white precipice, the whole of the Judean desert suddenly unfolds before and beneath him. On the south the Tower of Mat Saba and the peaks called Kurûn el Hayr ("horns of stone"). Beyond these the desert of Egedi, and far away south-east of Beersheba, the peaks of Safra Lawandi. On the east, the *Bakev'a* or white plateau above the cliffs, west of the Dead Sea. On the north-east the Jordan valley, the black line of the Jordan jungle, the dark thorn groves of Jericho, the white and modern Russian hotel at Eriha (one of the many Russian hospices built within the last five years in Palestine). Far away north the mysterious cone of Sartaba, and beyond all the dark slopes of Gilead and Moab, the high plateau which extends (in view) almost at an unbroken level from the Jabbok southwards, the great gorge of the Zerka M'air, and the dark blue waters of the Dead Sea, with the yellow sand spit at the Jordan mouth, and the long yellow line of the Lisân.

The contrast of the glaring white desert, and the dark eastern hills, between the countless knolls and ridges on the west, and the great gorges on the east, was very striking; and there is, perhaps, no view on the earth which is so weird and strange, as this panorama of the Judean desert from the mountain of the scape goat.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, LT., R.E.

### A VISIT TO 'AIN QADIS: THE SUPPOSED SITE OF KADESH-BARNEA.

AMONG the unsettled sites of the Desert of the Exodus, none is entitled to more prominence than Kadesh-barnea. Deau Stanley says: "There can be no question that next to Sinai, the most important resting place of the Children of Israel is Kadesh." Professor Palmer adds: "This is perhaps the most important site in the whole region, as it forms the key to the movements of the Children of Israel during the forty years wanderings." And Dr. William Smith declares: "To determine the position of Kadesh itself is the great problem of the whole route."

Yet there is a remarkable barrenness of material for the settlement of this important question, supplied by the notes of travellers in the Desert; and any fresh contribution to that material is likely to be heartily welcomed by Biblical scholars everywhere.

In 1842 the Rev. J. Rowlands, of Queen's College, Cambridge, discovered a fountain bearing the name Kādēs, or Qadīs, a name having the same meaning as the Hebrew "Kadesh," and was confident that this was the site of Kadesh-barnea. His account of his discovery was published in the Appendix to Williams's "Holy City," with his reasons for deeming it the disclosure of the long-desired site. At the same time, he made mention of two other wells, neither of which, however, had been visited by him, bearing "the names of Adeirat and Aseimeh, sometimes called Kadeirat and Kaseimeh," which in his opinion represented Adar and Azmon of the southern boundary of Judah. This reported discovery by Mr. Rowlands has been a fruitful source of discussion for now nearly forty years. The probable correctness of his conclusions has been recognized by such scholars as Ritter, Kalisch, Keil, Kurtz, Schultz, Winer, Professor Palmer, President Bartlett, and others well known in Germany, Great Britain, and America. On the other hand, it has been opposed by Robinson, Stanley, Porter, Espin in the "Speaker's Commentary," Hayman in "Smith's Bible Dictionary," and many others.

It is a singular fact that in all these years the site thus discovered by Mr. Rowlands has never been revisited. Indeed, it has been questioned if he did not confuse the names and the wells, Kades and Kadeirat. Dr. Robinson distinctly declares that he did so. Espin follows Robinson in this error, and on the topography of "el Ain," the location of Kadeirat, builds up an argument against the identification of Kādēs or Gadis with Kadesh-barnea. Even Professor Palmer, who agrees with Rowlands in his main conclusion, and confirms his reasoning with cogent arguments, thinks that Rowlands wrongly applied the name 'Ain Qadis "to 'Ain el Quiderát, some miles farther northward, and seems not to have visited this spot [the true 'Ain Qadīs] at all." President Bartlett, of Dartmouth College, in his "From Egypt to Palestine," while favouring Rowlands's identification, is confident, after a visit to the region in question, that there is no such fountain as 'Ain Qadeirát, and that Rowlands was mistaken in both the location and the distinctive peculiarities of 'Ain Qadis.

Apart, therefore, from the discussion over the identification of 'Ain Qadis with Kadesh-barnea, there has been no little confusion as to the facts of the location and surroundings of the well itself. No traveller, except Mr. Rowlands, has ever reported a visit to 'Ain Qadīs, until President Bartlett found a well in that region which he supposed to be the one seen by Rowlands, although it did not meet the published description of it. 'Ain Kadeirát has *never* been reported as visited; and its existence has been squarely denied. The question is therefore still an open one. Are there three wells, or two; or is there only one in the region of this supposed site of Kadesh?

A scholar so familiar with both the Land and the Book as Dr. Thomson, says on this subject, in his latest work, "Southern Palestine and Jerusalem:" "When I was at Mr. Rowlands's Muweilib, I made diligent enquiries about Kadesh; but both our own Arabs and other Bedawin we met in the neighbourhood were either absolutely ignorant of such a place, under any possible pronounciation of the name, or they purposely concealed their knowledge of it." Referring to the "singularly brief and unsatisfactory" descriptions of it already given to the public, Dr. Thomson very naturally adds: "One sadly wants a little more information in regard to several points;" "for if 'Ain Qadis be in reality the Kadesh-barnea in the wilderness of Paran, . . . it is one of the most interesting sites in the entire history of the Hebrew Wanderings."

In view of this state of the case, I am sure that a report I am now enabled to make of a personal visit to each of the three wells in question will be a matter of interest to all who are familiar with Bible geography.

About the 1st of April of this year, while crossing the Desert from Kala'at Nakhl to Hebron, I determined to satisfy myself concerning the existence and relative position of these three wells. Turning eastward from Wâdi Jerur, at about latitude  $30^{\circ} 28' N.$ , and longitude  $34^{\circ} 20' E.$ , I went on for three hours, to Jebel el Hawâdeh, over which I passed into Wâdi Qadis. Following up this Wâdi, in a direction a little north of east, for three hours more, I came to the place so glowingly described by Mr. Rowlands, and found it all that he had pictured. It was an oasis unapproached by any I had seen in the desert since leaving Feirân, and not surpassed, within its limits, by *that*. It was carpeted with grass and flowers. Fig-trees laden with fruit were against its limestone hill-sides. Shrubs in richness and variety abounded. Standing out from the mountain range at the northward of the beautiful oasis-amphitheatre, was the "large single mass or small hill of solid rock" which Rowlands looked at as the cliff (sela) smitten by Moses to cause it to "give forth its water" when its flowing had ceased. From beneath this cliff came the abundant stream. A well, walled up with time-worn limestone blocks, was the first receptacle of the water. Not far from this was a second well similarly walled, supplied from the same source. Around both these wells were ancient watering troughs of limestone. Several pools, not walled up, were also supplied from the stream. On from the line of these pools, a gurgling stream flowed musically for several hundred yards, and then lost itself in the verdure-covered desert. The water was clear and sweet and abundant. Two of the pools were ample for bathing. Before the cliff, and around its neighbouring wells, camel and goat dung was trodden down as if by the accumulations of centuries, showing that the place was much frequented for watering purposes.

Mr. Rowlands was certainly correct as to the name, the general location, and the description of this remarkable place. It is Qadis (قديس). There is a Jebel Qadis, a Wâdi Qadis, and an 'Ain Qadis. Is is quite as far to the eastward as he put it, fully twelve to fifteen miles E.S.E. of his

Moilâhhi, or 'Ain Muweilih. The Wâdi at the head of which it is situated is an extensive and fertile plain, larger by far than er Rahah before Jebel Mûsa, where the Children of Israel received the Law. Remains of rude stone buildings and other ruins abound in the vicinity, showing that it was once a well peopled region.

From 'Ain Qadîs I went to 'Ain Qadeirât. Coming out of the oasis above described into the main valley of Qadîs, and following that westward for twenty minutes, I turned to the north-west, and went over a lofty mountain pass, Nakb Hâwa, descending into Wâdi Umm 'Ashîn (or Hashîn), where Sinaitic inscriptions were numerous. In two and a quarter hours after leaving 'Ain Qadîs I reached the upper end of Wâdi el 'Ain. Going down this, westerly, for half-an-hour, I came to one of the several branches with which that Wâdi is spurred, and turned up this in a north-easterly direction. At the entrance to this branch stands a noteworthy ruin, built of huge blocks of hammered stone laid in courses. It is a rectangular quadrangle, some seventy feet by seventy-five, with double walls about six feet high. Along this branch of Wâdi el 'Ain I found vegetation increasing in fulness and beauty. Trees and shrubs and grass were in luxuriance. One tree, called by our Arabs a seyal, but differing from the seyal of the lower desert, surpassed anything I had seen elsewhere. The reach of its branches had a circumference of nearly 250 feet. It had a double trunk, one arm having a girth of six feet, and the other of four and a half. Soon I heard the sound of running water. A channel of forty to sixty feet wide, bordered with flags, was the shallow bed of a running stream. At the head of this was the fountain itself, pouring a rich stream of pure and sweet waters out of the hill side, with a fall of about seven feet, into a basin of some twenty feet sweep, and from twelve to fourteen feet deep. It was such a fountain as one would expect to find in the mountains of Lebanon, rather than in the Desert. There is no wonder that the Wâdi containing it is called Wâdi el 'Ain the Wâdi of the Well. This fountain is the 'Ain Kadeirât, or Qadeirât (قصرآة), mentioned by Rowlands and Robinson, but not before visited by any traveller who has reported his visit.

After finding these two wells I visited, on the day following, the third well named by Rowlands 'Ain Kaseimeh, or Qasémeh (قسيمه). It is several hours west and south of Qadeirât, and but little more than an hour from Moilâhhi, or by 'Ain Muweilih, thought by many to be Hagar's fountain. This place is by no means so noteworthy as either of the other two. It has been visited and described by several travellers. Professor Palmer mentions the place in "The Desert of the Exodus," vol. ii, p. 357. President Bartlett was evidently deceived by the wily Sheikh Suleiman into thinking that this Qasimeh was Qadîs, hence his description of it is fuller and more enthusiastic than Professor Palmer's. It is found in "Through Egypt to Palestine," pp. 358-362; and I can vouch for its substantial accuracy, except as to name.

It is therefore now clear that Mr. Rowlands was correct in his reference

to the three wells; that he did not confound 'Ain Qadeirát with 'Ain Qadís; that he did find a well bearing the name Qadís, the Arabic equivalent of Kadesh; and that any argument based by Robinson or Espin or their followers on his supposed confusion of names and localities inevitably falls to the ground. Yet it by no means follows that the site of Kadesh-barnea is settled by this new contribution of facts bearing on that question.

Among the reasons why 'Ain Qadís and 'Ain Qadeirát have not been found before during all these years of discussion over them, it may be said that they are in the territory of the 'Azázimeh Arabs, while the guides of travellers from Nakhl to Gaza or Hebron are of the Teyálah Arabs, who are not on good terms with the 'Azázimeh. Moreover the superstitious fears of the Bedawín make them unwilling to disclose to Christians what they deem the riches of their more sacred wells. Again, there are comparatively few who travel over this route at all. Peculiar circumstances, which it is not necessary to detail here, enabled me to accomplish my desire of finding the much-disputed wells. In reporting of them now, I hope to call fresh attention to the exceeding desirableness and importance of a careful survey of the Negeb and Desert of et Tih, with similar thoroughness to that already secured for Western Palestine and the lower Sinaitic Peninsula.

H. CLAY TRUMBULL.

Philadelphia, U.S.A.,

June 8, 1881.

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## JACOB'S WELL.

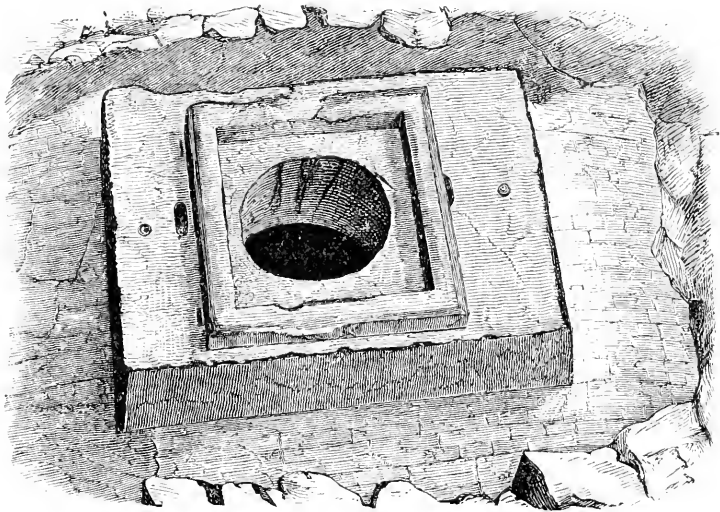
DAMASCUS,

May 17th, 1881.

Very probably some short account of a recent visit that I paid to Nablous may be of some interest to the many readers of the *Quarterly Statement*. The state of Jacob's Well is doubtless well known to the majority of your subscribers, even to those who have not themselves visited the Holy Land. It has again and again been described by the many writers on Palestine, and all have mentioned their disappointment that instead of finding any semblance to a well, or anything which could recall the interview of our Lord with the woman of Samaria, they have merely found a dark irregular hole amid a mass of ruins in a vaulted chamber beneath the surface of the ground. I have shared this disappointment on many previous visits to Nablous, and again, as a fortnight ago, I stood with my wife beside the spot, it was with great regret that we were so utterly unable to picture before us the scene so graphically described by the Evangelist. We had clambered down into the vault, and were vainly attempting to peer into the dark hole amid the heaps of stones and rubbish, when we chanced to notice, a few feet from the opening, a dark crack between the stones. Fancying that possibly it



might be another opening of the well, we removed some stones and earth, and soon were able to trace part of a carved aperture in a large slab of stone. Deeply interested at finding this, we cleared away more earth and stones, and soon distinguished the circular mouth of the well, though it was blocked by an immense mass of stone. Calling to aid two men who were looking on, with considerable labour we at length managed to remove it, and the opening of the well was clear. It is impossible to describe our feelings as we gazed down the open well, and sat on that ledge on which doubtless the Saviour rested, and felt with our fingers the grooves in the stone caused by the ropes by which the water-pots were drawn up. The following day we devoted to completely excavating round the opening of the well, and laying bare the massive stone which forms its mouth. This consists of the hard white limestone of the country, and is in fair preservation, though parts are broken away here and there. The annexed rude sketch gives some idea of its appearance.



The exact measurements I also give :—

	ft.	in.
Length....	3	9
Breadth ....	2	7
Thickness ....	1	6
Height above the pavement...	1	1
Breadth of aperture of the well	1	5½
Depth of the well	67	0
Width ....	7	6

We let a boy down to the bottom, but found nothing of any interest,

but evidently there is a large accumulation of rubbish. I trust that a stone of such intense interest may long remain uninjured now that it has been exposed to light.— I am, yours faithfully,

CHARLES WRIGHT BARCLAY.

The Rev. John Mill in his "Three Months' Residence at Nablus," published in 1864, at p. 45, states in reference to Jacob's Well, that "in 1855, when we first visited this place, we measured it as carefully as we could, and found it to be 9 feet in diameter, and a little more than 70 deep. But older travellers found it much deeper. . . . On my second visit in 1860, the mouth of the well was completely filled up, so that it was with difficulty I could identify the spot where it was. Nor could I learn how this had occurred. Some of my friends at Nablus thought that the torrents during the rains of the previous winter were the cause; but others believed that it was done by the inhabitants of the little village close by, on account of the well being bought by the Greek Church. The well, however, was completely hid from sight, to the great disappointment of many travellers beside myself."

"On further inquiry I learnt from the Greek priest that their Church had actually bought the well from the Turkish Government, including a plot of ground surrounding it, of 229 feet by 186 feet. For this they had paid, he told me, 70,000 piastres; but another friend, belonging to the same community, told me it was at least 100,000." †

Mr. Mill also mentions that the Christians call it *Beer Samariyeh*, the "Samaritan Well," while the Samaritans themselves call it *Beer Jacob*, or "Jacob's Well." He also points out that it is not an *Ain* (עַיִן), a well of living water, but a *ber* (בְּאֵר), a cistern to hold rain water.

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### THE COLLECTION OF M. PÉRETIÉ.

THROUGH the kindness of Mr. Dickson, the British Vice-Consul at Beyrout, I obtained an introduction to M. Péretié, whose collection of antiques is probably the finest in Syria. Among the most interesting objects are two Phœnician mirrors with figures, which have, as M. Péretié himself remarked, a strong affinity in style to Indian representations, both in feature and in attitude. Egyptian bronzes, and a fine amethyst scarabæus from Byblos; Egyptian bas-reliefs representing Typhon and Isis from Palmyra; cuneiform bricks and Assyrian sculptures; Palmyrene figures with inscriptions in Palmyrene characters; bronzes with negro features dug up on the Syrian coast; a fine collection of coins of the Seleucidæ, including a god, one of Tryphon, which is almost unique; mediæval signet rings in the same pale gold which is found in the Crusading coinage; a collection of Venuses, and other classic figures, some of the goddesses having bracelets, armlets, and necklaces of gold—in one case with a pearl let into the necklet; gold rings, chains, and earrings;

a rude idol of ivory; a pair of French pistols, 200 years old, beautifully inlaid with silver masks and scroll work, and found at Diarbekr; Cypriote pottery, and grotesque figures like those found by Dr. Schliemann at Troy, such are some of the objects which M. Péretié has collected during a long residence in Syria. He told us that two-handed swords of the



Crusades were still in the possession of the Arabs east of Jordan, and that some of these had been purchased by Europeans. Some of the objects are of great interest to students of native worship, and the mixture of Egyptian, Negro, and Indian types in antiquities collected on the Syrian shores, while fully in accord with the views of antiquaries as to the early history of the Phœnicians, is not the less interesting and instructive.

The gem of the collection is, however, the small bronze tablet, of which a sketch traced from a photograph is enclosed, and which has already been described by M. Clermont Ganneau in the "Revue Archéologique," December, 1879. It measures  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, by  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches in width, and has an eye at each top corner, whereby it was suspended. It is engraved on both sides, and was intended apparently to be so hung that both sides might be seen. On the back is a kind of demon-cherub, with four wings, a lion's body, eagle's claws, a short tail, and a serpent in front. The front paws rest on the tablet, and are visible on the other side the head, which resembles a tiger's, is boldly moulded, and projects over the tablet in front. It is not unlike that of the Indian infernal goddess Kali, or Durga. It is also worthy of notice that similar heads were picked up by Layard during his Assyrian explorations, and thought to be the tops of sceptres, or the ornaments of thrones, whereas they appear, as M. Péretié pointed out, more probably to have belonged to tablets similar to that under consideration.

The design on the tablet represents the fate of the soul according to Assyrian or Phœnician belief. The tablet is divided into four compartments horizontally, the lowest being the largest, and highest the most narrow. In the top compartment, various astronomical symbols occur, many of which, as M. Ganneau points out, occur on other Assyrian monuments. On the extreme right are the seven stars, next to these the crescent, next the winged solar disc, then an eight-rayed star in a circle. The remaining symbols are less easily explained, but the last is called by M. Ganneau a "cidaris" or Persian tiara, while another appears to me to approach most nearly to the *Trisul*, or symbol of "fire," the emblem of the Indian Siva.

Below these symbols stand seven deities facing to the right, with long robes, and the heads of various animals. The first to the left resembles a lion, the second a wolf or hound, the fourth a ram, the sixth a bird, the seventh a serpent, while the third and fifth are less easily recognized.\* In the third compartment a body lies on a bier, with a deity at the head, and another at the feet. These deities

\* As a tentative suggestion, I may, perhaps, be allowed to propose that these seven deities are the planets, and that the symbols above belong to them as follows, commencing on the right:—

	<i>Planet.</i>	<i>Assyrian Name.</i>	<i>Head of Deity.</i>		<i>Symbol.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1.	Saturn	.. Chiuu	.. Serpent	..	Seven Stars	.. A.
2.	Moon	.. Nannar	.. Bird	..	Crescent	.. B.
3.	Sun	.. Shamash	.. Boar?	..	Winged disc	.. C.
4.	Mars	.. Marduk	.. Ram	..	Rayed disc	.. D.
5.	Mercury	.. Nebo	.. ?	..	Two Columns	.. E.
6.	Venus	.. Ishtar	.. Wolf?	..	Trisul	.. F.
7.	Jupiter	.. Ishu	.. Lion	..	Cidaris?	.. G.

A. The serpent is often the emblem of Saturn, who, as the eldest of the seven, ("the great serpent father of the gods") naturally comes first, and therefore on the right, and has seven stars for his symbol.

have the right hand held up, and the left down (a common feature of Indian symbolism also observable in the attitude of the *Mâlawiyeh* derwishes), and the figure to the left appears to hold a branch, or three ears of corn. Both are robed in the peculiar fish-headed costume, with a scaly body and fish tail, which is supposed to be symbolical of the mythical *Gannes*, who, according to *Berosus*, issued from the Persian Gulf, and taught laws and arts to the early dwellers on the Euphrates. Behind the left-hand fish-god is a tripod stand, on which is an indefinite object; to the right of the other fish-god are two lion-headed human figures with eagle's claws, apparently contending with one another, the right arms being raised, the left holding hand by hand. To the right of these is another figure of Assyrian type, with a domed head-dress and beard.

In the lowest compartment the infernal river fringed with rushes, and full of fish, is represented. A fearful lion-headed goddess with eagle's claws, kneels on one knee on a horse (the emblem of death), which is carried in a kneeling attitude on a boat with bird-headed prow. The goddess crushes a serpent in either hand, and two lion cubs are represented sucking her breasts. To the left is a demon bearing a close resemblance to the one which supports the tablet itself, and who appears to urge on the boat from the bank; to the right are various objects, mostly of an indefinite character, among which *M. Ganneau* recognises a vase, and a bottle, a horse's leg with hoof, etc., possibly offerings to appease the infernal deities. The above explanation is mainly derived from *M. Ganneau's* paper; but I would venture to draw attention to the extremely Indian character of the demons represented—a point which *M. Ganneau* does not mention. The lion-headed goddess might well be taken for the terrible infernal deity *Kali*, or *Durga*, the worship of whose consort *Yama* was the original source of that of the later *Serapis*, whose dog was the ancestor of *Cerberus*.\* There is also a general resemblance between this design

- B.* The moon, according to *Lenormant*, was always an older divinity than the sun.
- C.* The boar is often an emblem of the sun in its strength.
- D.* The disc (*litu*) was the weapon employed by *Marduk*, the warrior-god, as mentioned by *Lenormant*.
- E.* The two pillars of *Hermes* are the proper emblem of the ancient *Set* or *Thoth*, the planet *Mercury*.
- F.* The *trisol* belongs properly to the *Asherah*, god or goddess of fertility—the planet *Venus*.
- G.* The *Cidaris* occurs in the *Bavian* sculptures, in connection with a similar emblem. In the *Chaldean* system, *Jupiter* and *Venus* occur together as the youngest of the planets.

It should also be noted that the position of the arms, and the long robe covering the feet, resemble the attitudes and dress of the *Mâlawiyeh* derwishes in their sacred dance, symbolie of the seven planets revolving (according to the *Ptolemaic* system) round the earth.—*C. R. C.*

\* Possibly the two so called lion cubs may represent the two infernal dogs, which accompany *Yama*, in Indian mythology.

and the well-known Egyptian picture representing the wicked soul conveyed to hell in the form of a pig. The Oannes figures take the place of the two goddesses, who in Egyptian designs stand at either end of the mummy, and who form the prototypes of the two angels for whom the pious Moslem provides seats at the head and foot of his tombstone. Perhaps the miserable horse who stumbles under the weight of the gigantic lion goddess, may represent the unhappy soul itself, while the three ears of corn (if I am correct in so calling them), remind us of the grains of corn which have been found in skulls dug up in Syria by Captain Burton. Corn is intimately connected with Dagon, the Syrian fish-god.

This curious tablet is, I believe, unique, and affords strong evidence of the similarity of Egyptian and Assyrian beliefs. The Egyptians are now generally acknowledged to have belonged to an Asiatic Aryan race, and the fact that the mythology of Africa, of Greece, and of Rome, had its origin in the far East is too well known to require notice; but the Assyrian mythology is as yet but imperfectly known, and the present monument, which was brought from Palmyra by a peasant, who sold it at Hamath, comes from a district directly on the line of the Phœnician march from their first settlements near the head of the Persian Gulf, to their home on the borders of the Mediterranean. I understand that M. Ganneau is anxious to study the original tablet, which I have been fortunate enough to see, in order to decipher some of the more obscure details, and intends, for that purpose, so soon as his health permits, to visit Beyrout, and to examine this interesting relic.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

## THE HITTITES.

### I.

#### THEIR SACRED CAPITAL.

THE announcement that Lieutenant Conder had discovered the Sacred capital of the Hittites on the shore of Lake Kades, cannot fail to interest Oriental scholars; and it may lead to more important discoveries in the history of that very ancient and remarkable people. It will be remembered that the Hittites are mentioned in Genesis among those nations who inhabited Canaan during the patriarchal period, and that it was from one of their Princes Abraham bought his burying place, the cave of Machpelah. Joshua incidentally describes the position of their country:—“From the wilderness and this Lebanon, even unto the river Euphrates, *all the land of the Hittites.*” They are not often mentioned in sacred history, but we have a few suggestive notices of their power, wealth, and warlike character.

Many years ago I visited that remote region in the valley of the Orontes where the Hittites had their chief stronghold and settlement,

and I examined with considerable care its topography and ruins. I made full notes on the spot, and perhaps if I now give, in a condensed form, the substance of those notes, it may help to stimulate further inquiry, and in some measure to direct more thorough research.

Leaving the site of the Biblical Riblah, I forded the Orontes, and rode to Tell Neby Mindow, six miles distant. It is a large artificial mound on the left bank of the river, with a village and a Muslem tomb on its top; from the latter it gets its modern name. Around it lie extensive ruins, the remains doubtless of *Laodicea ad Libanum* mentioned by Strabo and Ptolemy, and placed by the Itinerary of Antonine 18 Roman miles from Emesa. Polybius says it lay near a lake. Some of the ruins, and the large mound, indicate a much earlier origin for the town which first occupied the site.

About a mile farther I came to a small village called Um el-Adam, where there are also ancient remains. On the right bank of the river, about half-a-mile distant, is a large rectangular enclosure surrounded by an earthen dyke, with mounds at the corners as if for defence. It seems to have been an intrenched camp; and it may perhaps mark the site occupied by the army of Nebuchadnezzar, while one of his generals was engaged in the siege of Jerusalem.

I rode on to another mound on the right bank of the river, from which I had a good view of the southern section of *Lake Kades*, and of the place where the Orontes falls into it. Thence I followed the winding shore, passing the village of Kefr Ady. Here my attention was arrested by an island some distance out in the lake, with a large artificial mound upon it; examining it carefully with my glass I thought I could discern traces of ruins on the mound, and I was sorry I had no means of reaching it, for it would most probably repay close inspection.

Continuing along the shore northwards, I passed in succession two villages, one of them on a mound, and at length reached a lofty artificial mound near the end of the lake. Ascending it I obtained a commanding view, not only of the entire lake, but of the whole surrounding country; and I here observed that across the northern end of the lake is *a dam of solid masonry*, about a quarter of a mile long, built to raise the water to such an elevation as would serve to irrigate the plain and vale beyond, and also to supply the town of Emesa. Leaving my horse, I walked along the top of the dam to a square tower at its western end, so that I might examine it more carefully, and, if possible, form some idea of its age and object. It is evidently very ancient, and is one of the most remarkable engineering works in Syria. The centre is about 14 feet high, but it decreases toward the ends. It has often been broken and repaired; and I thought I could detect in it specimens of the masonry of the ancient Syrians, as well as of the Greeks, Romans, and Turks. There can be no doubt that the dam greatly increases the size of the lake, and perhaps the statement of Abulfeda, the Arab historian, is correct, that "if the embankment were destroyed the water would flow off, the lake would cease to exist, and would become a river." The length of the lake is now

about six miles, and its greatest breadth two. Traces of the ancient canals which led the water off at a high elevation are seen, and some of them are still used for purposes of irrigation. The plain around the lake, and on both sides of the Orontes, southward as far as Riblah, and northward to Emesa, is studded with artificial mounds, each of which was doubtless the site of a primeval city, village or castle. Some of them are very large, and are covered or encompassed with ruins. Here is an ample and most inviting field for research and excavation.

Such, in substance, are my notes, written twenty-five years ago. I may observe that an account of my first journey to Lake Kades and Emesa was given in the first edition of my "Five Years in Damascus," published by Mr. Murray in 1855. I afterwards travelled through the same region several times.

If Lake Kades be artificial it would be interesting to know when and by whom the embankment was first built. It must have been before the days of Polybius, for he mentions the lake as I have already stated. There can be no doubt that its name is derived from *Kades*, the primeval capital and stronghold of the Hittites, and that city is often mentioned in the account of the wars of Thothmes I (*circa* B.C. 1630), given on one of the Egyptian tombs (see Brugsch's "Egypt," I, 291); and, still more frequently, in the stirring history of Thothmes III (*Id.* pp. 334 *seq.*). Kades was captured by Seti I, king of Egypt (*circa* B.C. 1366); but the greatest battle fought there was that between the Hittites and the Egyptians under Rameses II, most probably the Pharaoh in whose reign Moses was born. The story of the battle is contained in a contemporary papyrus still extant, and there are also pictorial representations of it on the walls of Karnac and Luxor. The latter are most interesting, as they show that the field of battle was *on the banks of a river or lake* (see Brugsch, II, p. 48). In an Egyptian poem composed by a certain Pentaür, a Theban, about two years after the battle, a translation of which is given in "Records of the Past," II, 65, *et. seq.*, I find the following words used to define the position of the Hittite army:—"They were at *the lake* of the land of the Amorites," and, from what follows, it is clear that the lake was close to the city of Kades. Another inscription of the same age, on the wall of Karnac, gives the full text of a treaty of peace drawn up between Rameses and the Hittites after the battle ("Records of the Past," IV, 25). The Hittites were themselves a literary people, and it is quite possible that among the ruins of their old capital some most interesting records of those early struggles might be found. I have now little doubt that those singular mounds which stud the plain on the banks of the Orontes, and the more ancient ruins near them, are all relics of the Hittites. The Hittites also seem to have been the original founders of that great embankment which dams up the waters of the Orontes, and forms the lake Kades. The discovery of the exact site of their ancient sacred capital *Kades* "the Holy," and the excavation of its primeval remains, would rank among the most valuable results of Palestine Exploration.

Queen's College, Belfast, 16 *May*, 1881.

J. L. PORTER.



## II.

## THEIR INSCRIPTIONS.

IN the *Quarterly Statements* of October, 1880, and April, 1881, there appear some notices of the Hittite inscriptions from the pen of Mr. Dunbar Heath. As during the last two years I have devoted considerable study to the inscriptions and the history of the Hittite tribes, I would venture to ask you to allow me space to say a few words in reply to some of the statements and the translations put forward by Mr. Heath. It may be well for me to state at the commencement of my remarks upon the subject, that I do not profess to be a profound student of the Newtonian Philosophy, nor do I possess a deep understanding of the doctrine of probabilities by which Mr. Heath is enabled to toy so freely with his figures; making letters, roots, formatives, to vibrate in harmony with each other and producing a "musical result." I most certainly must say that I cannot understand the system upon which Mr. Heath claims to have deciphered these inscriptions. The translations which he has proposed seem to me to be the most curious readings of inscriptions which I have ever as yet seen. I am willing to admit that the Aramaic commercial language or dialects of Syria have a somewhat mixed vocabulary, but they certainly never afforded such strange examples of ungrammatical and base writing as Mr. Heath would make the Hamathites use. In the latest contrast tablets of the Babylonian Empire of the time of Nabonidus (B.C. 556), Cyrus (B.C. 538), Darius (B.C. 521), or even as late as the Seleucidæ (B.C. 312), where the language is vernacular and therefore liable to decay and to exhibit a mixed vocabulary, there is not an approach to any such linguistic confusion as Mr. Heath would wish us to believe was current at Hamath in the time when the Hittite inscriptions were written. In Babylonia, with its polyglot population and its assemblage of "all nations, people and tongues," such a mixed vernacular might have existed, but the *inscriptions prove did not*. I am therefore, on the theory of probabilities, loath to suppose that it existed at Hamath or Carchemish.

Thus far perhaps Mr. Heath may think that I am only theorising, and not producing sound evidence to the contradiction of his theory; I will now pass to a stronger argument. If the Hittites spoke a quasi-Semitic language, and wrote their inscriptions in that dialect, how is it that their kings and their towns have non-Semitic names? Here we may call in the aid of contemporaneous inscriptions from Assyria and Egypt, and we shall see that certainly they were not Semitic. Such royal names as Mauthanar, Maurosar, Sopalil, Kitasar, which appear in the Egyptian inscriptions, with the personal names of Thargathazaz, Zauzaz.\* Marzarima are not, as Brugsch Bey states, capable of explanation by Semitic languages. Nor are the names in the Assyrian inscriptions, such as Saugara, Irkhuleni, Lubarna, who were kings of Carchemish, Hamath, and

\* All these names are of contemporaries of Rameses I and II, B.C. 1300.

Azaz in the ninth century before the Christian era. I may also mention Sapahulme, king of the Patinai, Burunate, king of the Yazbukians. In the eighth century we meet with the same class of names, such as Pisiris of Carchemish, Tarkhulara, king of Sambum or Zeugama, the site of which is marked by the village of Balkis, a little north of Beredjik, Tarkhunazi, king of Milid, and others.

In the geographical inscriptions and in the tribute lists and historical records we meet with many names peculiar to the land of the Hittites.

Among these are a number ending in *as*, *az*, and *zaz*. Mairkhnas, Magnas, Ziras, Tainiras, Thukamras, Zarnas, which appear as Hittite towns in the lists of Thothmes. In the Assyrian inscriptions we have Khazaz and Alzi and Puruluz, which are cities of the Hittites.

Having quoted these somewhat strange names, both geographical and personal, I will say a few words with regard to them. In the case of the geographical names I would point out that of those ending in *az*, *as*, or *zaz*, there are yet traces in the localities where these cities were. Both by geographical and historical details, the city of Khazaz, whose king, Lubarna, opposed Shalmanesar II (B.C. 858), is to be identified with the town of Azaz, situated north-west of Aleppo, a city which has been important under Hittites, Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, and Saracens. I visited the place last year, and its lofty tell and ruined castle show that it is the same city as is represented on the bronze gates from Balawat. During my stay at Aleppo my attention was called to a number of village names in the regions of North Syria, which appear to be neither Arabic or Turkish, such as *Auaz*, north of Azaz, *Armenaz*, *Keftenaz*, *Teftanaz*, *Eminaz*, *Kournaz*, towns in the Jebel Ala and the valleys of the Orontes and the Khoweik. I am inclined to think that in these names we have a survival of the Hittite names in *az* and *zaz*. I will now pass to the personal names, as they aid us in effecting the Hittite alliance, which Mr. Heath would break up.

The name Thargathazaz, which Dr. Brugsch gives, is close akin to the names of Tarrik-nazi and Tarrik-lara, and the name of the king on the silver boss, Tarrik-dimmi-dimmi. Mr. Heath denies that the boss is Hittite, yet on it are six characters, all of which appear at Carchemish, on the lintel (?) which Mr. Heath has read. In the list of names given by Dr. Brugsch of Hittite towns is Talekh or Tarekh, a name very close to that of Tarrik, and the name would appear to survive in the Hittite land for a little north of Carchemish or Jerablons on the Euphrates in the village of Tarknis.

Mr. Heath denies that the inscriptions at Karabel, on the rocks at Boghaz Keui or Eynuk, are Hittite; how then does he account for their being written in characters every one of which are found on his texts at Carchemish and Hamath, or how is it that the people from the lands where these inscribed monuments were erected appear in alliance with Hittites at the battle of Kadesh? Such inscriptions as these from Hamath and Carchemish, cut in hard black granite and basalt, are in every probability the records of royal personages, either dedications to the gods or

records of victories, and when they are read, as they *will be*, but *are not yet*, they will furnish us with names akin to those of the kings mentioned by the contemporaneous kings of Assyria and Egypt.

The only monument in this country which has been read does furnish a name such as is akin with other Hittite names, and so must the inscriptions from sites such as Carchemish and Hamath if they are correctly translated. Mr. Heath talks very glibly of an "emphatic looking aleph," and of expressions of causation, command, and possession; surely the kings who ordered the stones to be carved at Hamath or the lintel at Carchemish would not trouble to cut hard black granite to record such a thing as the charming of a sick man, and he one, by Mr. Heath's own showing, having no title of royalty or office.

Our knowledge of the Hittite inscriptions is not in an advanced state, being at present confined to four syllabic characters and two ideographs which are derived from the bilingual inscriptions on the boss. I may say, in reply to those who call this boss a forgery, let them prove the need or call for a Smyrna silversmith to forge an inscription in one little known and one quite unknown language, and I will believe in the spurious character of the disc. Had the inscription been in Egyptian and Cuneiform then it may have been a forgery, or had the name of the king been less like a Hittite name then the possibility of its forged character might have been admitted, but it cannot be now.

We cannot read the Hittite inscriptions, but still we can gather many facts relating to the kings and people which are of interest, and with none of which do Mr. Heath's theories agree. When more inscriptions have been recovered, and when explorations have been made on sites where bilingual inscriptions are likely to be found, then we can speak of reading the inscriptions.

Until that time it is premature to put forward readings such as Mr. Heath has attempted. I am certain that when the inscriptions are deciphered they will not contradict the historic records of the nations in contact with the Hittites as they now do. The question of the relation of the Hittites to the Aramean tribes is one which I will ask you at some future time to give me space to say a few words upon.

W. ST. C. BOSCAWEN.

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### III.

#### NOTE ON ABOVE.

KNOWING the great value of your space, I will answer Mr. Boscawen as briefly as possible.

Mr. Boscawen says he does not profess to be a profound student of the Newtonian philosophy. It is not necessary that he should be so; but nevertheless all knowledge comes to us through the methods of that philosophy, and nothing in Mr. Boscawen's paper shows me that I have

erred in the application of it. Mr. Boscawen considers that my results are very unlikely, in consequence of the fact that they result in a "mixed vocabulary." Now my dictionary contains about 40 words, and in order to understand the charge, I should be glad of a few instances in which this property of *mixture* appears. Take the first three words, *asukh* an oil-jar, *ashteku* to contemplate, and *ashibnu* we restored. I really know not what the accusation means.

Mr. Boscawen says that the names of Hittite kings and towns are non-Semitic. Very likely. But then the names of Oxford and Cambridge Rhyd-Uchain and Caer-Grawnt are not English, and Laban the Syrian appears to have spoken Aramaean. It is also to be remarked that in the select Egyptian Hieratic Papyri, the Semitic words seem to be Aramaean, and that the Greek alphabet also was Aramaean.

As to the Cilician Boss, and other small finds, any one interested should give us an enlarged lithographic copy. It is a question of eyesight, and I do not at present see them to be Hittite. Fifty times more important than the Boss question is that of the name Jerablus. I read it in three places without the *l*, and I should be very much puzzled indeed if there be an *l*. Professor Wright has gone carefully into the subject, and says the *l* is due wholly to European travellers.

DUNBAR ISIDORE HEATH.

Esher, Surrey.

## THE ASSYRIANS IN EASTERN PALESTINE AND SYRIA DESERTA.

THE existence of an Aramaean or Arab Semitic population as a trading element in Babylonia, together with the non-Semitic Sumero-Akkadian population, at a period as early as the eighteenth or nineteenth century before the Christian Era, is proved by the occurrence of Semitic names of a marked Arab character in the contract tablets of the time of the Kassite or Cossea dynasty founded by Khammuragas. Such names as Abbu, Abikhibu Libet, Kainuv (Hebrew Cain), Abbu (Abel), Mukhatu Pirkhu, and the many compound names formed with the gods Sin (Moon), and Shamas (Sun), both Arab deities as elements, seem to indicate the origin of the population who at this early period appear in the marts of Ur and Erech. It may not be a mere accident that the inscriptions of a bilingual class which were compiled by the scribes of Babylonia at an early period, and afterwards copied and re-edited by the scribes of Assurbanipal, are all of a commercial character, the non-Semitic phrases in one column being translated into Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian in the other. This would seem to show that the exigencies of trade produced these primitive editions of Clifton and Ollendorf.

Even earlier than the use of the Kassite dynasty, which is to be identified with the Median dynasty of Berosus, a Semitic population to

the north-west of Babylonia was known, and its character is clearly indicated by the generic name given to the people by the writers of the inscriptions. The name *Sukhi* (𐎶𐎵𐎲𐎠) appended to these tribes at a very early period is evidently like the Egyptian name *Shasu*, derived from their wandering life and marauding character, and we may connect it with the Hebrew root **סָחַף**. The root in Assyrian has the sense of "to rebel, to revolt, to create rebellion," and the noun, *Sikhu*, a revolt, occurs several times, notably in the Eponym Canon (W. A. I., II, 52, lines 9, 10, 11, 25). We may conclude, therefore, that this name *Sukhi*, like the Egyptian *Shasu*, from the root **סָחַף** which signified the "plunderers," "spoilers," as the Arab Bedouin, was a characteristic name. The two curious inscriptions of Sargon I, King of Agame, give accounts of expeditions into Syria, but, as only general terms, such as the west, and Elam are employed, together with the "Great Sea," no historical argument can be based on these inscriptions. We may conclude that the Semitic population of Assyria was the outcome of these Semitic nomads who had been tempted to come into Chaldea, and be civilised by the learning and wisdom of the Chaldeans. And Abram, the ancestor of the Hebrew race, may be taken as one of the descendants of these primitive *fellahin*, who had settled round Ur.

It has been thus far necessary to sketch the early contact between Babylonia and the tribes of the desert and the West, in order to gain a knowledge of their character, and the name given to them shows the land to have been occupied by a nomadic people given to making *razzias* across the River Euphrates. That this was the case, is shown by the oft-recurring passages in the astronomical tablets, "The cattle of Akkad safely in the desert lie," "The foe plunders, and the corn of the land devours and seizes."

In about the thirteenth century before the Christian Era, this population became settled, and petty kingdoms were established on the west of the Euphrates. All along the Euphrates, both on the east and west bank, colonies of Arameans sprang up, and in the time of Tiglath-paliser I, B.C. 1120, they had obtained considerable power, and were largely connected with trade. The campaign of Tiglath-paliser I in Aram Zobah and the border of the Hittite land, is found recorded on his cylinder. (W. A. I., I, p. 13, col. v, 44-63.) "In the service of Assur my lord, my chariots, and warriors, I gathered a divination (*mut-bara*),\* I took. . . . the land of the Armaya (Arameans) opponents of Assur my lord, then I marched from the frontiers of the land of the Sukhi (Bedouins), as far as the city of Kar-Gamish (Carchemish), of the land of the Hittites. . . . In one day I swept (*akhbudh*),† their soldiers I slew, their spoil, their wealth, and property innumerable. . . . I recovered.‡ The

\* Root **חָבַר**.

† Hebrew **חָבַר**, beat out, thrash out, devastate.

‡ Returned to myself.

remainder of their host, who from before the arrows of Assur my lord had fled away, and the river Euphrates they had crossed. After them in boats of inflated skins, the river Euphrates then I crossed. Six of their cities which are situated at the foot of the mountains of Bisri. . . I captured and with fire I burned . . . threw down and dug up; and their wealth to my city of Assur I brought." During this raid the Assyrian king captured the city of Pitru or Pethor, the birth-place of Balaam. From the Kurkh inscription of Shalmanesar we have the following passage referring to that city: "At that time also (B.C. 854) to the city Assur-utir-azbat, which the men of the Hittites the city of Pethor call, which is above the river Sagura (*Sajur*), on the far bank (west) of the river Euphrates, and the city of Mutkin, which is on the near bank (east) of the Euphrates, which Tiglath-paliser I, the ancestor, the prince my predecessor had united to my country from Assur-rab,—Amar, King of Assyria, the King of the Arameans (Aramu), by force had spoiled. These cities to their place I restored." This passage shows that during the period of weakness which followed the death of Tiglath-paliser I (B.C. 1100), the Arameans had recovered the city of Pethor, an important Aramean city, and one which they appear to have regarded as one of the sacred cities. The above passages give us clearly the northern boundary of the Arameans. The city of Carchemish, the stronghold of the Hittites, was one day's forced march from the frontier of the Sukhi; and Pethor lay in the direct line, and above the river Sagura of the text, which we must identify with the modern Sadjur. The Sadjur is at the point where the old caravan road following the Euphrates crosses it three hours from Jerablus, the ruins of Carchemish, therefore from 10 to 11 miles at the pace my horses went. Above this river, and on the road to Carchemish, was the city of Pethor, and, apparently, with a city or fort on the opposite side of the river. The site of Pethor I feel certain will be found at Tokari-Tash-atan, a name which to this day retains an echo of the old name. There is a small stream flowing down from the limestone hills which form the watershed between the Sadjur and the Euphrates, and on this stream at the point where the caravan road crosses it, is the village of Tokari-Tash-atan. The natives say that the village derives its name from an old stone in the bed of the stream which was thrown there by an ancient Moslem Sheik, Tash-atan, meaning "he threw the stone." The stone in question proved, when I examined it, to be an old Roman milestone, very much defaced, but still with letters such as MCC, etc., remaining on it to prove its original use. We know that the Greco-Roman colonists called Carchemish Hierapolis, which the Arab conquerors corrupted into Jerablus, and the Turks into Jerabis.\* It would therefore seem that they confounded Pethor or Pitru with one of the numerous Petra or Petrae. The Turks translated the confused name by the Tashatan, "the village of (he who) threw the Stone," thus the

\* The name of this village is Yerablus among the Arabs, (يبرابلس); the mound being *Kalzat Yerablus*. Jerabis is the Turkish corruption.

name may be traced. The proof of my argument will be found in the exploration of the large mound a little to the south-east of the village, between it and the Euphrates, and I feel certain, from a hasty inspection of the site, that it will re-pay exploration, as well if not better than Jerablus. There are fewer Greek and Roman remains about than at Jerablus, and so more of an earlier date may be expected.

The Arameans, as I pointed out before, had colonies all along the Euphrates, and when I come to speak of the wars of Assur-nazir-pal, and Shalmanesar II, in Aram Zobah and Damascus, the Hauran, &c., I shall have occasion to mention them more particularly. This explains the statement made in Numbers xxii, 5 : "He (Balak) sent messengers, therefore, to Balaam, the son of Beor, to Pethor פְּתוֹר which is by the *river of the land of the children of his people*" (i.e., the Euphrates) ; and again, in chapter xxiii, "the King of Moab hath brought me *out of Aram*, out of the mountains of the East." These passages from the inscription, and from the Scriptures, would connect the Arameans of the Euphrates Valley and Eastern Syria with the Moabites, and would account for Carhemish, *once* an Aramean city, but, taken by the Hittites, having a Semitic name.

During the period from B.C. 1100, until the accession of Assur-nazir-pal in B.C. 885, the Aramean or Syrian confederation had made great progress. In this interval the Jewish kingdom under Saul, David, and Solomon, had grown up, and the kingdom of Damascus, and of Aram Zobah, with those of Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Saba, or the Arabs, were all formed out of the mass of partially nomadic tribes or colonies of fellahin settled round strongholds or commercial stations on the Euphrates, or in various parts of Syria Deserta and the regions east of Jordan. In the time of David we have Hadadezer king of Aram, Zobah, and Hanun king of Ammon. During the reign of Solomon, we have the names of Hadad and Genubath as kings of Edom and Resin in Damascus. The foundation of Tadmor by Solomon, was intended to divert the Syro-Babylonian caravan route which, from time immemorial, had passed along the Euphrates, and through Carhemish into a more direct channel across the Syrian desert. It connected the Aramean tribes on the Euphrates and about the mouth of the Khabour, with Damascus and Syria direct. In the month Sivan,\* B.C. 879, the Assyrian king Assur-nazir-pal started from Kalah (*Nimrou-t*), and, after crossing the Tigris and the river Kbarmis, the modern Sinjar, سنجار the classical Hermus,† he reached the Khabur, and followed its course as far as the city of Sadi-kanni, now Araban. Following the course of the river as far as its junction with the Euphrates, he received tribute of the city of Sirki, the classical circesium, the modern Karkesi (قرقيسيا). The towns in these regions all bore names of strongly Aramean type, such as Dur-kuvlimi, Bit-khalupi, Tsupri, Nagara-bani, Khindani. These towns and districts were situated between the mouth of

\* The third month, May.

† The upper part of the Sinjar, called N-al Huali.

the Khabour and the Wâdy el Seba. In his inscription the king thus speaks of the march through this district: "From the city of Khindani I departed in the mountains over against the Euphrates; I established a camp." These mountains must be the limestone ranges on the east bank, north of the Wâdy el Saba. The inscription states further, "I then departed from the mountains, and in Bit Sabaya (Wâdy el Saba), I encamped in the approach to the city of Kharidi" (Erzi). Departing from here the king next halted at the commencement of the city of Anat (Annah)\* Anat was situated on the opposite side of the Euphrates. Starting from here, the Assyrian king marched against the stronghold of the Sukhi (Bedouins), the city of Sura, the modern Sura or Soiera, a little south of Annah. The king of the Sukhi was Sadudu or Sadad (the invader). This opponent of the King of Assyria was aided by the Arameans or Chaldeans from Babylonia, commanded by the brother of Nabu-bal-iddina, King of Babylon, Zabdanu by name. The allies were defeated, and Sadad threw himself into the Euphrates, and swam across to save his life. The capture of these cities, and the whole of the Aramean colonies from the city of Ittu or Hit, as far as the mouth of the Sadjur, and the land of the Hittites, quite destroyed the commercial caravan route which had been established across the desert from Damascus *viâ* Tadmor, and the old line *viâ* Carchemish was once more used. The existence of these colonies of Arameans on the banks of the Euphrates, the Khabour and the Singar or Hermias, in the ninth century B.C., shows very clearly where we are to place Aram-Nahraim. In this region it exactly corresponds with the Nairi of the Assyrians and the Naharian of the Egyptians.

The principal kingdoms of the Eastern Arameans were:—

*East.* *Bit Adini*, from the Khabour as far north as Kalaat Nedjir or Tul Barsip, the Barsamsi of Ptolemy. This was the Eden of Ezekel xxvii, 23. "Haram, Kameh and the merchants of Sheba, Assur and Chilmad were thy merchants." The Sheba (שְׁבָא) here is not the Arabian Sheba, but the Sabaya of the inscriptions of Assur-nazir-pal, now the Wâdy el Seba.

*West.* The S'ukhi or semi-nomadic population corresponding to the fellahin Arab of the present.

*Laka.* North of the Sukhi, extending along the present caravan route to Aleppo. The name is perhaps preserved in Lachadur and Lachadamie stations on that route.

The *Aramu* or Arameans, about the Sadjur and the country round Aleppo southward as far as Damascus. In the northern portion of this district, round Carchemish and Khilban (Aleppo) the population was Aramean, but the Hittite conquerors were the dominant class, and ruled in these cities.

Up to the end of the reign of Assur-nazir-pal, B.C. 869, the Assyrian armies had only penetrated to the extreme west, the "shores of the sea

\* This expression is interesting, as Annah is a town extending a long way upon the river bank.



of the setting sun," by the route through Carchemish, the plain of North Syria, and the valleys of the Afrin and Orontes. In the reign of Shalmanesar II (B.C. 860-824), we shall find them in Eastern Palestine, Aram Zobah, and the regions of Bashan, Moab, and the Hauran.

It has been necessary to sketch thus, in as brief a manner as possible, the connection between the Arameans of the Euphrates Valley and Assyrians, in order the better to understand the connection which these tribes had with those of the lands of Moab and Ammon. This above *résumé* of the growth of the Syrian tribes enables us very clearly to see the nature of the kingdom of Solomon, King of Israel, the Alexander of the Arameans and Syrians, which reached from *the river* unto the land of the Philistines.

W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

(*To be continued.*)

## EGYPTIAN VIEW OF THE EXODUS

From the "Sixth Anastasi Papyrus."

WITHIN the last two or three years the history of the Exodus has aroused a much larger amount of interest than usual. Witness, among other signs, the publication of Brugsch—that of the anonymous author of the "Hebrew Migration from Egypt,"—and last, not least, the trans-Jordan expedition. As there is a great deal to say on the subject from Egyptian sources I will begin the collation of it at once.

The sixth Anastasi Papyrus was written by a very famous man, named Enna, who stood in close relation as a correspondent to another famous man, the scribe of the Treasury or Finance, named Kek-Kebu. The "Papyrus" contains six large pages, of which I notice at present only two and a half.

The first page is filled up by a splendid superscription in large letters, which may be condensed into the words "Under the reign of Seti II," viz., "Set-Emenephtah." I omit the usual long titles, but note that Seti is called a Ra-Horus, and son of a Ra-Horus, viz., not a mere Regent as his brother Bai-n-Ra Menephtah was, but a reigning king and son of a reigning king. His coffin is in the British Museum, with the word "Set" chipped out. Manetho would thus naturally read him as Emenophis, and his grandson Rameses III shows us in the great Harris papyrus how this Seti was unable to hold the Delta. In fact, after the deaths of his father Rameses II and his Brother Bai-n-Ra, he executed a strategic movement towards Ethiopia. This papyrus is, however, sufficient to show us that his civil and military officers were not obliged to leave their posts in the Delta, and in mitigation of the charge of cowardice, it is stated that when Seti ascended the throne he was upwards of 60 years old, infirm, blind, and helpless. Here follows the first letter :—

"The scribe Enna, for the satisfaction of his lord, viz., for the scribe of

the treasury Kek-Kebu in the palace. This comes to give an account to my lord. Whenever I am to give a full reckoning, to leave to those that shall come after me, perfectly safe will be the goods and chattels. I shall have caused no deficiency to my lord since I have come to his property.'

This is the ordinary common opening between the official at home and the scribe on an expedition. Going on with the letter, he says, "I brought up the fleet, which gave me its protection. This it gave to me as far as up to the men of the magazine, in the fortress of Tabnet, which fortress the military scribe, the commissary of cattle, had dug, who was posted at the fortress of Tabnet. The work was completed in 23 days, but its watch fell off, and the head astrologer took every step that was wrong. He forced my three serving men whom he took before the General Huee, with whom was the scribe Ptah-m-heb."

Here we see the political position coming already into view. A strong hostility is evident between our well known Enna the scribe *par excellence* of Seti II, and directed against the representative of the astrological party. In other words, between the civil and military officers who remained in the Delta when deserted by Seti II. The programme of the military was the digging of fortifications to protect every little village in the Delta. This points to the state of things explained in the great Harris Papyrus, when Emenophis had retired leaving the Delta open to Siptah Thuoris and the strong Mediterranean maritime Powers.

All through this Papyrus the party which opposed the military party in the Delta was specially the Finance or Treasury department. I cannot at present lay my hand upon the evidence, but I stated 25 years ago in my "Exodus Papyri," that the head of the Treasury was Phinehas, second son of the Great Regent Bai-n-Ra Meneptah Hotep-hima. Bai-n-Ra, who saved his country for a time at the great battle of Prosopis, was a loyal friend of the Hebrews; and the very name of his second son Phinehas shows his close relations with the Semites. The letter proceeds, "Now it came to pass that while I numbered the Sem people on the list, he" (the head astrologer) "carried off the Sem people in the fortress. Then it came to pass that he made me number them on the list in the Temple of Rameses. When the people forced him in the fortress, he could not stand against the collected leaders. He made me carry the Sem people to the Temple of Nebt-hotep. He brought also two women to me, who said, 'Let the head of the Treasury end the matter.'"

It must be remembered that the papyrus from which I take this is not in a very good condition, but I cannot doubt that I am substantially right in my translations hitherto. It results, then, on Egyptian evidence, that a certain Sem people, supported by the civil authorities, managed to get together to the Temple of Nebt-hotep; notwithstanding the opposition of the military party. There is now a gap of half a line, after which we read:—

"I pacified (?) the Sem people, who brought up people by my side to say, let the slaves of the Sem people go with it, for there is favour for the slaves of the Sem people before the Head of Finance. So they were

allowed to perform the Service in the month Paoni their beginning of months."

I hesitate in presence of two words which I have here passed over. The fact is that, after the publication of my "Exodus Papyri" I left off Egyptology, and have only lately resumed it. The sentence, however, seems to identify the Egyptian beginning of their month Paoni with the new year's day among the Sem people at the time these events were taking place. The calculations are all made in my "Exodus Papyri," the result being that in B.C. 1291, which Miss Corbaux holds as the date of the Exodus, the first new moon after the vernal equinox was visible on what we call April 6, which the Egyptians at that time call the beginning of Paoni.

The statement here made, viz., that the Sem people (probably the Semites) had themselves slaves under them, may modify our view on the miseries endured by the Hebrews. Leave, however, having at last been given to these slaves of slaves, they "took the robes which had been brought up before the Head of Finance, to give an account to my lord. The robes were brought and the Head of Finance caused them to be looked to."

" Royal Robes ...	....	....	87
Other Robes ...	....	....	64
Other Robes ...	....	....	27

—  
In all 178."

This part of the papyrus is in good condition, and I apprehend there can be no dispute about the translation. It is surprizing that this spoiling of the Egyptians has been for 25 years pointed out and no notice taken of it. From the Egyptian point of view, it appears that the great Exodus consisted of many small movements, each of them being of manageable size. If every 50th person collected at the Temple of Nebt-hotep considered himself or herself entitled to a splendid robe, there would have been about 8,000 desirous of attending the national annual ceremonies.

"When the numbering was over, I disposed the people before the leaders. The leaders, said to it, 'Let the people be complete in everything that is arranged for it.' There was put down for me four days for the journey which the leaders made. The second military scribe gave it the start. He also brought aid of carriers. He brought also two women at the waters of who said, 'Let each child go.' He did not allow it. He was after the cattle of the head commissary Moses."

Thus, from the Egyptian point of view, Moses superintended herds of cattle, and this presence of a Moses makes it probable that Enna is here describing the chief among the many small movements for keeping the new year's day. A military scribe seems to have been obliged to accompany the four days' expedition, showing, however, his annoyance by refusing a request about the children. It is also very curious to observe that up to the time when the sacred robes were given out the account has

related to the Sem people, but after the slaves of the Sem people had leave to accompany the expedition, the "people" alone are named, and the name of Sem is dropped.

Thus have I done my best with one and a half pages out of five, exclusive of the title page. There is more in this papyrus of the very highest interest. Among other things, I feel called upon with great regret to say that Dr. Brugsch has done harm by circulating his account from this papyrus of the Shasu people passing from Edom into Egypt. My translation of the passage is now 25 years old, and will be found in my "Exodus Papyri," p. 183. Dr. Brugsch begins with "we have carried into effect." There is possibly a "we," but nothing about "carrying into effect." In fact the papyrus is a confession throughout of the weakness of the Egyptians before the Shasu. Dr. Brugsch goes on "from the land of Edom." There is no word signifying "from." "Through the fortress." There is no word signifying "through." "To the city Pithom, etc., situated in the land of Thuku." Dr. Brugsch in his own book of "Foreign Geography," plate xvi, gives us his own map of Palestine showing that Thuku was in Edom. How, then, could the Shasu pass from Edom to Thuku, which is in Edom?

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## MEGIDDO.

MEGIDDO has thrice to do with horses and chariots, in the case of Sisera, Ahaziah, and Josiah, but its connection with Mujedda, three miles southwest of Bethshean, is merely a mare's-nest.

This identification put forward in *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 13, repeated in "Tent Work," but apparently abandoned in his "Handbook," is once more revived (1881, p. 87) by Lieutenant Conder, when, on returning from the slaughter of Abu Gheith, with the head of Beth Aphrah in his hand (my overlooking of the *li* in *Beth li Aphrah* I can only explain on the principle "humanum est errare"), he finds a Jonathan ready to embrace his theory (1880, p. 224).

It is best to repel this advance at once, and without delay fight out the topographical battle of Megiddo, before more allies come up.

We propose to show (1) that Megiddo was near Taanach (now Taanuk), and (2) that the only feature near Taanach answering to *the waters of Megiddo* are the streams near Lejjun. If these points be proved, then it is *certain* that Megiddo was situated *at* or *close to* Lejjun (as proposed by D. Robinson), and not at Mujedda.

(1). That Megiddo was near Taanach is somewhat probable from Joshua xii, 21; xvii, 11; 1 Kings iv, 12; 1 Chron. vii, 29; where the two names occur in juxtaposition. As however Judges i, 27, is against us, we turn for certainty to Judges v, 19-21: "The kings came and fought in (=near)

Taanach, by (= near) the waters of Megiddo." These words evidently describe a *battle*, and not a campaign. Therefore, as the kings fought near both these places, it is obvious that they must have been near one another. Thus (it seems to me) our first point is already fully made out.

But suppose for a moment that Megiddo was not near Taanach, but at Mujedda. Then we have to believe that Barak and his ten thousand, armed with staves and ox-goads, or at the best with bows and slings, fought along a line of nearly sixteen miles, while most of the Canaanites must have galloped up the valley of Jezreel, before they could be swept away by the Kishon. The whole supposition is supremely ridiculous. The *known* site of Taanach so afflicts Lieutenant Conder's theory, that he has to put a gloss on this reference to it, offering these alternatives (1877, p. 15). "The words 'in Taanach' must either be taken to be a district name applying to all the plain, of which Taanach was the capital, or it must be translated to its meaning 'sandy soil.'" No doubt "in Taanach" does describe that part of the plain which was near Taanach, but certainly not the *whole breadth* of the plain as far as the northern hills, under which Lieutenant Conder thinks the battle took place; while, again, as Taanach is five times (above, and Judges i, 27), connected with Megiddo, it is an inadmissible throwing of dust to take the word differently in the *sixth* instance. The vagueness too of describing the plain near Tabor as *by* or (Lieutenant Conder) *above* the waters of Mujedda is certainly not like the precision of topographical notices in the Bible; but on this point Lieutenant Conder offers no comment. Barak's battle, however, would not be more real than that of the Titans if its site were just *at the foot of Tabor*, thirteen miles from Taanach, and sixteen from Megiddo, if placed *at Mujedda*; while, again, the last place is fifteen miles from Taanuk. The italicized positions are obviously at variance with Judges v, 19—21; indeed, they are quite impossible, and the theory arises from an initial error as to the right position of the Kishon in Judges iv, 7, 13; v, 21.

This Lieutenant Conder fixes at "a place called *el Mujahiyeh*, where there is an extensive chain of pools and springs about three miles west of the foot of Mount Tabor." He thinks also that the above passages require this position; that Josephus confirms it in "Ant.," v, 5, 3; "Barak camped at Mount Tabor . . . Sisera met them, and pitched not far from the enemy." (In Josephus, however, *not far* may mean anything); that "the advantage obtained by Barak in his impetuous descent from the mountain on the enemy in the plain is evident;" that had the battle taken place at Taanach, he "would have had to come the whole width of the great plain, and would have attacked from low ground the enemy on the spurs of the hills, far away from the main bed of the Kishon." He also adds (1881, p. 88), "It is an assumption which contradicts Scripture that the stream from Lejjun is the ancient Kishon."

Here are several errors, one of which must be pointed out.

As to the position of the Kishon. Since Sisera's army was gathered to the river Kishon, and the battle was fought near Taanach, it is clear that the main watercourse in the plain below Taanuk *must* be the brook

Kishon in Judges iv, v. For if Sisera had encamped at el Mujahiyeh, he must have turned southwards, and Barak must have passed him, to fight near Taanach; a thing utterly absurd, as Barak was on Tabor. Thus, "the assumption which contradicts Scripture" is really Lieutenant Conder's own.

My notion of the battle is this:—

From Tabor, Barak descended *on foot* (as is emphatically stated) to the valley (*Emek*) between Tabor and Endor. The watchmen of Sisera in Taanach (or in Megiddo) must have spied afar off "the advance of the ten thousand" rustics over the great plain (*Bikath Megiddo*). The little army, without shield and spear, seemed marching to sure destruction; meanwhile Sisera was not slow to seize the opportunity, little thinking that he was about to fall into his own trap. Leaving his encampment at the foot of the hills, he hastily crossed the Kishon with his nine hundred chariots and vast host, marshalled in Hamitic array (like the Egyptians and Zulus), in an extended line, and soon the long wings of the dragon had enclosed Barak's little flock of kids. Escape now seemed impossible, yet not to faith. The battle began; but suddenly the clouds poured out water, "the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon the house" of Canaan, "and it fell, and great was the fall of it." At once the horses and chariots moved heavily in the viscous mud; soon the whole plain was a quagmire; before long the recently dry watercourse became a foaming torrent, sweeping away the terrified Canaanites that tried to ford it; while the rest of the enemy, fleeing in a north easterly direction, were pursued by the fleet hinds of Naphtali (Gen. xlix, 21; Judges iv, 6), and overtaken and scattered near Endor, whereupon Sisera alighted down off his chariot and fled away *on his feet*.

The passages in Judges and Psalm lxxxiii, relating to the brook Kishon, thus seem to be in perfect agreement with the natural meaning of the words, "then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo," and we conclude that *our first point is proved viz., Megiddo was near Taanach.*

(2). The waters of Megiddo were the streams near Lejjun. On reference to the Great Map we find four miles N.N.W. of Taanak abundant perennial streams flowing from the hills near Lejjun.

These are the nearest to Taanuk, and to find the next we must go five miles further, to Wâdy el Kûsab, which is nine miles from Taanuk. As Sisera would hardly need so extended an encampment, we have at once to admit that *the waters of Megiddo* were the copious streams rising in the neighbourhood of Lejjun, which or near which was the famous city of Megiddo. I well remember how six years ago here, in the high luxuriant grass, revelled our mules and Selim's ill-starred ass, destined on the morrow to be half buried in Bikath-Megiddo's mud, and how the spiteful miller spoilt his morning meal. Worse things, however, than these happened, not far off, to Sisera thirty centuries ago.

In support of Mujedda, Lieutenant Conder quotes Ahaziah's flight.

Without giving an opinion on the position of "Beth-hag-gan," "Maaleh Gur," and Ibleam, I would point out that even if Ahaziah fled northwards towards en N'aûrah, he might afterwards, under cover of night, reach Megiddo (near Lejjun) as easily as Mujedda.

His object seems to have been, not to get to Jerusalem, but to the nearest place of refuge, and afterwards (as we learn from 2 Chron. xxii, 9) "they caught him (for he was *hid in Samaria*) and brought him to Jehu." Thus it is probable that the words "he died *there*," (2 Kings ix, 27), ought to be translated "he died *then*," *i.e.*, at that time, when Jehu cut off the house of Ahab.

The Bible does not state by what road Necho approached Megiddo. I am not sure, however, that to march up the Jordan valley would not be more exhausting than "to toil over the *hostile* mountains of Ephraim," *hostile* only by an oversight, as Josiah's power reached even unto Naphtali (2 Chron. xxxiv, 6).

It is very satisfactory to find that the *great* plain near Taanuk is after all "the valley (*Bikah*) of Megiddo," as the uniform meaning of the word *Bikah* is hereby preserved. The next step is to admit that "Baalgad in the valley (*Bikah*) of Lebanon" (Josh. xi, 17; xii, 7) must be *Ba'albek* in *el Baka'a*.

The Jordan valley east of Mujedda seems to me hardly worthy to be called a *Bikah*, and if it were, it ought to be called the *Bikah of Bethshean* and not of Mujedda.

If one had to point out on the map where Barak fought, I should say *el Afûleh* or the *Birket el Fûleh*, just west of it, which is marked as "marsh in winter." Here Sisera's host would be shut in between the confluents of the Kishon. This spot is six miles from Taanach, and four from the waters of Megiddo, which distances I hope are not too great to be covered by the Hebrew *li*; but if they are, then the battle must be placed still nearer to Taanuk.

Until it is agreed what is *the* correct translation of the Mohar's adventures, it seems premature to attach any weight to them in this matter.

W. F. BIRCH.

## HIDING PLACES IN CANAAN.

### II. GIDEON'S WINE-PRESS AT OPHRAH.

OPHRAH of the Abi-ezrites was certainly in *western* Manasseh (Josh. xvii, 1-6), although Josephus speaks of Gideon's preparing to cross the Jordan ("Ant.," v, vi, 3) in order to attack the Midianites in the valley of Jezreel.

Lieutenant Conder in his "Handbook" states that this Ophrah is "probably the present village Ferâta, near Shechem, the old name of which was Ophrah (Samaritan Chronicle)." Happily the identification of Gideon's famous city need not rest on this insufficient evidence, as

the details of the Bible story will, I believe, be found to fix the exact spot beyond all doubt.

We have to find in western Manasseh, which reached apparently from Issachar to a little south of Shechem, a place satisfying the following conditions :—

(1.) It ought to be suitable for vines, and perhaps to contain some old wine-presses ; as Gideon was *beating* wheat in the wine-press. This would probably be in a vineyard on the southern slope of a hill.

(2.) There ought to be *cliff* near, since close to the wine-press was a *Selah* (A. V. rock, Jud. vi, 20), *i.e.*, a *precipitous* rock. Welcome again to this old friend, who has helped us before ! On this *selah* Gideon apparently built the altar called “Jehovah Shalom.”

(3.) There ought also to be a *strong place*, or fortress (A. V. rock, Hebr. *maoz*, Jud. vi, 26), to which, I imagine, the inhabitants used to escape with their cattle in times of danger.

On it stood the altar and grave of Baal, which Gideon destroyed ; here too he built an altar unto the Lord (vi, 26). If (which seems uncertain) the two altars were identical, then the *fortress* must have stood *upon the cliff*.

(4.) There ought to be at least one *ancient tomb*, as Gideon was buried in the sepulchre of his father at Ophrah.

(5.) It ought probably to be *not far from Shechem*, as Gideon’s concubine lived at the latter city.

(6.) It ought probably to be *on the south side* of Shechem, as Jotham took his stand on the *southern Gerizim*, and not on the northern Ebal.

Guided by conditions 1 to 4, I had in vain searched the country north of Samaria ; when however we turn to the Survey Map, to find some spot to which *all* the indicating lines 1–6 converge, we meet with complete success.

One and three quarter miles (5) south-west of Shechem, (6) is an elevated (2,508 feet) village named el Arâk (2), *i.e.*, *the cliff*. It is apparently marked as an isolated place perched on the *precipitous* extremity (3) of a narrow ridge running westwards from Mount Gerizim. As this spot most remarkably satisfies the conditions 2, 3, as well as 5 and 6, I do not hesitate to recognize it as the *maoz* or fortress, if not also as the *selah* or cliff mentioned in Jud. vi, 20, 26. I venture to predict that when search is made on the spot, *tombs* will be found to satisfy (4), and possibly an old wine-press to suit (1), as vineyards seem in the map to be marked on the southern side of the hill.

In regard to Arabic, as I have not even the little knowledge which is proverbially dangerous, I abstain from discussing whether the name of Ophrah does, or does not survive in the ruin called Khurbet Aufâr, on the opposite hill, three-quarters of a mile south-east of el Arak. The memoirs will probably give some interesting particulars *bearing on this identification*.

*The tower of Shechem, the hold of the House of the god Baal Berith and Mount Zalmon.* The tower though not *in* was obviously *near* Shechem, so



that Jebel Suleiman ("Handbook," p. 210), four miles off, cannot be Mount Zalmon, as Abimelech though willing once in a way to be *a hewer of wood*, would naturally demur to carrying his load further than was necessary. It seems to me that Zalmon ("Sinai and Palestine," p. 239) must be some part of Ebal. The curious ruin on whose summit ("Tent Work," i, p. 67) may well be *the hold* (a kind of tower) mentioned in Jud. ix, 46. An altar of Baal might as suitably have stood on the *top* of Ebal as of Carmel.

I propose in the next number to give the arguments for placing the cave of Adullam at Khureitûn, and the rock Etam near it in Wady Urtas.

W. F. BIRCH.

## EMMAUS.

FIRST of all, Khamčsa, which has of late secured some votes as the probable site of Emmaus, is at least  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles, as the crow flies, from Jerusalem, and by any possible road cannot be less than  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles from that city. The distance is therefore too great to tally with St. Luke or Josephus.

Now among the cities of Benjamin, Joshua (xviii, 26) speaks of Musah, as we read it, but in Hebrew **הַמִּזְיָה** Hammosah, "The Mosah." Fürst gives Musah the meaning "place of reeds," but it seems more probable that it is equivalent to **מַזְיָה**, a spring. Be this as it may, the Talmud says that this Musah, or Maūza, is the place whence willows were brought to adorn the Altar at the Feast of Tabernacles, and this suggests a valley; and elsewhere again the Talmud says that it was made a colony. (*See Caspari § 242.*)

But Josephus tells us in the well known passage that his Anmaus was colonised by the assignment of the place by Titus to 800 discharged veterans.

We have thus side by side these statements from totally different sources: first, that a place called by Joshua Hammusah became a Roman colony; secondly, that Anmaus became a Roman colony. Hammusah is therefore in all probability identical with Anmaus.

We now turn to the map. We find a well known place on the main road from Jerusalem to the west, called Kolonieh, manifestly from Colonia, and about a mile to the north of this, looking down on a valley which trends at that point south and west toward Kolonieh, a ruin called Brit Muzza.

Here we have another linking of these two, Hammusah, the fountain, and a Roman colony, and we must be near the place we are looking for.

But now let us pass up from Kolonieh along the valley, under Brit Muzza, and pursue our way along the whole length of the valley (Wady Būwai) up to its head. We are then some three miles from Kolonieh, and

about a mile further, on the hill, in Kubeibet, which it is said the Crusaders were informed was the site of Emmaus.

Now the head of this valley is as near as may be 60 stadia from Jerusalem. And it would seem probable that the original Emmaus, or the principal part of its population, originally laid around the head of the valley, giving its name, however, more or less exactly, to the whole: that this valley, and especially its upper part, was originally the *Colonia* of the discharged soldiers of Titus, but that as time went on the chief part of the population gravitated down to the Roman road, not at the nearest point to Jerusalem, but at the junction of the valley with that road.

Travellers from Jerusalem to the upper valley of Emmaus would not pass through Kolonieh, but would leave the main road about two miles from that place, and descend into the Wâdy Būwai just where the roads from Kolonieh on the left, and from Lifta on the right, converge upon it. At such a point as this we may well imagine that the two disciples encountered their veiled and risen Lord, and as they went along that upland path towards what was then the chief part at least of Emmaus, the fountains of a new life were opened out to them.

Joshua and the Talmud, St. Luke and Josephus, the traditions heard by the Crusaders, and the stern requirements of a modern survey fixing distances beyond possibility of mistake, seem all harmonised by the identification thus proposed.

THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

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NOTES AND NEWS.

WE have great pleasure in announcing that all the instruments having arrived and been examined, and all preparations having been made, Lieutenants Conder and Mantell have crossed the Jordan and taken up their quarters for the present at Ain Hesban, where they have been joined by the Surveyors, Messrs. Black and Armstrong.

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THE Survey of Eastern Palestine has therefore been commenced in the south instead of the north, as was originally proposed. The change has been necessitated by recent disturbances in the Hauran. The second theodolite did not arrive in Jerusalem until June, and the Arabs were then fighting, so that it was then impossible to cross the river. Now, however, peace is re-established. This delay at starting shows that the difficulties of the Eastern Survey may prove to be greater than those of the west. Fortunately, the officer in command is experienced, and may be trusted to exercise prudence and tact.

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A base-line has been successfully measured, and eight trigonometrical stations have been set up. The work has been conducted under great difficulties arising from the heat, the thermometer in the Jordan valley standing at  $118^{\circ}$  F. in the shade. Lieutenant Conder's first report from the eastern side, and his notes on the commencement of the work, with his proposed identification of Balak's Altar, will be found in their place, in Report VIII.

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Among the topics touched upon in the other Reports will be found a very remarkable attempt at identifying Kirjath Jearim with a place called Khurbet Erma. The suggestion had already been made by Lieutenant Conder, and is now followed up by a more careful examination of this ground. The name will be found on the great Map on Sheet XVII. Its reference in the Name Lists is (Kt); but it seems as if it should rather be (Jt). The ruin does not appear to have

been visited by anybody before the Survey—it is not, for instance, on Guérin's map or on Vandeveldé's, or Murray's. The arguments advanced by Lieutenant Conder will be read with the greatest interest. Perhaps we have here a solution of one of the greatest topographical difficulties connected with the sacred narrative. His observations on Ai, Hebron, Gibeon, etc., may be advantageously followed by the light of the new map.

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Lieutenant Conder has made a copy of the inscription of the Pool of Siloam, on which Professor Sayce sends a paper, which will be found in its place (p. 282). The copy was taken after Herr Guthe had cleared the letters by means of nitric acid. A cast has also been taken by Herr Paules, and is on its way to England. As regards the last, Lieutenant Conder writes, "I have been over it with my copy, which *agrees very well indeed* with it. I see one more letter, but do not see anything to change my copy." M. Clermont Gamneau is reported to be working at the inscription. Another aqueduct has been discovered, running west from the Pool of Siloam, on the same level as the one previously known. This new aqueduct, when traced, may lead to important discoveries. It was found by some fellahin.

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Since the publication of the last *Quarterly Statement*, the General Committee has been strengthened by the addition of two new members, namely, Sir Albert Sussoon, C.S.I., and Mr. Edward Thomas, F.R.S. They have also to lament the loss of four of their oldest and most valuable members, a notice of whom will be found on pp. 243-246.

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The Reduced Map of Modern Palestine is now completed, having received the final corrections. The first edition will be issued on October 17th, after which date subscribers may expect to have their copies in order of application. They are reminded that the price to them is 6s. 6d. a copy, carriage free. To the general public it will be 12s., through all booksellers, or the agent, Mr. Stanford, 55, Charing Cross. It will be issued in six sheets, including the title page in a paper cover. There is in preparation a list of Biblical names and their identifications, a copy of which, when ready, will be given with the map. But the first subscribers will probably have to wait a little for this list. It will also be given to every subscriber of the large map who wishes for it.

As regards the two ancient maps, Mr. Saunders reports that the outline is engraved, and that they are proceeding with the names. We hope to have them ready very shortly.

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For convenience of travellers and for library purposes, an arrangement has been made with the agent, Mr. Edward Stanford, for mounting the map. He undertakes to mount the map on strong cloth, and to place it in a case for the bookshelf or for travelling. The map in this form will be charged 11s. 6d. a copy, carriage paid, to subscribers, and 18s. 6d. to non-subscribers. For hanging purposes, he will supply the map on mahogany rollers at 16s. 6d. for subscribers, and 24s. for the general public. And he will make special arrangements if desired for a more expensive mode of mounting.

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Two more volumes of the Memoirs, viz., the "Name Lists" and the "Special Papers," have been issued. The next is far advanced and will be ready in November. The remaining two will, it is hoped, be issued in January.

Enquiries have been made as to the price of the memoirs in separate parts. It must be remembered that only a small number of copies remain; arrangements have been made for offering these copies to libraries in Great Britain, America, Germany, etc. Should any remain when these have been supplied, they may be had in separate parts, as follows:—

				£	s.	d.
The Great Map	..	..	..	3	3	0
The Memoir in 3 vols.	..	..	..	9	9	0
The Name Lists	..	..	..	3	3	0
The Special Papers	..	..	..	2	2	0
The Jerusalem work, with a portfolio of drawings	..	..	..	5	5	0

Mr. Saunders has completed his delineation of the water basins on the map of Western Palestine, and has given it to Mr. Stanford, the engraver and agent of the maps, to be laid down on the reduced map, which can then be used to illustrate and explain his "Introduction."

It can also be laid down on the great map, but as the work will have to be done by hand, the cost of doing so will be no less than £5. On the reduced map it can be done by a double printing at a very small cost. In fact a shilling will cover it. It is hoped that any one who wants Mr. Saunders' "Introduction" (now in the binder's hands) will have the water basin edition of the reduced map.

A general Index to the *Quarterly Statement* from its commencement to the issue of this number inclusive, has been prepared, and is now in the printer's hands. It will be ready some time in November.

The Committee will be greatly obliged if subscribers will forward their subscriptions for the current year as early as possible. Arrangements for lectures on the Biblical Results of the Survey by the Rev. Henry Geary and the Rev. James King should be made as early as possible.

The income of the Society from all sources from June 21st, 1881, to September 22nd, was 1,253*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.* The amount in the Banks on Tuesday, September 13th, was 451*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* About 1,000*l.* will be required before the end of the year.

A Cheap Edition of "Tent Work in Palestine," has been published by Messrs. Bentley and Son. All the small illustrations which were in the Library Edition, and two of the full-page drawings, will be found in the new Edition, which has been carefully revised by the author. An additional chapter has also been added on the "Future of Palestine." The work will be read with greater interest now that the progress of the Survey may be followed on the Map.

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It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and the most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

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Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

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While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

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## OBITUARY NOTICE.

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THE Society has experienced a very heavy blow in the deaths, during the last quarter, of four of its oldest and most valuable friends. The first of these, Dean Stanley, was one of the Founders of the Society. He gave the use of the Jerusalem Chamber for the meeting, at which he was present, on May 12th, 1865, when the Palestine Exploration Fund was founded. At this meeting he was appointed one of a Sub-Committee, afterwards expanded into the Executive Committee, appointed "to draw up a statement of the general objects of the Association." The other two members were the Archbishop of York, and Professor Owen. The Honorary Secretary was Mr. George Grove. It was this Committee who drew up that very careful document, the original Prospectus of this Society. Dean Stanley frequently addressed meetings in behalf of the work, and never failed in his interest in the scientific examination of the country for which he had himself done so much in his great work "Sinai and Palestine." The last occasion on which he showed his sympathy and gave his assistance was exactly similar to the first. He lent the Jerusalem Chamber for the very important meeting, presided over by himself, at which the Survey of Eastern Palestine was resolved upon. At the moment of his death our party were just beginning their work across the Jordan. His words at the meeting were:—"When the Palestine Exploration Fund was first set on foot by my friend Mr. Grove, though I sympathised heartily with the proposal, I felt what Mr. Freshfield has expressed as his feeling also, that the point at which every effort ought to be directed, was the exploration of Eastern Palestine. Beautiful as the new map of Western Palestine is, and great as has been the light which has been cast upon the country by the explorations, that light is as nothing compared with the light that can be thrown upon the eastern district of Palestine. Of all the features of interest that struck me when I first went to Palestine—a feature altogether undescribed, and of which I had not the least

idea till I went there, of which no book of travel had given the slightest information—the most interesting was the constant view of the mountains of Moab, and the great wall of the east of Jordan. Wherever we went, that wall, rising up from the purple chasm which separated us from it, was a beautiful source of mystery and of tantalization, filling us with a sense of ignorance, and with a desire to know what there was beyond it. I feel pleased and delighted beyond measure that that desire is now about to be satisfied.”

Among the bequests of the Dean is one to the Palestine Exploration Fund of a small collection of books on the Holy Land and Egypt. These are now on the shelves of our office.

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We have also to record the death of the Rev. F. W. Holland, Vicar of Evesham, one of our Honorary Secretaries.

He joined the Committee, being then one of the Curates at Quebec Chapel, in November, 1866, and was associated with Mr. Grove as Honorary Secretary. In 1868 he raised the Sinai Survey Fund and joined the party, which was commanded by Captain (now Colonel Sir Charles) Wilson, which accomplished that valuable piece of work. On being appointed Vicar of Evesham he offered to resign his post as Honorary Secretary, but was requested by the Committee to continue a connection which was never, in spite of his absence from London, nominal. His death was sudden, and happened on a mountain side in Switzerland on August the 27th last.

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Again, on the 11th of September, died Major Samuel Anderson, C.M.G., R.E., one of the Executive Committee, formerly one of our officers in Palestine, general editor of our maps, and always the constant friend, adviser, and upholder of this Society. The list of his public services is thus detailed in the *Times* of September 16th, and will help to show how great a loss our work has sustained:—

Major Samuel Anderson, C.M.G., of the Royal Engineers, who filled the office of Inspector of Submarine Mining Defences under the War Department, died at Dallousie Grange, Bonnyrigg, N.B., on the 11th of September. He was in his 42nd year. Having received his professional education at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, he entered the corps of Royal Engineers as Lieutenant in December, 1858, and in September, 1859, was appointed surveying officer to the



North American Boundary Land Commission, under Colonel (now General Sir John S.) Hawkins, who had the duty of marking out the boundary between Her Majesty's possessions in North America and the territory of the United States. From this duty Major Anderson returned to England in July, 1862, but was employed in London in completing the maps of the Commission till February, 1864. After various professional engagements, in June, 1872, in which year he was promoted to Captain, another Commission was formed, under Major Donald R. Cameron, R.A., who was deputed to mark out, in conjunction with a Commissioner on the part of the United States of America, the line of boundary between British and American territory from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, and to this Commission Major Anderson was appointed Chief Astronomer. In September, 1876, he was appointed Assistant Inspector of Submarine Mining Defences under the War Office, and in May, 1877, he was created a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, in recognition of his official services in North America. In 1879 he was employed for a few months as Her Majesty's Commissioner for the demarcation of the frontier of Servia, and attained the rank of Major in the Royal Engineers in September of the same year. A short time ago he succeeded Lieutenant-Colonel Crossman, C.M.G., as Inspector of Mining Defences, which office becomes vacant by his death.

The following letter appeared in the "Times" of September 21st.

Sir,—Among your obituary notices on Friday last, September 16, occurred that of the late distinguished officer, Major Samuel Anderson, R.E., C.M.G. Will you allow me to supplement the list of his public services, there detailed, by the addition of those which he rendered to this Society during a period of 16 years? Major (then Lieutenant) Anderson was one of the two officers, the other being Captain (now Colonel Sir Charles) Wilson, who made a preliminary expedition through Western Palestine, with the view of ascertaining the best way to conduct the scientific and systematic examination of the country which this Society has since been carrying on. The survey of Western Palestine, now completed, and justly acknowledged to be the greatest contribution to Biblical illustration ever accomplished, is the outcome of that expedition, and will ever be associated with the names of the two officers who led it. When, again, ten years ago, the committee thought themselves justified in beginning this great and costly enterprise, it was Major Anderson who sought among the younger men of his corps for one possessing the ability, knowledge, and enthusiasm necessary for the work, and found him in the officer who executed the greater part of the survey.

He has since that time always been ready to give, not only advice, but also time and active work, to the furtherance of the undertaking, and at the time of

his death was the editor of the New Maps of Western Palestine, which will henceforth form the basis of all writings and discussions on Biblical geography and topography. His latest work for us was the outfit and despatch of the new expedition, with which we hope to do for the East of Palestine what we have already done for the West.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES GLAISHER, Chairman, Executive Committee.

Palestine Exploration Fund, 1, Adam Street,  
Adelphi, W.C.

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Lastly, we have to record the death of the Rev. Samuel Manning, LL.D., one of the members of the General Committee, and better known as Secretary of the Religious Society. His own work prevented him from actively aiding this Society, except when he was able to do so by speaking in its behalf. No one who heard his address at the Royal Institution some six years ago can fail to remember the eloquence and fulness of knowledge with which he explained the value of scientific exploration.

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## LIEUTENANT CONDER'S REPORTS.

## V.

## THE LAND OF BENJAMIN.

GIBEON, 1st July, 1881.

TAKING advantage of the delay occasioned by circumstances already referred to, we have revisited one of the first districts surveyed by the party employed in 1872, while under care of Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, before my arrival in Palestine.

The chief points of interest include the questions of Rimmon and Ai ; the vicinity of Gibeon and the battle of Ajalon ; and the ruins of Tellilia, and Deir esh Shebâb, with some traditions connected with Tell 'Asûr, and el Jib, &c. The general result of our re-examination is satisfactory, insomuch as the nomenclature of the Map has been tested in many places, and found correct ; while scarcely any ruins of even the least importance are found to be omitted ; all the really ancient sites and buildings having been plotted and described. This is specially satisfactory, inasmuch as the district is one of the most difficult to survey, on account of the ruggedness of the hills and the great depth of the valleys, while it was also one which was undertaken while the party were still new to the work, and unfamiliar with the archæology of the country.

*The Rock Rimmon.*—Until the year 1879, it was generally agreed that this site, in the wilderness (Judg. xx, 47) where the six hundred Benjamites lived for four months after their defeat at Geba of Benjamin (Judg. xx, 10 and 33) was to be recognised at the ancient village of Rummôn, on the edge of the cultivated hill-country, overlooking the desert ranges, above the Jordan valley. It has now, however, been proposed to recognise a connection between this Rimmon rock (which may most properly be rendered "high rock" on the authority of Gesenius, and on other authorities) with the "pomegranate tree which is by Migron" (1 Sam. xiv, 2), *Ha Rimmon asher bi Migron* in the Hebrew, a site which it is unnecessary to say cannot be expected still to exist if the rendering "pomegranate tree" be correct, but which is to be sought in the vicinity of Wâdy Suweinît (the valley of Michmash), to the cliffs of which the term Migron "precipice" appears from another passage to apply (Isaiah x, 28).

Those who support this view point to the large cave in Wâdy Suweinît called Mughâret el Jaî as the possible refuge of the Benjamites, and consequently to the precipice in which it occurs as the true Rock Rimmon. Having now revisited and carefully examined both this cave and the village of Rummôn, I send you the following results.

Before describing the sites, however, it is necessary to take note of the word *Sel'a*, rendered "rock" in the English version. It is a term of

frequent occurrence in the Bible, and is rendered almost invariably rock. The Rev. W. F. Birch, in writing on Rimmon (*Quarterly Statement*), 1879, p. 127) states that the term "always means a precipitous rock, *i.e.*, a cliff," and this has been urged as an objection to the identification of Rimmôn with Sela Rimmon. The quotations which he gives (p. 129) are, however, scarcely sufficient to prove that *Sela* should be rendered precipice. Gesenius gives its radical meaning as signifying "High place or place of refuge," and the Septuagint translators, who may be supposed to have known the contemporary use of the word, render it by the Greek *πετρα* a stone or rock.

There are also passages in Scripture where the term can scarcely be understood as meaning a precipice, as in Psalm xvii, 2, "The Lord is my rock" or Psalm xl, 2, "Set my feet upon a rock," for David cannot be supposed to mean "set my feet upon a precipice"—a position hardly to be considered as one of safety and comfort.

The arguments in favour of the site proposed by Mr. Birch (Mughâret el Jaî and the south cliff of the Michmash valley) are the following: 1st, the identity with the pomegranate tree, supposed to have existed at or near this spot, but no longer to be found; while the name Rimmon no longer occurs in the vicinity; 2nd, the existence of a cave reputed to hold 600 men, which cave, however, is not mentioned in the Bible; 3rd, the existence of precipices, which may represent the Rock, or Sela, although, as shown above, the Hebrew word has not the meaning of precipice.

The present village *Rimmôn* stands in a conspicuous position, at the end of a high narrow ridge which runs out south from the village of Taiyibeh. The houses stand on a rounded knoll of hard rock, very similar to that on which Beit 'Atâb (the Rock Etam according to my view) is built. On the west the rock is specially steep, with low cliffs or steps, some 10 feet high in places. On the south are several rude caves used as cattle stables, and called Shukâf Jiljâl; there are other small caves under the houses on the east. The village consists of straggling cottages of stone, supplied by ancient cisterns. There is a ruined tank on the flat top of the knoll. On the north is a small plateau with olive groves, on the west are some caves and rock-cut tombs. The site is evidently ancient, and is of great strength, as deep, narrow valleys occur on three sides, so that it is only easily reached from the north. On the east are the gorges and inaccessible precipices of the great ravine which runs from Taiyibeh to the Jordan valley. From the rocky hill top a fine view is obtained southwards, extending to Jebel Fureidis, south of Jerusalem, and including Tell el Fûl, Jeba' (Geba of Benjamin) and er Râm, and on the north Taiyibeh and Tell 'Asûr are visible. This site I afterwards induced Dr. Chaplin to visit, and he agreed with me that it could not be more correctly described than by the term *Sela*, a rock, a high place, a stronghold, or place of refuge. Here, then, on a rock close to the edge of the *Midbar* or pastoral desert which extended east of Bethel (Josh. xviii, 12) we find the name Rimmon preserved unchanged, in a form which has no meaning in Arabic, but which in Hebrew properly describes the site as "high."

We must now turn to the question whether the cave called Jâi, is likely to have any connection with the rock called Rimmon. The position and character of the cave have been very carefully described in a former paper by Mr. H. B. Rawnsley, and I can only add the results of a careful survey of the interior (*see Quarterly Statement, 1879, pp. 118-129 and 170-171*). Mr. Rawnsley's plan, though rough, agrees fairly with the Survey now made, which was executed on main lines laid down with magnetic directions, with numerous offsets. This Survey enables us to calculate very closely the area of the cave.

Mughâret el Jâi is excavated in a precipice some 40 feet high, on the south bank of Wâdy Suweinît, east of Jeba' (Sheet XVII) and about a quarter of a mile east of the small hidden spring (Ain Suweinît) which is on the top of the precipices, but accessible by a path down a steep slope, which occurs west of the two bluffs, one called *el Mek'aur* ("the place of holes") in which is the cave, the other *el Koba'* (apparently "the helmet") immediately west of the former. The cavern is entered from the north-east, and is hidden from the west by the projecting bluffs. Beyond it is a second cave, to which I obtained the name *Abu Semâl*, the entrance to which, partly closed by a rude wall, is quite inaccessible, being some 20 feet from the foot of the cliff. This second cave faces north-west, a recess occurring in the precipice between the two caverns.

The rocky slope at the foot of the cliffs is polished by the bare feet of shepherds and the hoofs of goats, and an explorer shod with boots is in great danger of sliding down towards the stiff slope which falls perhaps 300 feet to the rocky bed of the ravine. On the north rise cliffs and bluffs equally barren, and also burrowed with caves.

The gorge is as solitary and desolate as the well known kelt valley, which it joins further east; and is inhabited by the black grackles, the rock-doves, and desert partridges; while the sage-bushes, the thorny *bellân*, and a few scattered *Kharrâbah* trees form the only vegetation. The guide who accompanied us seemed much impressed by the awful silence and desolation of the great valley. He muttered constant prayers to the Moslem saints for aid, and sat in the great entrance-hall of the cave, and refused to come further. He became much alarmed when we disappeared in the dark; and afterwards, when the light of a magnesium torch shone in the distance, we could hear him calling to us as we penetrated yet further into the darkness, and he gravely stated that the great passage led to Jerusalem, and that if we walked from dawn till eve we should not come to the end.

But although the site is impressive, the cave itself was disappointing. It is not like the famous Khureitûn cavern, a network of halls and passages, but simply a large cavern, with a narrower gallery leading upwards and returning with a stiff descent to a second entrance visible in the cliff, west of that now accessible. Why the advocates of a Rock Rimmon in this vicinity should have pitched on this particular cave it would be difficult to understand, seeing that there are many other caves along both sides of the valley, were it not that they appear to rely on the statement of the fellahin that this cave will contain 600 men, and that 16 flocks of 100

sheep have been folded at one time in its main chamber. The Survey shows that the total area of the cave and its branches does not exceed 970 square yards, while the main chamber is about 500 square yards. Thus if 1,600 sheep were ever crowded into this chamber they must have stood half of them on the backs of the rest, as more than 3 sheep could scarcely be packed into 2 square yards.

In the same way, allowing 6 feet by 3 feet for a man, if the 600 Benjamites lived and slept in this cave (even including the branches which are low and pitch dark) 120 of them must have lain above the rest (which is improbable). I am therefore unable to agree with Mr. Rawnsley that "three hundred could perhaps find ample accommodation," as even this smaller number would necessitate the supposition that for four months they were packed twice as thick in this dark cavern (without ventilation) as soldiers in barrack rooms, which, however carefully ventilated, are still unpleasantly crowded at night.

Thus the only remaining argument in favour of this site—that it is a cave capable of containing 600 men, vanishes before the results of careful survey, and we are left to choose between a rock where the name Rimmon still exists, and a cave in a cliff which will not hold the number of fugitives mentioned in the story, and has not any connection by name with the topography of the episode, and is not mentioned in the Bible.

The cave appears to be mainly natural, formed probably by the action of water, and possibly enlarged by man. The floor is covered with the dung of sheep and bats, a few of the latter being encountered, while a goat's skull lay at the end of the passage which once communicated with the second entrance. The roof of the main chamber is blackened with smoke. The branches have lower roofs and are quite dark. There is nothing remarkable in this cavern, which resembles many others visited by the Survey-party, some being much larger. Both sides of the valley have many similar caves of various dimensions, mostly inaccessible. In almost every case they appear to be traditionally connected with the Christians, and a comparison with similar caves near Mâr Sâba, in Wâdy Kelt, and on Jebel Kûrüntûl, seems to show that whether or no they were originally natural, they have been enlarged by the hermits who, in the 5th and 12th centuries, retired to these fastnesses and lived and died in the caves.

In searching for the name Rimmon at this spot, Mr. Rawnsley collected many titles applied to surrounding features, some of which were new. These local names are specially numerous in the desert districts, where the Arabs have no landmarks other than those formed by natural features, and we recovered no less than thirty similar names in one valley near Taiyibeh.\* They do not, however, as a rule, appear to be very ancient or of

\* The same peculiarity of the much greater number of names applied to natural objects in pastoral districts, as compared with those in the settled or agricultural districts, is observable in the British Ordnance Survey. The surveyors, I am told, in the highlands find among the Gaelic shepherds that every feature has a well known name, and the number thus collected is much

any special value, but can easily be recognised as describing the peculiarities of the features to which they apply in the present case ; while some of the names are evidently genuine and well known, others are differently given by different guides and are extremely doubtful. The following are the names collected in a length of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles along the course of Wády Suweinít.

I.—*North side of Valley going East.*

1. *El Aleiliyát*, "the upper chambers," hermits' caves. See Sheet XVII.
2. *El Hosn*, "the fortress," hermits' caves with windows in cliff.
3. *El Hosn*, "the fortress," another group in same cliff  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile E. It seems that the name must apply to the whole cliff.
4. *'Arák esh Shinnár*, "Partridges' Cave," above No. 1.
5. *El Merjámeh*, "place of the Cairn," above No. 3.
6. *Sh'ab el Hâti* "the walled spur," a narrow spur of rock like a wall with ravine behind.
7. *Khallet er Râhb*, "monks' dell," above this ravine.
8. *Kurnet el Falkeint*, "peak of two clefts," a cliff.
9. *'Arák el W'ar*, "cave of rough rocks," above No. 8.
10. *'Arak (or Shakif) el Akhdeish*, "Cliff of the Scratch."

II.—*South side of Valley going East.*

11. *Ka'at Abu Dâmús*, "Castle of Damus," a large cave opposite No. 1. See Survey, Sheet XVII.
12. *Khallet el Haiyeh*, "dell of the snake," from a ruin of same name south-east of it.
13. *'Ain Suweinít*, "spring of the little Acacia."

larger than in the Lowlands, where the country is divided into fields, and the roads, villages, and buildings form landmarks which do not exist in the moors. I believe that the same rule applies in Palestine, as we have always collected more names (though fewer of value) among the Bedawin than among the Fellahin. In the vicinity of Shechem, Jerusalem, and Hebron, there are, however, unquestionably a great number of names, applying to hills and valleys, although for the most part they appear to be of little value to the archæologist, and are often indisputably modern.

In connection with this question I may mention a very interesting conversation with Mr. S. Bergheim, of Abu Shushch. He quoted to me several instances in which, within the last ten years, the peasantry in the above village had changed the names of various plots of ground, and small valleys, in consequence of local events. Thus a hill formerly known by another name is now called by that of an Arab found murdered on the spot. This fully accords with the survey experience, and it appears necessary to distinguish between the true nomenclature attaching to villages, ruins, springs, and spring wells, and the secondary local nomenclature of small natural features which appears to be of modern and varying character.

14. *El Kob'a*, from a root meaning "domed," a cliff.
15. *El Mek'aâr*, "the place of holes," cliff with caves.
16. *Mughâret el Jâi*. The meaning is unknown to the Fellâhîn.
17. *Mughâret Abu Jemâl*, "Cave of Camels."

The only names of any interest in this long list seem to be Nos. 1, 2, 7, 11, 13, 16, of which only 7 and 13 are omitted on the Survey, Sheet XVII.

The name Jâi (16) appears to come from the same root as the Hebrew *Gai*, and the Arabic *Jeyeh*, has the same meaning as the Hebrew *Gai*, viz., "a place where water collects." It has been suggested above that it was by the action of water that the cavern was originally formed, but it is perhaps more probable that it should simply be rendered "cave of the ravine," in allusion to the side ravine which runs into the gorge immediately east of the cave or to the main valley itself.

In consequence of the assumption that the 600 Benjamites lived in a cave, and that this cave was *Mujhâret el Jâi*, the cavern has been awarded an undue amount of importance, for there are many other caves of greater interest in *Wâdy Suweinit* (especially Nos. 1, 2, and 11), though unfortunately they are for the most part inaccessible.

In these, perhaps, the mysterious Essenes dwelt long before the Christian hermits, and probably among them we may recognise the "Caves and rocks, and high places (*Akâli*) and pits" (i Sam. xiii. 6) in which the Israelites hid from the Philistine garrison of *Geba*.

The most important in appearance of these is the cave in the great cliff called *el Hosn*, "the stronghold," which cliff appears to be the Biblical *Bozez* as mentioned in "Tent-Work in Palestine." After visiting the *Mughâret el Jâi* I attempted, in company with Mr. Armstrong, to reach this other cave, climbing down about 600 feet and ascending some 200 feet on the north side of the gorge. Here we found ourselves at the foot of a cliff at least 100 feet high and seemingly inaccessible. Near the top were the little windows which seem to belong to a chapel, but the caves at the foot of the cliff which we had hoped to find connected with this upper story proved to be only shallow excavations blackened by smoke.

We now attempted to reach the windows by climbing the precipice, and for this purpose I took off my boots and clambered over a high ledge slippery from the naked feet of former climbers, and found myself on a broad platform extending to the *Aleilyât* caves on the west. Above this was another cliff some 20 feet high, which I was able to climb without great difficulty, reaching a second narrower terrace. The next cliff was apparently quite inaccessible, but I found in it a fissure half filled by a bush, and using my shoulders against the sides of the crevice I succeeded in gaining a yet higher and narrower ledge. Walking eastwards along this I endeavoured to reach the windows, which were hidden by an intervening buttress of rock. I found, however, that the ledge terminated in a vertical cliff, and that I was now higher than the windows, although not yet at the very top of the cliff. Descending again to the next terrace, I joined my companion, and we again tried to reach the cave, but found that there was no foot-hold on the cliff. We were thus obliged to abandon the



attempt when within a few yards of our object, and after a very fatiguing climb. We marked the spot which we reached with a sheet of white paper, and descending to the bottom of the ravine climbed up the south side, visiting another small cave in a cliff. On gaining the top of the southern precipice, much exhausted by our efforts, we looked back at the white sheet of paper, and I was surprised to find that I had climbed the whole cliff with exception of the highest ledge, which did not appear to be more difficult than those surmounted.

The interest of this escalade lies in the fact that the cliff of el Hosu is probably the rock Bozez, up which Jonathan climbed "upon his hands, and upon his feet, and his armour-bearer after him" (1 Sam. xiv, 13).

The position of the Philistine camp near Michmash is carefully described by Josephus, in a manner which strikingly recalls the cliff of el Hosu, and it seems possible that in the name *Hosu*, or "Stronghold," may linger some reminiscence of the ancient history of the spot. The descent of the cliff Seneh is not mentioned as specially difficult in the history of Jonathan's adventure, and the fact that the Survey party once brought their horses down this side of the gorge shows that though apparently impassable, a comparatively easy descent can be found. I had always, however, supposed that it would be impossible to climb up the northern precipice, and Mr. Rawnsley has recently suggested that Jonathan reached the top by the *Shâb et Hâti*, a steep but quite practicable ascent.

The objections to this view seem to be that this approach would no doubt have been specially guarded by the Philistines, and, moreover, that Jonathan would not have been obliged to climb on his hands and feet, as stated in the Biblical account. It was no doubt the audacity of the attempt, and the appearance of the enemy at an apparently impregnable point, that spread such panic among the Philistines, and in searching for an entrance to the hermits' caves, I unconsciously proved the possibility of scaling the cliffs, perhaps at the very point where Jonathan himself ascended. Above the precipices a stiff slope of perhaps 200 feet or more leads to the flatter ground near the summit, and if the Hebrew champion at all approached the modern Arab in his powers of endurance, there appears to be nothing impossible in his being fit to fight when he reached the top of the mountain.

In riding from our camp at el Jib to the valley of Michmash, we passed through Jeb'a, and as questions have at various times arisen respecting the view from this village, I carefully recorded the places visible. There is high ground immediately north of the houses, almost level with the top of the central tower, and the view is here the same obtained by Dr. Chaplin when standing on the tower itself, but as the position of the village is not high compared with the surrounding ridges, the panorama is much less extensive than seems to have been supposed. From Jeb'a (2,220 above the sea) are seen on the north, Rummôn, Mukhmâs (Faiyibeh being hidden), Tell 'Asûr (3,300), et Tell, Deir Diwân (2,570), Burkah and Kefr 'Akâb: both Beitîn and Bîreh are hidden by intervening hills, though the gardens of the latter can be seen.

On the west, er Râm is completely shut out by the crest of its own hill, although 400 feet higher than Jeb'a, on the south-west Tell el Fûl (2,754) stands up against the sky-line, and the ridge near it entirely conceals every part of the Jerusalem plateau; as a section along this line would show to be necessarily the case. Hizmeh (2,020), and 'Anâta (2,225) are visible, but the ridge of Râs el Meshârîf (2,900) conceals the buildings on Olwet (2,700). A portion of the Dead Sea is visible on the east, but the view from er Râm is much more extensive than that from Jeb'a.

*Ai*.—From our Taiyibeh camp in company with Dr. Chaplin and Lieutenant Mantell, I made a thorough investigation of the vicinity of Bethel and Michmash. It has been advanced by other writers in the *Quarterly Statement* that the term *beside* (Josh. xii, 9), intimates that Ai was close to Bethel, while the same may be deduced from the description of Abraham's altar, "having Bethel on the west, and Hai on the east" (Gen. xii, 8). For this reason the site proposed by Lieutenant Kitchener (Khûrbet el Hâi, south-east of Michmash) appears unsuitable, being at a distance of six miles south-east of Bethel, and therefore not likely to be mentioned as defining the situation of the mountain east of Bethel, and not properly describable as "beside" that city.

It is curious to note how many places there are in this district to which the name *Haiyeh* ("living animal" or "serpent," according to the termination) is applied; 1st, Khûrbet el Haiyeh, south of Wâdy Suweînt; 2nd, Khûrbet el Hâi, north of the same; 3rd, Khûrbet Haiyan; 4th, Khûrbet, Dâr, Haiyeh, further north; 5th, Wâdy Abu Haiyât, east of the latter. None of these have, however, the exact form of the Hebrew Ai (אֵי), though the *He* may perhaps take the place of the Hebrew guttural *Ain*.

Khûrbet Hâi is an insignificant ruin, apparently a shepherd's hamlet, with caves and foundations of ruined cottages. It has a large cistern on the hill above it, and enclosures walled in with large rude blocks, which are often found round the village threshing floors. The natives of Mukhmâs say that this was formerly a village belonging to them, and inhabited by Moslems.

The site which appears most probably to represent Ai, is the important ruin of Haiyân, immediately south of the curious hillcock called et Tell. The vicinity has long been recognized as the approximate locality, but the ruins were first described by the Survey party.

The mound of et Tell with its terrace walls of rude stones, and its conspicuous group of olives, is a natural feature modified by the construction of the terraces. It does not appear to have been the site of a city, and only a single cistern has been found there. It is, however, only half-a-mile distant from Khûrbet Haiyân, and the arguments which were brought forward by Vandeveld, Colonel Wilson, and others, apply with even greater force to the site at Haiyân. There is a deep valley to the north (Josh. viii, 11), such as would be called *Gai*; there is an open plateau on the east, which may perhaps be intended by the "plain" ('Arabah, Josh. xii, 14); and there is a valley on the

west (Wâdy el Medinet), which may have afforded concealment to the ambush sent by Joshua from Gilgal (Josh. viii, 3) before he marched up to Aî himself (verse 10), supposing that this force of 30,000 men advanced by the only really practicable route, which leads from Jericho to the vicinity of Michmash, and reaches Haiyân on the south-east.

The ruins of Haiyân will be found fully described in the memoir to Sheet XVII; they include several large tombs on the south, three fine rock-cut tanks (the largest in the district), and a number of rock-cut tombs on the north. The site is now covered with olive gardens, but the name is well known to the villagers of Deir Diwân, a Moslem village immediately north of the site.

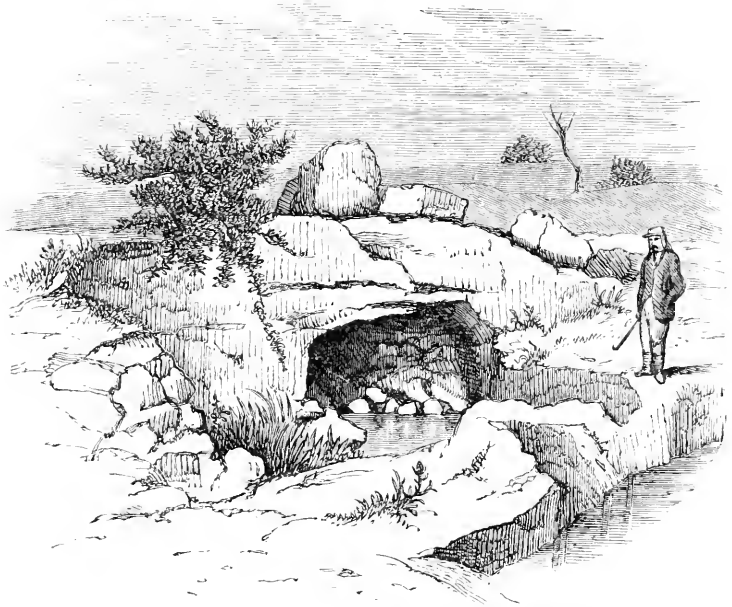
From Haiyân we followed the old road westwards to Bethel. On this road there is a curious construction of rude stones on the ridge some 300 yards west of et Tell; it resembles one or two other similar foundations to be found near Bethel, being apparently solid, about 10 feet square, of rude unshaped blocks 2 to 4 feet in length. There are three courses standing, and the building might be taken for an altar (which would be of the highest interest in such a situation); but its position by the roadside more probably indicates that it is a small watch-tower, such as are frequently found on Roman roads.

We paid three visits to the vicinity of Bethel with the view of examining the supposed circle of stones said to exist near it. We were, however, unable to arrive at any other conclusion than that the curious rocks photographed by Colonel Wilson are natural features; and although Dr. Sepp speaks (I believe) of a rude stone circle, I was unable to find any such monument after searching the entire vicinity. The rocks called *el Kûlûh* are very remarkable features, and might at a distance easily be mistaken for remains of an ancient monument, but they are not detached from the mass of the mountain, and are not arranged in any particular form.

It is worthy of notice in this connection that the plains of Jordan and the north end of the Dead Sea are clearly visible from the ridge between Beitîn and Haiyân, where Abraham's altar would probably have stood (Gen. xiii, 10). Thus the crusading monastery of Burj Beitîn, and the neighbouring chapel of el Mukâtîr, no doubt represent the traditional sites of this famous altar in the 12th and 5th centuries respectively.

*Gibeon.*—Our camp has been fixed at this famous city for ten days, and we have carefully examined the site of the ancient town. *El Jîb*, the modern village, occupies the north end of a detached hill some 200 feet high, surrounded by broad flat corn valleys on every side. The inhabitants state that the old city stood on the south part of the hill, and here in the sides of the natural scarps which fortify the site we have visited and explored some 20 rock-cut tombs. There are eight springs on the hill, the largest, on the east, being one of the finest supplies of water in this part of Palestine. One of the springs is called *el Bîrkeh*, and flows out into a rock-cut tank measuring 11 feet by 7 feet, the

water issuing from a small cave. This place is south-west of the village, and close to the main east and west road through Gibeon. The pool is cut in the face of a cliff, and has a wall of rock about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet high on the west. Above it grows a pomegranate tree, and near it are ancient tombs in the cliff.



THE POOL IN GIBEON.

The reader will remember the dramatic account of the meeting between Joab with David's followers, and Abner with the clansmen of the house of Saul (2 Sam. ii, 13); how they sat one on one side, the other on the other at "the pool in Gibeon," and arranged the fatal duel between the young men who were bid to "arise, and play before us." The Hebrew word describing the pool is the same as the modern Arabic Birkeh, and the apparent antiquity of the ancient tank fed partly by rain water, partly by the little spring in the cave, seems to countenance the idea that we here find preserved one of the lesser sites of the Biblical narrative, the recovery of which lends so much force and reality to the ancient narration.

It is possible, however, that the great spring ('Ain el Belled) is the place intended in this episode, as it wells up in a chamber some 30 feet long and 7 feet wide, reached by a descent of several steps. This cave resembles very closely that of the Gibeon spring (Virgin's Fountain) at Jerusalem, for there is said to be a passage with steps leading up from

the back of the cave to the surface above. As the water is some 5 feet deep, and the passage is now stopped up, we did not attempt to enter it. It is, however, clear that a door of some kind once existed at the present entrance to the cave, and it would appear that the inhabitants of Gibeon were thus able to close their spring below, and to obtain access to it from above within the city.

The spring in question, like many of the famous fountains in Palestine, is held sacred by the Fellâhin. An earthenware lamp is occasionally lighted in the chamber, but at other times the peasantry say that supernatural lights and smoke are seen within, and that a *Nebî* or Prophet inhabits the cave. Close by is a little rock chamber with a rude masonry wall. It is plastered inside, and in one of the niches of its rock sides we found some sardine tins containing offerings of pomegranate flowers and young figs, while pottery lamps are placed in others. This Mukâm is called Jâmîa' el Burîdeh, and near it above the spring is a small platform for prayer. The villagers may often be seen praying here, and great consternation fell upon the women who drew water when they found the sacred grotto of the spring full of dense white smoke some few days since. It was not, however, in this instance the action of the presiding genius, descending to punish the peasants for allowing Franks to enter the sacred cave, for the smoke was the result of burning a magnesium torch for the better investigation of the dark interior.

It is worthy of remark that the older the site of a village in Palestine, the more numerous and venerable are the sacred places now recognized by the Fellâhin of the spot. At Gibeon we have but one instance of that reverence for living water, which is so marked and so natural a feature of the ancient Asiatic religions, from the Ganges to the Nile. The niches which once held perhaps statues of the genii of the springs, are still to be found at Baniâs, Jericho, Shechem, Yasûf, and in other places where five fountains occur. Springs, trees, stones, and mountain tops, form the central objects of the Fellâh cultus not less than of that of the ancient Canaanites.

From Gibeon we visited among other places the Nether Beth Horon, where a treasure trove was reported some little time since, which proved, however, as in so many other cases, to be an exaggerated version of the discovery of a small rock tomb. We ascertained the correctness of the position of Khûrbet Dâriah, which I have proposed to identify with Ataroth Adar (Josh. xviii, 13), and although scarcely a trace of a ruin exists we found the name to be well known among the peasantry.

In returning I was reminded of the eloquent description given by Dean Stanley of the defeat of the Canaanites by Joshua, and the pursuit from Gibeon to Ajalon. If, however, we are to apply strictly the words of the book, we must seek a place north of Gibeon, and in sight of the Valley of Ajalon (Josh. x, 12). In such a position we should imagine Joshua to have stood when he spoke the words, "sun stand thou still on Gibeon, and thou moon in the valley of Ajalon." If the sun stood still "in the midst of heaven," it was of necessity visible in the south,

while the moon cannot have been (as picturesquely described by Dean Stanley) a crescent, but must have been in the third quarter on account of its relative position to the sun.

It may be noted that there is a position on the ancient road from Gibeon to Bethoron, which fulfils these requisites, for on the hill east of Khūrbet el Lattâtîn, a view is obtained down the ravine of Wâdy Selmân, while Gibeon and the high place of Gibeon (if at Neby Samwîl) are visible on the south.

Within the village of el Jib, Lieutenant Mantell has recently discovered the remains of a small crusading church. The place is called *el Kenîseh* by the natives, but the building is now converted into a house, and the plan is scarcely traceable. The nave appears to have been 22 feet wide by 40 feet long. No apse is now visible, but the west wall, with an orial window, exactly resembles that of the crusading church at Taiyibeh.

*Ebenezer.*—We have also taken this opportunity to visit Khūrbet Samwîl, which Mr. Birch proposes to identify with the stone erected by Samuel (1 Sam. vii, 12). Some foundations, caves, and rock-cut cisterns exist here, and near it on a high knoll is the ruined fort called *el Burj*, which seems to be not earlier than crusading times, even if as early. No monument of the kind required now exists on this spot, and it appears probable that the name is derived from the proximity of *Neby Samwîl*. The identity of the latter with Mizpeh, as proposed by Dr. Robinson, has been disputed mainly on account of a passage which appears to place Mizpeh on the road from Shiloh to Jerusalem (Jer. xli, 5-7). The topographical notices of this important place are otherwise so vague, that it seems impossible to decide between the two high places of Nob and Gibeon, to one of which the name Mizpeh appears to have applied. The identification of Shen with Deir Yasin was mentioned to me in 1874, by Dr. Chaplin. As regards Ebenezer, the only point which is clear is that the early Christians believed Deir Abân to mark the site. This I found in 1876 in reading the "Onomasticon." It appears to have been also independently recognised by M. Clermont Ganneau, although I have been unable to find any publication earlier than 1877, in which he announces his discovery. No doubt other readers of Jerome's works must have formed the same conclusion, although Robinson appears to have overlooked it.

*Roman Camp at Tellîlia.*—The hill east of Wâdy Beit Hannîna, which is a spur of the Neby Samwîl ridge, terminates in a rather steep slope, and on the end of the spur is seen what appears to be a gigantic cairn of stones; a careful examination, however, proves that this is a quadrangular enclosure built of unhewn stones without mortar.

The area measures 190 feet north and south, by 130 feet east and west, and the labour entailed in its construction must have been enormous. The interior is subdivided into three by two walls, running north and south, while cross walls form side chambers about 37 feet by 40 feet along the sides of the enclosure. On the outside is a slope formed of loose stones,

which though partly due, perhaps, to the falling down of the walls, seems to have been intended to strengthen the fortification with an outer scarp. No well or cistern is visible inside, but there is a large cistern on the hill 200 or 300 yards to the west. The walls are still standing some 15 feet above the ground outside the structure, and 6 or 8 feet above the interior.

Such rude stone buildings are generally considered among the oldest remains to be found in Palestine. The stones used are, indeed, not much larger than those employed in building terrace walls, but the work seems too important to have been executed by the Fellâhin for a cattle fold, and the position commands the junction of two important roads, both showing signs of antiquity. That on the west comes down from Neby Saurwîl, and that on the east follows the valley from el Jîb; the two join on the south and ascend thence to Jerusalem.

The conclusion which seems most natural is that Tellilia ("the little Tell") represents a camp constructed by one of the Roman armies (either of Titus or Severus) in advancing on Jerusalem. The whole structure resembles the Roman Camps which exist almost untouched at Masada; and in a mountain district where earth was not to be found in sufficient quantity it seems that the Romans were obliged to use stone.

This discovery at Tellilia serves to confirm a conjecture which has often occurred to me, that the great stone heaps north of Jerusalem, and west of the Nâblus road, represent the remains of the camp which Titus constructed on Scopus. The plan of a camp can in this case no longer be traced, but the long line of stone-heaps called *Rajm el Kehakîr* has an appearance very similar to the rude scarp at Tellilia—a work which must have entailed the labour of a large body of men, and the collection of materials from a considerable area.

*'Alâli el Benât* ("the towers of the maidens"), east of Kîlia (Sheet XV), in the great gorge of Wâdy Sâmieh. Mr. Black has recently explored a curious hermits' cave with three cisterns. It is reached by a narrow stair of rock in the face of the precipice, and it presents the same peculiarity found in several of the caves of Wâdy Suweinît, &c., namely a little gallery leading to a window in the rock at a higher level than the cave-mouth, from which the anchorites were able to reconnoitre any one approaching their abode.

*Deir esh Shebâb*.—Although this site, representing a mediæval monastery north of Bethel, has been more than once visited, it is curious that the front has never been noticed. It is hewn out of a single block, and is of the usual form,—a cylinder hollowed within, in form of a cross composed of four semicircles on four sides of a central square. Other examples occur at Jufna, Tekoa, Khûrbet, Zakariya, and near Beit Jebrîn.

*Deir esh Shebâb*, "Monastery of youths," possibly represents a traditional site of the "School of the Prophets" near Bethel. The ruins are described in full in the memoir.

*Tell 'Asâr*.—This mountain (which is generally called *el 'Asâr* or *el Aser* by the natives) has been identified in an apparently satisfactory

manner with the ancient Baal Hazor, or Baal of the "Enclosure;" and it now appears that the mountain is still a sacred place. There is no building on the summit, but a fine group of oaks; the remains perhaps of a sacred grove, such as is still to be found venerated among the Nuseireh Pagans. During our recent visit to the cairn constructed on this hill (one of the highest points in Palestine) in 1872, and which we found still standing, Dr. Chaplin, who accompanied the party, was informed that there was a cave, sacred to Sheikh Haderah, at the place. This name preserves the Hebrew Hazor in the usual Arabic form with the *Dād*. I am also informed that the Moslems of the vicinity are in the habit of making vows to the Rijâl el 'Asawîr, or "Men of 'Asûr," whom they now call Companions of the Prophet. It seems, therefore, that, although no modern shrine or ancient stone temple now exists (the vineyards having crept to the very top of the hill), yet traces of the old Canaanite worship are still recognisable on the spot among the modern Fellâhin.

*Fellâh traditions.*—The collector of such traditions has to contend with many difficulties. In 1874 a good many stories, which were rude imitations of the Biblical narrative, were collected at Sûr'ah, in connection with the tomb of Neby Samit, who is variously represented as having been identical with, or brother of *Shemshân el Jebbâr*. We have only just returned from a three days' visit to this village. We were told the stories of the defeat of infidels by this hero, armed with a camel's jaw-bone instead of a sword, of his death under a great building, of his being betrayed by a woman, but we also found that the village for many years has been owned by a Christian from Beit Jâla, and the peasants at once confessed that they knew nothing of Neby Samit before the new owner told them who he was. In the same way at Taiyibeh, we were told that the old name was 'Afrâ, and that it was the city of Gideon. This tradition is derived from the Latin priest, who has thus instilled erroneous ideas into the Fellâh mind, as, even if it were certain that Taiyibeh represents Ophrah of Benjamin, it certainly could not represent Gideon's city Ophrah of Abiezer, which belonged to Manasseh (Judg. vi, 11-15), and was probably the Samaritan Ophrah, now called Fer'ata, not far from Shechem.

It is, moreover, another cause of difficulty that the traditions of the peasantry are rapidly being forgotten, as are those of the Samaritans. The young men do not know the stories which can occasionally be extracted from an old man or woman. At Abu Shûsheh, Mr. Bergheim, in the winter's evenings, has had many such stories related to him by an old Sheikh, now dead, including the plot of the "Merchant of Venice," and that of "Pericles, Prince of Tyre," both slightly altered and orientalised. In the first story it was a father-in-law, who exacted the pound of flesh in case of the husband quarrelling with his wife, and the wife who invented the limitation that no blood should be drawn. This tale the Sheikh had heard from his father. Possibly it may have come down from the twelfth century, but when we consider how modern research has traced the fairy tales of Europe to the East, and found



Cinderella's glass slipper in India, there seems no very great improbability in thus recovering in Syria the stories—much older than the time of Shakespeare, on which he founded the plots of two of his plays.

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## VI.

'AIN KARIM, 14th July, 1881.

*Kirjath Jearim.*—WE have just returned from a long ride to Khürbet 'Erma, which, in 1878, I indicated as possibly representing the important town of Kirjath Jearim, and our observations at this spot, which I had not previously visited in person, seem so materially to confirm the identification, that it may be of interest to recapitulate the arguments published on various occasions in the *Quarterly Statement*, and to describe in full the existing remains.

Kirjath Jearim is first mentioned in the Book of Joshua as identical with Kirjath Baal, a town of Judah (Josh. xv, 60). It was on the boundary between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (verse 9), and from the peculiar expressions used in the description of the border line (Josh. xviii, 15 ; xv, 10), it appears that the town must have stood at an angle, from which the line ran in two directions, one being eastwards towards Nephtoah, the other northwards towards Kesla, which is Chesalon, on the north side.

The next appearance of the city is in the Book of Judges, when the men of Dan, who had no inheritance (Judges xviii, 1), went up to the Mahaneh Dan, which was "behind" (or more correctly *west of*) Kirjath Jearim. Of the position of this Mahaneh Dan, or "Camp of Dan," we have a further indication in the history of Samson, in which it is mentioned as "between Zorah (*Sūr'ah*) and Eshtaol" (Eshū'a) (Judges xiii, 25). The term Mahaneh is identical with *Mukhnah*, "camp," a title now applied to the plain east of Shechem, and it seems to be properly indicative of a plain fit for camping ground. We can therefore have little hesitation in placing the Mahaneh Dan in the broad Wādy Surâr, near the recognized sites of Zorah and Eshtaol ; and the site of Kirjath Jearim should thus apparently be sought east of this natural camping ground.

Kirjath Jearim is again mentioned as the place where the Ark remained for twenty years after the destruction of the men of Beth Shemesh (1 Sam. vi, 19 ; vii, 1). From this passage it appears that Kirjath Jearim was in the mountains above Beth Shemesh ; yet Josephus, who may be supposed to have known the real site, states that the two cities were near one another (6 "Ant.," i, 4).

At a late period David went down to Baale (or Kirjath Jearim) to bring up the Ark to Jerusalem. It was found in the house of Abinadab "in Gibeah" (the hill or knoll), but this place would appear to have been in or part of the city of Baalah. This is the last mention of the city

except its enumeration in the lists of Ezra, where the name appears under the abbreviated form Kirjath Arim (Ezra ii, 25).

From these various notices we may sum up the apparent requisites which should be satisfied in any site proposed as identical with this important town.

1. The name Arim or Jearim ("thickets") should be recovered, and the site should present such thickets.

2. It must be east of the Mahaneh Dan, which lay between Zorah and Eshtaol.

3. It must be south of Chesalon, identified with the modern Kesla.

4. It must be near Beth Shemesh (now 'Ain Shems), which agrees with the second indication.

5. It must be in the mountains above the last-mentioned site.

6. It must be at the south-west angle of the border line of Benjamin.

7. Its position must agree with that of Nephtoah and Rachel's tomb (cf. Josh. xv, 9; and, 1 Sam. x, 2), so as to allow of an intelligible line being drawn for the south border of Benjamin.

8. The name Baalah indicates either that a high place of Baal existed at the city, or else that the position was elevated (taking Baal in a wider geographical sense, as some authorities are inclined to do).

9. A rounded hillock or humped knoll of some kind seems indicated by the term Gibeah, occurring in connection with the site of the city.

The usual site shewn as representing Kirjath Jearim is the village of Kuryet el 'Anab ("Town of Grapes"), better known as Abu Ghosh, on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. This town is called simply el Kuryeh by the Fellâhin, and appears to be the ancient Kirjath of Benjamin (Josh. xviii, 28), a place apparently distinct from Kirjath Jearim, and situated in the Lot of Benjamin, whereas the latter belonged to Judah. There is no doubt that in the fifth century Abu Ghosh was believed to be Kirjath Jearim, and the only argument which Dr. Robinson has adduced in favour of this identification appears to be founded on the early Christian tradition, which he too often quotes in favour of his own views, even against his own canon of criticism condemning such traditions as of no value. The site thus commonly pointed out to travellers does not, however, fulfil the requisites enumerated. The name Arim is not found at Abu Ghosh, the site of which lies 9 miles north-west of 'Ain Shems, and 3½ miles north-west of Chesalon. The border line of Benjamin cannot be drawn through Abu Ghosh and also through Rachel's tomb, without being so twisted as to be practically improbable, while no special features occur which would serve to explain the names Gibeah and Baalah, connected with that of Kirjath Jearim.

These objections have been so far recognized by various writers as to induce some archaeologists to prefer the conspicuous village of Sôba, as proposed by Dr. Chaplin, a site answering better to the requirements of the name Baalah or Gibeah. Sôba is the Bel Mont of the Crusaders, and is undoubtedly an ancient Jewish site. In the Septuagint of Josh. xv (verse inserted after 60) it seems to be mentioned, according to some

MSS., under the form Thobes. It lies, however, 4 miles east of Chesalon, and is separated by 10 miles of rugged mountains from Beth Shemesh. No trace of the name Kirjath Jearim has been found in its vicinity, and the difficulties with regard to the boundary of Judah and Benjamin are not removed by the choice of this site.

The ruin discovered by the Survey Party in 1873, seems in every respect to answer better than any previously proposed to the nine requirements enumerated above.

1st. The three principal letters (עירם) of the name Jearim, or of the later abbreviated form Arim, occur in the proper order in the modern Arabic 'Erma (spelt with the guttural Ain); the site is moreover surrounded and concealed by the thickets of lentisk, oak, hawthorn, and other shrubs, which properly represent the Hebrew word tarim (תרם) from a root signifying to be "tangled" or confused.

2nd. The ruin is due east of the open plain formed by the junction of Wâdy Ismâîn with Wâdy el Mutluk, extending from Beth Shemesh on the south-west, to Eshtaol on the north-east, and to the hill of Zorah on the north-west, representing the ancient Mahaneh Dan.

3rd. It is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles south of Chesalon or Kesla.

4th. It is only 4 miles from Beth Shemesh, and an ancient road descends north of the ruin into Wâdy Ismâîn, and thus leads to Beth Shemesh direct along the valley banks.

5th. The site of 'Erma is nevertheless in the mountain proper, and about 1,000 feet higher than that of Beth Shemesh.

6th. The identification of the sites of Ataroth Adar (ed Dârieh), Gibeah (Jebîa), and Kirjath (Kuryet el 'Anab), belonging to Benjamin; of Jethlah (Beit Tul) and Eltekeh (Beit Likia) belonging to Dan, as proposed by the survey party, all agree with the supposition that the west border of Benjamin ran south, from near the Nether Beth-horon, along the crests of the spurs which sink so suddenly from the level of the mountains proper (Har) to the distinct region of the Shephelah. This natural boundary, excluding on the west the Vale of Ajalon, which belonged to Dan, cannot be reconciled with the proposed identifications of Kirjath Jearim at Abu Ghosh or at Sôba, but agrees perfectly with the wording of the biblical description: "The border was drawn thence, and compassed the western side southwards, and the goings out thereof were at Kirjath Baal which is Kirjath Jearim, a city of the children of Judah. This was the west quarter. And the south quarter was from the end of Kirjath Jearim (*i.e.*, the end of the spur on which the city stood), and the border went out on the west (*i.e.*, west side), and went out (eastwards) to the Springs of Nesshtoah" (Josh. xviii, 14-15).

Again, it agrees also with the other description, "And the border compassed from Baalah on the west (or looking west) unto Mount Seir, and passed along unto the shoulder of Mount Jearim, which is Chesalon, on the north side, and went down unto Beth Shemesh" (Josh. xv, 10).

If the reader will compare this paper with Sheet XVII of the Survey, he will at once see the line which appears to be indicated. 'Erma is on the

south or Judah side of the great valley, with a spur (perhaps "the end of Kirjath Jearim") running out northwards. Here, on the north side, are the precipices of a remarkably rocky hill burrowed with hermits' caves, to which the word seir ("rough") might very well apply.

On the same northern ridge, moreover, the name *Saghîr*, which is radically the same as seir, may be found marked rather further east. The line running due north along Mount Jearim (which appears from the text to have been on the opposite side of the valley to Kirjath Jearim, as the expression עבר rendered "passed along," means strictly "crossed over," as of a river or valley) arrives at Kesla or Chesalon, and thence follows the important valley called Wâdy Glurâb, which joins Wâdy Ismâîn and flows past Beth Shemesh. The position of 'Erma is thus naturally placed at the south-west angle of the border of Benjamin.

7th. The common boundary of Judah and Benjamin may be drawn from the new site of Kirjath Jearim in a direction which agrees with various other indications. It would follow the crest of a long spur to the watershed at 'Ain 'Atân (near Solomon's pools), the en Etam which, according to the Talmudists, was the same as Nephtoah (Tal. Bab Yoma, 31, a). Thence it would pass along a watershed northwards by Rachel's Tomb (1 Sam. x, 2) to the Emek Rephaim, which, according to Josephus, extended from Jerusalem towards Bethlehem (7 "Ant.," xii, 4).

Lifta is thus left to be identified with Eleph of Benjamin (Josh. xviii, 28) rather than with Nephtoah. The identification of Lifta and Nephtoah has always seemed unsatisfactory, not only on account of the difficulties which result in drawing the boundary line, but also because no great spring or group of springs such as seems to be implied by the expression מעין, *Mâin* occurs at the spot. The modern Arabic name is moreover deficient in the guttural of the Hebrew.

8th. The expression Baalah would refer very properly to the situation of 'Erma, overlooking the great valley, while, as will be explained immediately, the traces of what may have been an ancient "high place" (Bamah) still remain.

9th. A central knoll such as would account for the name Gibeah occurs at the ruin of 'Erma.

Although the indications of identity thus appear very strong, they could not be considered as conclusive if the site proved to be insignificant, with modern ruins in an inconspicuous situation. I was therefore anxious to revisit the spot, and was much pleased to find that an evidently ancient and important ruin exists still in this position. Riding down the great gorge which, under various names, runs down from near Gibeon to Beth Shemesh, we gradually ascended the southern slopes in the vicinity of the little ruined village of Deir esh Sheikh. Before us was the notable peaked knoll of Khûrbet Sammûnich, a conspicuous feature of the view up the valley from Surâh, and leaving this on the right we followed an ancient road along the slope of the mountain. Here and there remains of side walls are visible, and there can be little doubt that this is a branch of

the Roman road from the vicinity of Bethlehem leading to Beth Shemesh.

In front of us, far beneath, we saw the white bed of the torrent twisting in bold bends between the steep slopes which rise fully 1,000 feet to the hill tops. Both slopes were rocky and rugged, both, but especially that to the south, were clothed with a dense brushwood of lentisk, arbutus, oak, hawthorn, cornel, kharûb, and other shrubs, while in the open glades the thyme, sage, citrus, and *bellân* carpetted the ledges with a thick fragrant undergrowth.

A bold spur running northwards from the southern ridge was characterised by a small natural turret or platform of rock, rising from a knoll which stood covered with fallen masonry above a group of olives, beneath which again the thickets clothed the mountain. This knoll represented the ruin of 'Erma, which on closer inspection proved to be a site undoubtedly ancient, and presenting the aspect of an old ruined town. Some of the walls, rudely built in mortar, may belong to the Arab period, but the rude blocks built up against scarps natural or artificial which occur in various directions, resemble the old masonry of the vineyard towers, which date back to a very early period.

On the east is a fine rock-cut wine press; on the south a great cistern covered by a huge hollowed stone, which forms the well-mouth, and which from its size and its weather-beaten appearance, must evidently be very ancient.

Rude caves also occur, and the ground is strewn with fragments of ancient pottery. But the most curious feature of the site is the platform of rock, which has all the appearance of an ancient high-place or central shrine. The area is about 50 feet north and south by 30 feet east and west, the surface, which appears to be artificially levelled, being some 10 feet above the ground outside. The scarping of the sides seems mainly natural, but a foundation has been sunk on three sides, in which rudely squared blocks of stone have been fitted as the base of a wall. On the east this wall consisted of rock to a height of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet with a thickness of 7 feet. There is an outer platform, about 10 feet wide, traceable on the south and south-east, and a flight of steps 3 feet wide, each step being 1 foot high and 1 foot broad, leads up to this lower level at the south-east angles. There is a small cave under the platform, and the ruined houses extend along the spur principally north and south of this remarkable rocky tower.

The view from the ruin on the west is also worthy of notice. The valley is seen winding 600 or 700 feet beneath, and the cliffs and caves of the northern ridge form unusually accentuated features. Beyond these the broad corn vale of Sorek (the Mahaneh Dan) is seen extending beneath the rounded hill on which gleams the white dome of Neby Samit, close to Zoreah. The actual site of Beth Shemesh is hidden by the southern ridge, but the valley-bed north of the ruin is visible.

On the hill to the south stand the houses of Deir el Hawa, and to the east the peak of Sammûnieh hides the further course of the valley.

Standing on the rocky tower we saw clearly how well the Mahaneh Dan might be described as "west" of Kirjath Jearim. How naturally the Ark might have been sent from the lowlands of Beth Shemesh to this neighbouring city, so strongly posted in the rude hills of Judah.

In the central platform we might perhaps recognize the high place of Baal, whence the city took its name, or the Gibeah where the Ark was kept; for Kirjath Jearim is not the only sacred city of Palestine in which the altars of Jehovah and of Baal once stood side by side. The instances of Carmel and of Bethel will recur to the reader's mind, with other indications of a similar kind.

Here then at 'Erma we seem to find in a remarkable manner the numerous requisites of the site of Kirjath Jearim fulfilled. The name, the position, the character of the ruin, the view thence, the surrounding thickets which half cover the site, the situation close to the edge of the higher hills and to the mouth of the great gorge, the proximity to Beth Shemesh, and the relative positions of Chesalon and the Mahaneh Dan, all seem to agree in fixing 'Erma as the true site of the important boundary town where the Ark was kept for twenty years.

Having studied the question carefully on the spot, and having ascertained the importance and antiquity of the site, I cannot but look upon this identification as one of the most valuable which has yet resulted from the Survey of Western Palestine.

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## VII.

HEBRON, 31st July, 1881.

SINCE last report the camp has been moved to Hebron, with a view of clearing up various questions of minor interest in connection with the nomenclature of the vicinity. This is almost the only piece of revision which remains to be done in connection with the Survey west of Jordan. The great change which has occurred in Palestine since Hebron was surveyed, has enabled us to examine even the vicinity of the Haram, without any danger of insults such as I had to endure on the occasion of our previous visit, during the great storm of the spring of 1875, which drove us to take shelter in the Jews' quarter of the town.

*The Haram.*—As regards the Haram we were able to make one interesting observation. The great stones of the outer wall are, as we have now ascertained, dressed in a precisely similar manner to those of the Jerusalem Haram. The drafts vary from 2 to 4 inches in width, and are about  $\frac{3}{8}$  inch deep. The draft and the margin of the boss for a width of about 2 inches, have been dressed with a toothed instrument—an adze like that now used by native masons, but more carefully employed,—thus giving the peculiar *crisscross* appearance observable in the Jerusalem stones. The rest of the boss has been dressed with a point, as at Jerusalem. The interest of this observation lies in its bearing on the

probable date of the masonry. It would appear that the Hebron Haram is of the same date as that at Jerusalem, which it resembles so closely not only as regards the size, the dressing, and the drafting of the stones, but also in the existence of piers projecting from the wall, of which there are 54 at Hebron, while their former existence at Jerusalem seems to be shown by the discovery I was fortunate enough to make, in 1873, of two such piers still *in situ* at the north-west angle of the Haram wall.

We visited the eastern side of the enclosure, and found ourselves on the housetops almost level with the cornice of the old wall. We here found a mosque, called el Jâwaliyeh, with a large dome. There is also a third entrance to the enclosure on this side, and the old wall appears to be almost as high here as on the west, although the mountain called el Jâ'abireh rises very suddenly behind the Haram on the east. It would appear therefore that the rock beneath the Haram platform, in which the great cave is said to exist, must be a detached knoll: since on all sides there is lower ground, and a retaining wall some 40 feet in height.

As a religious centre Hebron may be said to rival Shechem, and far surpasses Jerusalem. The old name, Kirjath Arba, "City of Four," was said by the Talmudists to refer to the four prophets, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It is curious that the Moslems still invoke four prophets in their prayers at Hebron, but instead of Adam they repeat the name of Joseph, whose tomb is shown just outside the Haram at the north-west angle. The tomb of Joseph at Hebron is mentioned also by Josephus. According, however, to the Book of Joshua, the name Kirjath Arba was derived from one of the Anakim (xiv, 15; xv, 13).

In addition to the sepulchres of these four patriarchs and their four wives, we find the curious rock-cut tomb west of the town, known to the natives as Kabr Habrân, "the Grave of Hebron," possibly, however, a corruption of the name Ephron; by the Jews this is known as the tomb of Othniel, and they show the graves of Jesse and Ruth higher on the same hill, at the mediæval monastery of el Arb'ain. The tradition of the cave in which Adam and Eve lived for 100 years near Hebron is now unknown, though the probable site—as described by mediæval writers—is the present subterranean spring called 'Ain el Jedideh. The site of the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, which used to be shown south-west of the town, has now been removed to Neby Yukin (the Cain of Josh. xv, 57), about 3 miles south-east of Hebron. In addition to these traditions we have the tomb of Noah, west of Hebron; of Lot, on the east; of Esau, on the north-east (at Si'air, which must at one time have been identified with Seir), and of Jonah, on the north; the early Christian tomb of Gad the Seer. The tomb of Abner is shown in Hebron, north-west of the Haram, but it is a modern cenotaph in a Moslem house, and of no particular interest. Abraham's well and Jacob's well are shown also, towards the north, but no well of Isaac appears to exist, and the inhabitants say that his wells are to be found at Beersheba and Tell el Milh.

Another very curious tradition we found during our recent revision work. There is on the north-west of the town—south of the present site

of Abraham's Oak—a hill called Kuff en Neby, "the prophet's palm" (of the hands), and below this is a cave called Mughâret edh Dhukkâ'ah, with a narrow entrance. There is a bench of large stones running round the walls, and this was found covered with the usual rude offerings of pottery, lamps, &c. The cave is a very sacred place, where the prophets Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are said to appear every Friday. Mr. Black entered it, however, on that day, without reporting any appearance of either of the Patriarchs, but his guide did not enter, and was roundly abused by the inhabitants of the place, who warned him that the local divinities would be sure to take vengeance on him for bringing a Christian into their sanctuary.

This is not the only instance we have heard in which prophets are said to relieve the monotony of residing in one sanctuary by paying occasional visits to other places.

There are several interesting problems in connection with Hebron which may be considered more important than the traditions above noticed. Where was the plain (or oak) of Mamre? where was Kirjath Arba? where Eshcol? where the place in which Abraham "stood before Jehovah"? (Gen. xix, 27). To each of these questions I have now been able to devote some attention.

In respect to Mamre, we may be allowed to lay aside the traditions which have placed Abraham's oak in various sites, ranging from Râmet el Khulîl on the north to Sebta on the north-west, and to the *Drus Ogyges* of Josephus ("Ant.," I, ix, 4), apparently yet nearer to Hebron.

Mamre, we learn from the Bible, was *in* or *by* Hebron (Gen. xiii, 18), and Machpelah was before or in face of Mamre (Gen. xxiii, 17, 19), "the same is Hebron." It seems, therefore, most natural to identify the plain of Mamre with the flat open vale facing Machpelah (or the Haram of Hebron) on the west. In this vale, the threshing-floors and the chief Moslem cemetery of Hebron are now to be found. It does not, however, appear quite clearly whether the original Kirjath Arba was on the western or the eastern hill, as the expressions used are somewhat ambiguous. We examined the western hill carefully, but found no traces of any ancient town, although a Jewish cemetery of considerable antiquity exists there, near the four rock-cut Jewish tombs, of which the largest is called Kabr Habrûn. It might not be unreasonable to identify the Cave of Machpelah with this double tomb, or with the newly-discovered sacred cave above noticed; but the consent of Jewish, Moslem, and Christian evidence in favour of the traditional site of the Haram, is too strong an argument in its favour to be lightly set aside.

As regards Eshcol, which is mentioned in connection with Hebron (Num. xiii, 23), and took its name from one of the Anakim of the same place (Gen. xiv, 13-24), the identification proposed by Vandeveldt with 'Ain Keshkaleh appears somewhat doubtful, as the Hebrew *Caph* is supposed to be represented by the Arabic *Quaf* instead of *Kaf*. It is, however, noticeable, that the first K is always dropped in ordinary speaking, and the word is pronounced *Ashkali*. We have not found



any nearer equivalent to Eshcol; and the position of this fine spring among the vineyards, is well adapted for that of the famous "brook," whence the grapes of Hebron were brought down by the spies.

The Biblical passage just quoted includes the curious topographical note, "Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." The site of Zoan (Sân) has produced monuments attributed to the 6th Egyptian dynasty (a thousand years before Abraham), but the real building of the city is attributed to Rameses II, the famous conqueror of the Hittites (circa 1365 B.C.) If it be to this building that the Scripture refers, the translation of the name Hebron, "friendship," might be thought to refer to Abraham's friendship with the Hittites, and the name may have superseded the earlier title of Kirjath Arba at the later period of the conquest of Palestine by Joshua. This is one of the few instances in the Holy Land where the *meaning* of an old name is preserved instead of the sound: *el Khulil*, "the friend," having superseded Hebron, "friendship," in the mouths of the modern inhabitants.

The traditional site of the place where Abraham "stood before Jehovah," and whence he is said to have perceived, after the destruction of the Cities of the Plain, that "the smoke of the country went up as a furnace" (Gen. xix, 28), has been placed at the village of Beni N'aim, three miles east of Hebron, where the Tomb of Lot is now shown.

It has often, however, been suggested by recent travellers that the site should be sought nearer to the Plain of Mamre, and we therefore visited all the highest points immediately east of Hebron, to observe the view towards the Dead Sea. We found that the long spurs which run out above the Desert of Judah are so high as to shut out entirely all the eastern view, except the very highest portion of the Moabite ridge. At Beni Naim, on the other hand, the traveller stands on the very edge of the desert, which is spread out beneath him. The cliffs of Engedi are clearly seen, and the eastern slopes from Kerak to Nebo, although the waters of the Dead Sea and the Valley of the Jordan are hidden by the western precipices.

Beni N'aim is mentioned by St. Jerome and other early Christian authorities, under the name Caphar Bareca, "the village of blessing," and I was much interested to find, on recently visiting the village (where are remains of a basilica, now a mosque), that this name was still known to the Sheikh. Without any prompting he asked me if I knew the old name of the place in the time of the Beni Israil. On my professing ignorance, he said it was Kefr Bareka, and volunteered the information that *Suddâm* was east of it by the Dead Sea—pointing towards Engedi. This name, "village of blessing," is no doubt ancient and genuine, and must have had its origin in the original sanctity of the spot, which is a natural site for a high-place on account of its magnificent view. It is to be noted that the three angels are said to have "looked towards Sodom," and Abraham went with them to bring them on the way (Gen. xviii, 16). The destruction of the cities is said to have taken place after sunrise (Gen. xix, 23), but Abraham "gat up early in the morning to the place

where he stood before the Lord" (verse 27). These details do not seem to require that the place in question should have been very close to Hebron, and it seems quite comprehensible that the site intended should have been the ancient "Village of Blessing," now called Beni N'aim.

It cannot, however, be said that this throws any very clear light on the position of the Cities of the Plain, as the north and south ends of the sea are about equidistant and equally invisible; and we are forced to rely on other arguments in discussing the situation of Sodom, which Josephus, no less than the modern Moslem, believed to lie beneath the waters of the "Vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea" (Gen. xiv, 2).

In the year 1856, Dr. G. Rosen devoted some time to the investigation of the vicinity of Hebron, and made various interesting discoveries. I have now been able to compare his map, embracing an area of about 25 square miles, with our own, and the result is curious, as showing the difficulties of collecting names in Palestine.

Dr. Rosen collected, in all, 116 names within the area of five miles either way, the town of Hebron being near the south-east corner of his map. Out of these, 34 are to be found on our map, and six are merely re-duplications of names on the map with slight variations, giving 40 as the total collected by ourselves against 116 collected by Dr. Rosen. By devoting a week to the vicinity of the city we have collected 90 new names, giving 124 in all. Of these, no less than 26 are not noticed by Dr. Rosen, and these include the important sites of Mughâret edh Dhukkâ'ah, Ain Ibrahim, and 'Ain esh Shems. We found 80 names given by Dr. Rosen to be correct, and 12 to be given with very serious errors; while 18 names which he shows on his map or notices in the text were entirely unknown to any of the natives. Out of these 18, five are unimportant, but the rest are for the most part unlike Arabic in form. One deserves special notice, namely, Jebel Elâni, which Dr. Rosen renders "Mount Helena." The name is certainly not now known in Hebron, and is applied by Dr. Rosen to the vicinity of Râmet el Khulil—the early traditional site of Mamre. It seems therefore to be probably a corruption of the Hebrew Elon ("oak" or "plain"), and may have been obtained from the Jewish inhabitants of the city.

With exception of the sacred cavern of edh Dhukka'ah we have not found any important site omitted from the 1-inch map. Of the 124 names now recorded, only two, namely *Kashkaleh* (Eshkol) and 'Ain Sâra (en Sirah) are of Biblical interest, but the examination seems to show that the nomenclature of the district is gradually changing, and that names which may have existed in Dr. Rosen's time are now forgotten.

This agrees with some facts as to nomenclature which I have noted in a previous report, and with others which I observed at Hebron. Thus 'Ain Mezrûk (which Dr. Rosen calls Mezrû'a, but which is clearly spelt with a *Quaf*) is known to others as 'Ain Merzûk. The valley east of Hebron is called Wâdy el Besâtîn by some, and el Mesâtîn by others, and I overheard a group of ladies sitting by a tombstone, who were holding a lively dispute as to whether a certain place west of the

town should be called *Zerzir* or *Shelshâr*. This was unusually interesting, as they were quite unaware of my presence or of my interest in nomenclature.

The more carefully we study the nomenclature, the more do we seem forced to the conclusion that the only really permanent and ancient names are those of villages, ruins, and springs, and that the *Secondary Nomenclature*, as it may be called, applying to small natural features, is of fleeting and modern character, while the ancient names of hills and valleys have, as a rule, been utterly lost.

*Aceldama*.—While speaking of names I may mention a curious survival of a Latin name near Jerusalem. *Aceldama*, south of the city (the possible site of Tophet), was known in the 12th century as *Carnarium*, "The Charnel," being indeed used for that purpose. This name is still known to the inhabitants (according to Mr. P. Bergheiu) under the corrupted form, *Shernei*, attached to this rock-cut cemetery. Among Christians the place is also sometimes called *Hakk ed Dumm*—a transliteration of *Aceldama*, the Aramaic name rendered "field of blood" in English.

*Beth Haccere*m.—From Hebron we have returned—while awaiting a final decision as to our *Firman*—to 'Ain Yals in the Valley of Roses, south-west of Jerusalem. We are here close to the curious cairns above *Malhab*. The object of their construction is not clear, but they may have been used as ancient beacons, and in connection with them we may recall the passage in which the prophet exclaims, "Blow the trumpet in *Tekoa* and set up a sign of fire in *Beth Haccere*m" (*Jer.* vi, 1). Christian tradition fixes on the so-called Frank Mountain as representing the site of this beacon; but the name *Beth Haccere*m ("house of the vineyard") has not been recovered in that direction, while, on the other hand, we find the present 'Ain Kârim ("spring of vineyards") close under the slope of the ridge on which the great cairns in question are now found. This identification would not clash with the very probable supposition that 'Ain Kârim is *Beth Car* (*1 Sam.* vii, 11). *Beth Haccere*m may have been the later form, intermediate between the old *Beth Car* and the modern 'Ain Kârim, and the name occurs again in the lists of *Nehemiah* (iii, 14), in connection with that of other places near Jerusalem. So far as I am aware, this identification has not previously been indicated as probable.

The cairns above noted are among the most interesting remains in Western Palestine, and seem more probably to belong to pre-historic times than any monuments as yet discovered. The largest is that nearest 'Ain Kârim, known as *Rujm et Târûd*, which is 40 feet high and 130 feet in diameter, with a flat top about 40 feet across. It is composed entirely of stones some 4 to 6 inches long, quite unshaped, and the sides, which slope at an angle of about 45°, are covered with a thin layer of earth. The next largest is *Rujm 'Afâneh*, more than 30 feet high and 96 feet in diameter. The smallest is *Rujm 'Ateiyeh*, some 9 feet high and 40 feet in diameter. The cairns are seven in number, without counting one very

small heap, and another which seems of different character. Rujm et Târûd stands highest on the ridge, the others are irregularly disposed on the spurs, and one is in a hollow at the head of a ravine. They seem too numerous and too irregularly-disposed to have been originally intended for beacons, though the Târûd cairn is well suited for such a purpose. It seems highly probable that they may have been originally seven high-places, consecrated to the seven planetary deities. As is usual with such high-places, they command an extensive view from the Mediterranean on the west to the Moab Mountains on the east; Neby Samwil (the high-place of Gibeon), Tell 'Asur (Baal Hazor), the Summit of Olivet (the old high-place of Chemosh), Abu Thor (father of the Bull, possibly the old sanctuary of Moloch), and Neby Samat (possibly Samson's Tomb), are all in sight from one or other, as well as Soba, Kustul, Râs Sherifeh, &c. Excavations have been attempted but apparently abandoned before any result of interest was obtained. It is possible that a *Kist* or tomb of some kind may exist under the centre of each cairn.

The only similar monuments are the Jordan Valley Tells, and we are thus led to conjecture whether these latter may not have been originally "high-places" of the Canaanites. They occur generally close to springs, which would agree with such an hypothesis, and in many cases they are still consecrated by a *Mukâm* standing on the Tell. The idea seems worthy of some consideration.

*Jerusalem.*—On receipt of Professor Sayce's pamphlet I compared his copy of the Siloam Inscription with ours. I see various differences of importance, especially in the form of some of the letters, and we shall consequently revisit the tunnel, and endeavour to make sure as to the doubtful points.

I have also received from Herr Konrad Schick a copy of an inscribed slab, which was found some time ago lying inside the tomb described in the last *Quarterly Statement*. It measured 3 feet 11 inches by 2 feet 7½ inches, and near the top was an inscription with a cross, the letters being about 2½ inches high, and 6 inches below the top edge of the slab. The text reads—

### † ΟΙΚΗΔΙΑΦΕΡΣC.

This inscription, *θηκη Διαφερους*, has been found in several other instances in early Christian tombs near Jerusalem. The occurrence of the slab cannot, however, be considered conclusive evidence of late date in the tomb, because the arrangement of the *loculi*, as previously explained, is exactly that found in the so-called "Tombs of the Kings," and other monuments near Jerusalem, dating from a period earlier than the Byzantine. The tomb may have been re-used, or the slab may have been originally placed in the neighbouring Church of St. Stephen.

While speaking of inscriptions, I may also note that the inscription from the town-walls contains the name John *Ιωαννου* in the third and fourth lines, and that there are several misprints in the text (page 197).

I believe the word *θεσποκου* may be read in the third line, but it is very indistinct.

About 100 yards south of the tomb above noticed is another sepulchre, which was excavated in 1875, and described in the *Quarterly Statement* (p. 190, and 1876, p. 9). I have now obtained a plan and a detailed account of this tomb from Herr Schick.

In digging for a cistern, the proprietor of the ground hit upon two flat slabs covering shafts which led to the tomb. The depth of rubbish was 10 feet 6 inches, and the tomb was entirely cut in rock. The shaft was about 4 feet deep, and the chamber beneath  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet high and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet square, with three *loculi* on north, south, and west, and an entrance on the east from the face of the rock. The *loculi* are sunk beneath the level of the tomb floor, and were covered originally with flat slabs. A narrow opening in the north-west angle led into a second chamber about 10 feet square and  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, but of trapezoid form.

This second chamber had also three *loculi* and an eastern entrance with six steps. The *loculi* in this case were, however, under arcosolia, and with the bottom of the coffin level with the chamber floor. The entrance now built up is well formed, as in the better specimens of *loculi* tombs. It was in this chamber that the great stone sarcophagus was found which has been conjectured to have held the coffin of the Empress Eudoxia. The sarcophagus measured nearly 8 feet in length and 3 feet 3 inches in height, including the four legs; the width was about 3 feet, and the stone sides were only about 3 inches thick and the bottom 5 inches. It had a cover with rudely-arched cross section, and its size was such that it could evidently not have been brought in through the door. It was found indeed that a shaft, carefully blocked up with masonry, existed in the roof of the chamber, through which it appears to have been lowered. The sarcophagus was broken in trying to raise it through this same shaft.

A third chamber was found to exist beneath the first described, and it was only to be reached by removing slabs which pave the northern *loculus* of the first chamber. Three *loculi* covered with slabs, and placed side by side with their length direction east and west, were here found. They were sunk 9 feet below the floor of the upper chamber, the *loculi* themselves being 2 feet deep.

The tomb thus described is very curious and puzzling. It seems probably to have been enlarged and altered at various periods, and has, it will be observed, two methods of access, namely, from doors in the face of the cliff, and by shafts from above. The use of the *loculus* tomb by the early Christians is proved by the examples at Shefa 'Amr (Sheet V), and other instances; the use of tombs reached by shafts and of *loculi* sunk in the chamber-floor is also observable in Christian tombs. It appears on the whole probable that an early Christian tomb was here found at a later period, and re-used at the time when the great sarcophagus was lowered into it. The arrangement of the *loculi* would seem to show that the sepulchre is later than the northern tomb, which

was described in the last *Quarterly Statement*, and it may perhaps be best ascribed to the early Byzantine period, although the larger chamber may belong to the Jewish times.

*Emmaus.*—The suggestion that *Ham Motzah* may represent Emmaus is very interesting, and from a philological point of view no objection can be raised to it. The distance does not appear, however, to agree, as Kolonia is only  $4\frac{1}{2}$  English miles from Jerusalem, and Beit Mizzeb not much more, which is under 40 furlongs, whereas the distance given by the third Gospel and by Josephus is 50 furlongs. The distance of Khamesa is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  English miles (some 70 stadia) in a straight line, and 10 by road.

The fact that a Motzah mentioned in the Talmud was called "Colonia" is in favour of Mr. Birch's view. Kolonia has often before been proposed as the site of Emmaus, by Canon Williams and others. The identification of the Motzah of the Bible with the ruin called *Beit Mizzeb* (not Muzza as spelt in the *Quarterly Statement*) was proposed by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, nine years ago, and I have accepted it in my "Bible Handbook," although there is an objection that the Arabic *Zain* rarely takes the place of the Hebrew *Tzadi*. Mr. Birch does not appear to have been aware of this previous identification of Motzah.

Kolônia was—and still is—a place to which the inhabitants of Jerusalem went out for recreation (cf. Mishna Yoma and Tal. Jer. Succah, IV, 5); possibly the expression "went into the country" (*εἰς ἀγρον*, Mark xvi, 12) may be taken in the sense of a similar retreat for rest and refreshment from the city, and, in spite of the distance, Mr. Birch's proposal may be considered considerably to strengthen the case in favour of Kolônia.

*Muristan.*—The eastern half of the great enclosure which once belonged to the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem is now German property, and excavations have been carried on in these precincts since 1872.

The Hospital proper and the Church of St. John still lie buried beneath at least 30 feet of rubbish, but the Church of St. Marie la Grande and the monastic establishment south of it have been cleared out, and a complete plan has been made for me by Herr K. Schick. The rock, varying in level from 2,445 to 2,425 feet, and forming the bottom of the Tyropæon Valley, has been traced throughout, and it appears that the mediæval buildings were founded on *débris* varying from 20 to 50 feet in depth. The only structures which rise from the rock are the walls of two magnificent reservoirs, which I visited in 1872, beneath the monastery. Here, at a depth of 50 feet below ground, we were able to walk along the very bed of the Tyropæon, treading on rock for a distance of 100 feet or more.

The buildings, though all attributable to the Crusaders, are of various dates, as shown by the straight joints and the varying finish of the masonry. Even the narrow street to the east (the old *Malcuisiriat*) appears to belong to the 12th century, as mentioned in a recent report.

Part of the old masonry has been destroyed in opening a new street

on the west of the property, but the buildings are shown on the plan just obtained, which I am sending home to Colonel Warren for his volume of the "Memoirs."

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## VIII.

## MOUNT NEBO.

'AIN HESBAN, 25th August, 1881.

It is with great satisfaction that I pen the first report from beyond Jordan, more especially as some points of interest have already rewarded our exploration of the country round this camp.

I seized the first favourable opportunity which has presented itself since we landed in Palestine, to push across the river. When we took the field in May, the country was in a very excited state, the Druzes were almost in open rebellion: the French seizure of Tunis, the non-settlement of the Greek affair, and the visit of various princes and political agents to Palestine, raised a very general feeling that some sort of crisis was approaching. The great tribes of the Adwân and the Beni Sakhr were at war, and the governor of the Belka had proceeded from Nâblus to es Salt and was travelling over the whole country which we intended first to survey.

It appeared, therefore, prudent to await a more favourable opportunity, while employing the party in the south of Palestine as detailed in preceding reports. We were thus able to watch for the proper moment for commencing our real work, and found that our presence was tolerated by the government so long as we avoided asking for any official assistance or protection.

On the 16th August Lieutenant Mantell and I left our camp at 'Ain Yâlo with six of the native staff, and marched down to Jericho, where we had arranged to meet Sheikh Goblân en Nimr of the Adwân Arabs. My principal object was to secure a satisfactory agreement with the Adwân Arabs before committing the whole of our heavy expedition and of our valuable property beyond the river. On the 17th Goblân appeared with two spearmen and two swordsmen, and we marched over the valley, crossing the river at the Ghoranîyeh ford, and camping in Goblân's own property at Kefrein. The stream of Jordan was easily fordable, being only up to the horses' shoulders, and thus before we had time almost to realise it we crossed the barrier beyond which I had for nearly three months so much longed to penetrate. The heat in the valley was very great, rising to 100° F. in the shade by day, and remaining at about 90° all night. On the 18th we reached the beautiful stream of 'Ain Hesbân, which flows rapidly down the steep mountain sides to the Jordan valley, rising about 2 miles N.W. of the ruins of Heshbon. Here on the 19th we made our arrangements with Sheikh Goblân; and on the 20th, having arranged these preliminaries, we despatched mules to Jerusalem to bring over the rest of the party.

During the week we have been employed in visiting the country surrounding the camp, arranging the trigonometrical stations, and collecting the names of the principal ruins. It becomes necessary, in consequence of our change of plan, to measure a new base-line between Heshbon and Madeba, on the flat plateau called the Mishor in the Bible. The site for this base has been chosen, and I hope soon to report that it has been measured and the triangulation extended thence for about 100 square miles.

Our operations have been considerably facilitated by the work of preceding explorers, for the Arabs are accustomed to see cairns erected, and lines measured, theodolites set up and aneroids consulted, and we are, moreover, able to make use of the cairns built by Lieut. Steever's party in 1873. On the other hand, the liberality of our predecessors has raised the market so that it is not possible for us—unrecognised by the government, and thus dependent entirely on the Bedawin—to work as cheaply as we were able to do in other Arab districts—notably in the Judean desert and the Jordan valley. It is, however, very satisfactory to feel some sense of security due to our present agreement, instead of having night and day the anxiety of expecting constant attempts to steal horses or other valuable belongings. The Adwân impress me very favourably, and among all Arabs an agreement may be considered as binding as it would be among men of honour in Europe.

Our first ride was along the western slopes of the great plateau, to visit the famous site of Jebel Neba, supposed to represent the Biblical Nebo or Pisgah, whence Moses surveyed the Land of Promise, and where Balaam is recorded to have been brought by Balak to curse the children of Israel. Crossing Wâdy Hesbân we rode south to the beautiful 'Ayûn Mûsa, where two streams issue from the cliffs and flow in a succession of cascades down the mountain sides. This is one of the most picturesque spots I have yet seen in Syria (excepting in Lebanon), and the magnificent water supply of the district we are now exploring—every gorge having its stream even as late as the autumn—contrasts with the scantier and more diffused character of the water supply west of Jordan in a remarkable manner. The northern spring at 'Ayûn Mûsa falls over a cliff 40 or 50 feet high, the southern wells out at the base of a precipice forming a beautiful clear pool flanked by two aged wild figs; and here in the face of the cliff a rude cottage is built up and inhabited by a family of Christians of the Greek Church from Taiyibeh, north of Jerusalem.

From these springs we climbed up 700 feet to the spur which runs out west from the summit of Nebo, and which takes the name Siâghah from a ruin so called on the crest. We examined the site, and found remains of a small Byzantine village with a church, fallen columns, rude capitals of the 5th century style, and vaults supported on round arches, such as are common in early Christian ruins throughout Palestine. The name Siâghah has already been collected by the American Survey party, but I am not aware whether its identity with the Aramaic *Seath* (סיעת) has been pointed out. *Seath*, "the burial place of Moses," is the paraphrase



for Nebo given by the Targum of Onkelos in Num. xxxii, 3, and the name forms therefore a link in the identification of Nebo with the ridge of Jebel Nebo where *Siâghah* still exists.

So far as I can judge by the map, it is to this ruin that Canon Tristram gives the name *Z'âra*, and which he identifies with Zoar. No other ruin appears to exist on the way from 'Ayûn Musa to the ridge south of these springs, and with great deference to so experienced an explorer I cannot but think that an error has arisen, due to the great similarity in sound (to an European ear) between the *Re* and the *Gheïn* in Arabic. The name *Zi'ara* was quite unknown to Sheikh Goblân, although he has shown himself thoroughly acquainted with the nomenclature of the district, which has as yet been imperfectly collected. Whoever is responsible for the Arabic spelling of the name *Z'âra* as given in Dr. Tristram's "Land of Moab," I feel convinced that the form *Siâghah* given by the American party is the correct one, and it is evident that this form has no connection with the Hebrew Zoar, which in Arabic would appear most probably as *S'areh* or *Saghâr*.

Other objections to Canon Tristram's proposal have been pointed out by various writers, the main difficulty being that *Siâghah* is situated almost on the level of the great plateau 3,000 feet above the Jordan valley, which appears hardly to agree with the plea put forth by Lot in asking permission to flee to Zoar, that the mountains were too far from him. We shall have, I hope, further opportunities of searching for Zoar near the foot of the mountains, where Tell Shaghâr has been pointed out by the Rev. W. F. Birch as a possible site; but if Zoar should be sought higher up the slopes we may perhaps have an indication in the names *Rujm S'aûr* and *Tal'at S'aûr*, which we discovered yesterday north of our present camp.

The hot haze rising from the Jordan valley rendered it impossible to obtain a very accurate idea of the extreme limits of the view commanded by the *Siâghah* ridge, but the Arabs assured us that in clear weather *Kaukab el Hawa*, *Tabor*, and *Neby Duhy* could be seen on the north-west, and *Beni N'aim* and *Yekin* (the city Cain of the Kenites) on the south-west. *Bethlehem*, *Beit Jâla*, *Jebel Fureidis*, *Olivet*, *Taiyibei*, *Tell Asur*, *Gerizim*, *Ebal*, *Neby Belân*, *Jebel Hazkin*, and *Gilboa* can be seen, and the Jordan valley from *Jericho* to *Kaukab*; the *Kurn Sartaba*, the northern part of the *Dead Sea*, *Jebel Osha* above *es Salt*, *Heshbon*, and *Elealah* are also in view. The most striking peculiarity of the scene seems, however, to be that the valley east of the river is plainly seen, *Kefreiz*, *Nimrin*, *Râmeh*, and other places close to the foot of the *Moab hills* being in view. Thus the prospect seems to agree well with the account in the book of *Deuteronomy* (xxxiv, 1-3), although *Dan* (if *Bâniâs* be intended) and the "utmost sea" cannot, I think, be seen, as high mountains appear to intervene. Perhaps we should read "all Judah towards the utmost sea." *Gilead* with its oak woods, the land of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* west of *Jordan*, *Naphthali* (in the vicinity of *Tabor*, which formed, as the survey of *Western Palestine* shows, the border between that tribe and *Issachar*), the hills of *Judah*, and the *Negeb*, or country south of *Hebron*, are all seen as

described in the Bible narrative ; while no description could be more exact than that of the "plain of Jericho unto Zoar," if Zoar is to be sought at the edge of the Ghor es Seisebân, near Kefrein or Râneh.

The name *Neba* appears to apply to the highest part of the ridge at the very edge of the great plateau. The name *Siâghah* applies to the spur further west near the ruin of that name ; but as is usual with natural features these titles are not very strictly applied, and the whole ridge appears occasionally to be called *Dhahret Neba*.

A very startling discovery awaited us at *Neba*, which, while making every deduction which prudence suggests, seems more likely to give a direct connection with the Bible narrative than anything we have yet come across. Immediately north-west of the highest summit, near the ancient road which here descends from the plateau, we found a distinct and well preserved specimen of those rude stone monuments, called by some "cromlechs," and by others (though, according to Max Muller incorrectly) "dolmens." Their existence in this district has already been noticed by Canon Tristram, though, so far as I know, he has not described the specimen in question. It is distinct and well preserved, consisting of one large covering stone supported by two others.

The monument stands on the bare rock, and cannot apparently have been erected over a grave. Large scattered blocks near it appear to have belonged to other monuments of the same kind, and, as in Galilee, they seem more probably to have been ancient altars than anything else—an explanation which has, I believe, been accepted by many archaeologists, as best accounting for the purpose for which similar cromlechs were erected in our own country, and in other parts of the world.

There is nothing to give a date to the cromlechs on *Nebo*, unless it be found in the Bible, where we are informed that Balak erected seven altars—one no doubt to each of the great planetary divinities—at this spot. The position of these altars was evidently not on the extreme summit of the hill, as Balaam went aside to the high place leaving the king standing by his sacrifices. It may, perhaps, be considered a bold suggestion, but there appears nothing extravagant in the idea that one of those ancient altars, so hastily erected to summon the deities of Moab to war against Israel, my yet be standing, unharmed by more than 3,000 winters, on the bleak slopes of *Nebo*, beneath the summit where, according to the dramatic story of the Book of Numbers, the prophet from Euphrates went up to meet with Jehovah.

That similar monuments are alluded to in the Bible in the opinion of many modern authorities, who recognize in the "gilgal" or "circle" of the book of Joshua, where the twelve stones taken from Jordan were set up, a circular monument not unlike Stonehenge. Such a *gilgal* still exists east of *Dhibân*, as recently described by Herr Schick, consisting of stones of great size, and of this as well as of all the most perfect cromlechs, Lieutenant Mantell will now endeavour to obtain photographs. Caution is, however, very necessary, as some of the supposed monuments may turn out to be merely natural features, for the hill-sides here, as in

Western Palestine, are strewn with fallen blocks. In two instances west of Jordan we came across groups of stones, which may have belonged respectively to a cromlech, and to a stone circle; but we were unable to make sure that they were not natural features, and they are consequently not marked on the map.

It is striking to find that the unmistakable cromlechs exist only beyond Jordan and in Upper Galilee, at a distance from the influence of Jewish faith in Jerusalem, and this serves to strengthen the conjecture that the ancient Baal worshippers made use of rude cromlechs, similar to those of the Druids of a later period, for altars.

In connection with this subject the form of the *Makams*, or places now held sacred by the Arabs, is very interesting.

During the present week we have visited some six or eight of these shrines, consisting of circles some 20 feet in diameter, built up of stones about a foot long. In each case there was a sort of doorway or small cromlech on the west, formed by two stones—generally well hewn and taken from a neighbouring ruin, supporting a third stone or lintel. The jambs were generally about 2 feet high, and the width of the entrance about the same. The remainder of the circle was composed of unhewn blocks about a foot long piled up into a wall some 2 feet in height. The lintel stone of the cromlech or western entrance serves as an altar on which are laid offerings, consisting of blue beads, fragments of pottery or of purple basalt, bits of china, the locks of gums, rags, etc. The ploughs of the Arabs are left inside the charmed circle for protection, and a rude grave of stones occupies the centre, while in three cases sacred trees grow close by. The names of some of these *Makams* are modern, others are said to date from "ancient times," but whatever be the age of the existing structures, it is probable that the custom of thus constructing "gilgals" has been derived by the Arabs from their forefathers, from a remote period, while many of the sites (especially that of Neby Bal'ath), may be supposed to preserve ancient centres of Baal worship on the high places of Moab.

The field we have at length entered promises to be one of great interest. It may be said to stand to Western Palestine something in the relation of the highlands to the lowlands of Scotland—a wilder region; inhabited by clans of pastoral habits; distinguished by its gushing springs, its uncultivated moors, and its more ancient archaeological remains.

The ruins appear to be more important, though less numerous than west of the river, but with the exception of cromlechs all those we have as yet visited appear to belong to the Byzantine period. The ruin of *Sâmich* in Wâdy Hesbân has not apparently been previously noted, and its position seems to fit well with that of the Biblical Sibmah of Moab. The great tower of *Sâmik* may prove to be the Samega of Josephus, and *Sûfa* may have some connection with the field of Zophin, but without books of reference it is impossible to follow up these indications very closely.

Most of the sites which we have visited are marked on the excellent

maps of Bædeker's Handbook, though the names are often incorrectly spelt.

At Umm el Burak we found a mutilated Greek inscription, which appears to record the erection of a building by a certain Antonius Rufus, and is evidently not older than the Byzantine period. Three other inscriptions from Madeba have been removed to Jerusalem, where I hope to see them in the winter, and no doubt many others as yet uncopied remain to be found, but the Adwân say that they know of no other stone like the Moabite stone anywhere in their country.

It may be interesting here to note the present condition of the more important tribes east of Jordan. The Adwân are at present perhaps the strongest, being allied with one section of the Beni Sakhr. Their country is bounded by Jordan and the Zerka Ma'in, Jebel 'Ajlûn, and Jerash, 'Ammân and the ridge on which stands the ruin of Sâmik, embracing some 1,000 square miles of very good country, including the best part of the Ghor, and the hill slopes and part of the Heshbon plateau.

On the south-east is the country of the Beni Sakhr, or "sons of the rock," including the plateau east of Madeba and Sâmik, as far as the country of the 'Anezeh. The famous Sheikh Fendi el Faiz has died within the last few years, and his sons quarrelled among themselves. Ibn el Fiaz and Zutum allied themselves with their old enemies the 'Anezeh, while another section made peace with the Adwân, who during the present year (about the middle of May) slew Zutum in fair fight. Peace has since been made, and blood money paid, but the Beni Sakhr have lost much of their power, and the Hameidi tribes who inhabit the district south of the Zerka Ma'in as far as Kerak are now their own masters. The establishment of a colony of fifty Christian families in the caves of Madeba, under protection of Padre Paulo, the priest appointed by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, has also made a great change in the condition of the country. On the 22nd we paid a visit to this worthy priest in his cave, and I had a long conversation with him in Italian, which served to throw much light on the best method of proceeding. He offered us all the assistance in his power, and will send our letters for us to Jerusalem. His assistance ought to be a great help to us in making arrangements with the Hameidi, who have a wholesome fear of him, as he has caused some of their number to be imprisoned. So far, indeed, as the country south of the Jabbok is concerned, our way is now clear, with the exception of possible interference; and as the district has the reputation of being healthy, we may hope to reap a good harvest before the winter sets in.

From day to day our store of notes increases rapidly. Every evening Sheikh Goblân comes to our tent for a cup of tea, and over this our conversation is often considerably prolonged. The Arabs being a freer and nobler people than the peasantry, are less suspicious of Europeans, and more willing to give information. They are also much less fanatical and, indeed, have very little religion. We have not yet seen Sheikh Goblân at his prayers, and his foresight politically seems to be shown by his having sent his younger sons to the English School in Jeru-

salem. Yet, although in constant communication with travellers, although he has even been on board an English man-of-war, and has acquired a truly civilised love of money, he has not lost the native dignity of the Arab, nor acquired the detestably familiar and impertinent manner of the Dragomans of Western Palestine, whose treatment of travellers seems to become more insufferably contemptuous every year. It is impossible in a short report to give any account of the fund of traditions, notes of customs and manners, of scenery and archæology, which we are now gathering day by day, while the more intelligent among the natives, including our new Protestant scribe, and our old major domo (Habîb el Jemâil), appear to enter thoroughly into the spirit of the work, and fill their note books with traditions and other scraps of information diligently collected from the Arabs.

My present plan is to proceed southwards by Dibon to the Arnon, and thence north-east by Ziza to 'Ammân, visiting the palace of Mashitta, and completing the survey of the mountains, if possible, from the Arnon to the vicinity of es Salt. For however interesting the district round Kerak may be, it is properly speaking no part of the Holy Land, and this, together with the south end of the Dead Sea, the Harrah, and the Negeb, south of Beersheba, might with advantage be undertaken at one time, with an expedition rather differently organised, and by a more rapid method of work. The region to the north, including mount Gilead and the Hauran, appears, however, to present more immediate interest, and we may perhaps hope if all goes well to complete the survey of the Ghor to the Sea of Galilee next spring, and before autumn to extend the work as far as the river Hieromax on the north, and eastwards to Remtheh and the Haj road.

The country south of Heshbon is absolutely bare of trees, and we are therefore liable to suffer from extremes of temperature. On the day of writing this report the thermometer stands at 108° F. in the shade of the tent, the wind from the east being hotter and stronger than I have almost ever experienced it in Palestine.

A few days ago the mists covered the hills in the morning, and the temperature at night was quite chilly. North of our present camp there are, however, hills covered with oaks, and here we shall hope to find refuge before the equinoctial gales commence. The attached sketch-map will serve to show the proposed field of our immediate operations, and I hope that before the January *Quarterly* is issued we may be able to send further interesting particulars of our work in Moab.

Mr. Black and Mr. Armstrong, with the remainder of the expedition, arrived here on August 26th, after three days' march. They encountered a fearful scirocco in the Jordan valley, the thermometer reading 118° F. in the shade by day and over 90° F. by night. Fortunately all members of the party arrived safely, except our trusty watch-dog Barûd ("gunpowder"), who succumbed to the heat near Jericho.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Lieut. R.E.*

## THE ANCIENT HEBREW INSCRIPTION IN THE POOL OF SILOAM.

### I.

SINCE the publication of the last *Quarterly Statement* much new light has been thrown upon the ancient Hebrew inscription in the tunnel of Siloam. Dr. Guthe—who has succeeded in discovering remains of the old city wall which defended the entrance of the Tyropœon valley—has not only taken a gypsum cast of the inscription, but has also removed the deposit of lime which filled the characters, and has thus made their exact forms visible. He kindly allowed Lieutenants Conder and Mantell to take a squeeze of the inscription after the process of cleaning it had been completed, and Lieutenant Conder has forwarded to the Palestine Exploration Fund two tracings of the squeeze corrected by a careful comparison with the original text. I communicated a revised translation of the inscription based upon these tracings to the *Athenæum* of August 13th, and pointed out at the same time that the recovery of the exact forms of the letters obliges me to bring it down to a later period than the age of Solomon. Unfortunately the application of the acid, by means of which the lime was removed, seems to have injured some of the characters; at all events several of those which were clearly visible when I copied the text do not appear in the squeeze at all, and Mr. Piltner informs me that “Dr. Guthe’s repeated washings” have made others of them more indistinct than they were last February.\*

Since the appearance of my letter in the *Athenæum*, I have carefully examined Dr. Guthe’s cast at Berlin. An article on the inscription has also been published by Prof. Kautsch, in the last number of the “*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*,” containing statements which it is matter of astonishment should have been permitted to appear in the responsible organ of a scientific Society. In his perhaps not unnatural annoyance at the appropriation by an Englishman of an important inscription which he had regarded as the special property of the German Association, he has forgotten the courtesy due to a sister Society which has been in the field for years before the German Palestine Association was founded, as well as the candour and fairness we might expect from a scholar. Personal controversy and international jealousies are always undesirable, more especially when they involve two societies which are working for a common end, and I should have taken no notice of Dr. Kautsch’s remarks were it not for two or three assertions which concern the credit of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Dr. Kautsch seems particularly indignant at my having charged him with being in too great hurry to vindicate the German Palestine Association. But I must again bring the same charge against him. At any rate, in no other way can I explain, for instance, his interpretation of my statement as regards the money sent by the English Palestine Exploration Fund for lowering the water in the pool of Siloam. As the Secretary of

\* Lieut. Conder’s interesting letter published in this *Statement* makes the fact quite plain.

the Fund is prepared to prove, Dr. Chaplin was authorised to draw £25 for the purpose, that being the sum estimated as necessary to complete the work. Similarly Dr. Kautsch more than once sneers at me for finding a *birdh* or "castle" in the inscription. If he had taken the trouble to read my article, he would have seen that I put a query after the translation, that I regarded it in my notes as more than doubtful, and that I finally withdrew it in the postscript in favour of Dr. Neubauer's conjecture! Dr. Kautsch further discovers that my copy of the inscription added next to nothing to his knowledge of it, and was but a very slight improvement upon the copy he had published in the preceding number of the German Journal. Other Semitic scholars will not be disposed to agree with him, as scarcely any Phœnician letters or Hebrew words can be recognised in his facsimile, and the only complete sentence Dr. Kautsch was able to give was derived from my letters in the *Athenæum* of February.

I need say no more on this distasteful subject, but will turn to the disputed readings as to which Dr. Kautsch and myself still differ. In line 5 he follows Mr. Shapira in reading *במאתים . ואלף*. Apart, however, from the grammatical difficulty already urged by Dr. Neubauer against Mr. Shapira (*Athenæum*, August 6th, p. 176), neither Lieut. Conder's squeeze nor the Berlin cast show any trace either of *ם* or *ך*. On the contrary both have a point in the place where Dr. Kautsch puts his *mém*. This was very evident on the Berlin cast, as M. Halévy and others agreed with me in seeing. Consequently we must read *ביאתי*, for which I can find no other possible rendering than that which I have already suggested. There is certainly room for a *waw* before *אלף* in the break in the rock which occurs here, supposing this to have been subsequent to the engraving of the inscription, but I satisfied myself when on the spot that such was not the case, the break having existed before the letters were cut. The actual length of the tunnel, however, precludes Dr. Kautsch's reading, which would make it much longer than it really is.

In line 2, Dr. Kautsch reads *אמת* instead of *אמה*, and takes credit to himself for having doubted the philological "monster" *אמה*. But Lieut. Conder's tracings, as well as the cast, again testify against him. I see no sign of a *tau* in them, whereas they both have what looks like the lower part of a *hé*. At the time I copied the inscription, however, the whole *hé* was distinct, and in a matter of this kind, one, a large part of whose life has been passed in copying inscriptions in comparison with which the inscription of Siloam is as clear as daylight, may be allowed to speak with some confidence. Dr. Kautsch further disputes the *pé* I have read in the following word, and puts a doubtful *nân* in its place. The *pé*, nevertheless, was perfectly evident last February. Dr. Kautsch will not admit of any *הן* at the beginning of the inscription, apparently because it was copied by Mr. Pilster. I can assure him, however, that at least two letters exist here, though I was not able to make out their exact forms myself. His *יום* for *יום* "day" is ingenious, but not probable.

The translation which follows I have already given in the *Athenæum* of August 13th (p. 208) before the appearance of Dr. Kautsch's article. It has been obtained by a comparison of Lieut. Conder's squeezes with my own copy of the inscription.

- 1 הן . (ה)נקבה : וזה . היה . דבר . הנקבה . בעוד  
 (החצ)ב(ם . ה)עלו
- 2 הגרון . אש . אל . רעו . ובעוד . שלש . אמה . להפ.....(?)  
 מא . קל . אש ק
- 3 רא . אל . רעו . כי . הית . ז(?)דה . בצר . מימן . קמו(ו).....(?)א .  
 הכו . בים . ה
- 4 נקבה . הכו . החצבם . אש . לקרת . רעו . גרון . אל .  
 (ג)רון . וילכו
- 5 המים . מון . המצ . אל . הברכה . במאתי . אלף . אמה . ו...  
 6 ת . אמה . היה . גבה . בצר . על . ראש . החצב ז(ה)

(1) "Behold the excavation! Now this is the history of the tunnel. While the excavators were lifting up

(2) the pick, each towards the other; and while there were yet three cubits to be broken through . . . the voice of the one called

(3) to his neighbour, for there was an excess(?) in the rock on the right. They rose up . . . they struck on the west of the

(4) excavation, the excavators struck, each to meet the other, pick to pick. And there flowed

(5) the waters from their outlet to the Pool for a distance of a thousand cubits; and (three-fourths?)

(6) of a cubic was the height of the rock over the head of the excavation here."

The word **זרה** in line 3 seems to be connected with **זרון, זר, זוד**, the radical meaning of which is rather "excess" than "boiling over." Lieut. Conder's tracings, however, give **זבה** instead of **זדה**, which may be related to **זוב** "to flow." We must notice the spelling **הית** for **היתה**. The defective **מימן** for **מימן** is parallel to **אש** for **איש**; Dr. Kautsch's **יום** for **יום** is far from likely, and no point occurs after the *mém*. In line 2, **להפ** must be a hiphil infinitive, perhaps from **פיץ**, though the meaning of the latter does not suit the context very well.

The squeeze shows that my copy was substantially correct, except in line 5, where I read **מוציא** instead of **מוצא**, and in line 6. Here, however, I find that my first copy gave the right reading, which I corrected erroneously in my second and third.

But as regards the *forms* of the letters, the removal of the line proves



that I had gone far astray. My copy represents them as they appeared when blurred and hidden by the deposit which had formed over them, and, as is now clear, had wholly metamorphosed their true shapes. It now possesses only an historic interest, as showing faithfully what the inscription looked like when it was first discovered. As I stated in the *Athenæum* (August 13th), it is no longer possible to assign it to so early a date as the age of Solomon. The looped *zayin* disappears, though the origin of the loop formed by the line is evident. The letter has two small tags at the right hand ends of its horizontal lines ( $\mathcal{Z}$ ), which, by the way, are omitted in the facsimile published by Dr. Kautsch, and the calcareous deposit overflowed from the upper of these into the lower.

But while I must surrender the Solomonic date of the inscription, I find myself unable to accept Dr. Isaac Taylor's counter-hypothesis (see, however, his letter in the *Athenæum* of September 24th). We all agree that the age of an inscription must be determined by that of the most recent forms of the characters which it contains. But the question is what this age precisely is. Dr. Taylor's arguments, if strictly pressed, would make the inscription as late as the post-exilic period. We must remember, however, that the age of the shekels to which he appeals is doubtful, and furthermore that they are the product of an antiquarian revival which endeavoured to imitate faithfully an older style of writing. It is safer, therefore, to compare the inscribed seals. Nor can I admit that the three-barred *kheth* is later than the two-barred one, although the latter is found on the Moabite Stone. But I believe that the inscriptions of Mesha and of Siloam represent two different forms of the Phœnician alphabet, the one being north Canaanite, and the other south Canaanite. A comparison of the characters of the Siloam inscription, as they now lie before us, with the alphabets given by Euting, proves that the inscription must fall between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. This being so, I see no reason for rejecting Dr. Neubauer's ingenious suggestion mentioned in my previous article (*Quarterly Statement* for July, p. 153), which would refer the excavation of the tunnel to the reign of Ahaz. The force of my argument from the fact that, while the Pool of Siloam is given specific names in the book of Nehemiah, it is called simply "the pool" in the Siloam inscription, remains undiminished.

A. H. SAYCE.

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## II.

'AIN KARIM, *July 16th*, 1881.

ON the 15th instant, Lieutenant Mantell and I again spent three hours in the narrow passage leading to the Pool of Siloam, endeavouring to render more certain the decipherment of the interesting text which has lately been made so much more legible by the use of hydrochloric acid in remov-

ing the lime deposit from the rock. We are indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Guthe for exceptional facilities, and I hope that our joint production may be of some value in the determination of the true translation.

Our method was to produce a *facsimile* founded on a careful squeeze, and distinguishing the sculptured strokes from natural cracks or dents, by pencilling the former on the squeeze itself. We then compared the whole again with the text, reading letter by letter, and throwing the light on each letter in turn from every side. I have had no opportunity of comparing the result with Dr. Guthe's copy; and Professor Sayce's pamphlet on the subject has not reached me. There may, however, be advantages in thus forming an entirely independent copy, and I should be glad to have my attention directed to any points in our tracing (of which I enclose two copies) which may appear doubtful or incorrect. If Professor Sayce would kindly indicate any portions of the inscription which require re-examination, we will take a further opportunity of visiting the spot. Meantime, although the plaster cast has been ordered, and will be sent to England as soon as possible, it seems to me that in many instances it will be only possible to distinguish intentional and natural lines and strokes by examination of the text itself.

The following remarks occurred to me in the course of our work, and are here noted as being possibly of some use to those who have not seen the inscription.

The text consists of six lines, occupying a space of 23 inches by  $7\frac{1}{2}$  inches, on the lower half of the tablet. The letters are from half-an-inch to three-quarters of an inch in height. The first and second lines are injured on the right, and a large deep crack extends all down the tablet near the left hand extremity, breaking the three upper lines, and partly mutilating the fourth. The first line is illegible to the left of this fissure, the surface being rough and covered with cracks. The fifth line does not extend the whole length of the longer lines, occupying only about 16 inches.

There appear to have been originally about 180 letters, of which 130 are now more or less clearly recoverable. The text is thus not quite as closely written as the famous Marseilles tablet. The letters are carefully formed, and some of the minor peculiarities, such as the small hooks at the right hand extremities of the two horizontal strokes of the *Zain*, are repeated in each repetition of the letter. The size of each letter is also much the same on each repetition; the vertical lines are broad, but not deep, the horizontal strokes are narrow, but very sharply cut. The *facsimile* first published gives quite a false impression of the regularity and finish of the execution of the inscription.

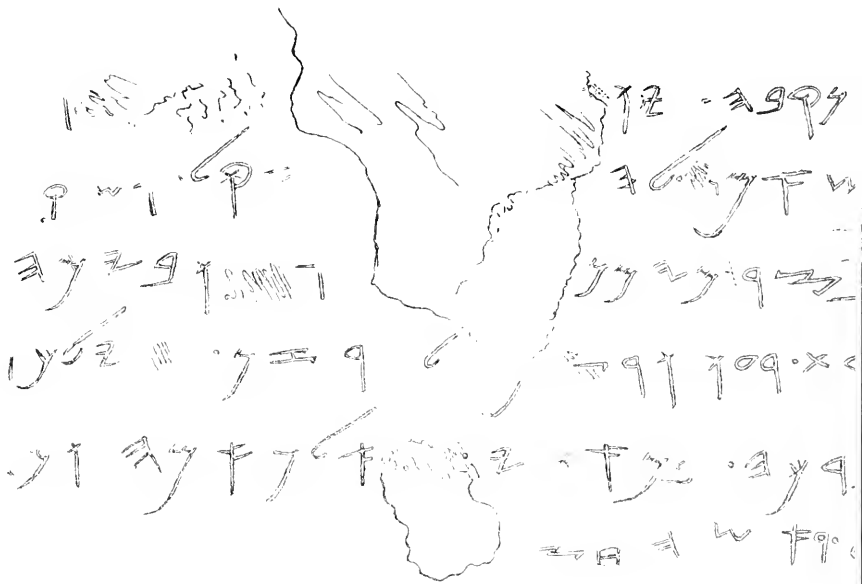
All the letters of the Aramaic alphabet are represented with exception apparently of the *Teth* and the *Samech*, and perhaps also of the *Gimel*. The *Aleph* seems to approach much more closely to the form found on the early Jewish coins than to that on the Moabite Stone. The *Vau* also appears to have three short strokes as on the coins. The peculiar form of the *Zain* is very carefully reproduced on each repetition. The *Cheth*, which occurs at least twice, seems to have a form intermediate between that on



# SILOAM INS

TRACING FROM A SQUEEZE

BY LIEUTS. CONDER



DESCRIPTION,

TAKEN 15TH JULY, 1881,

AND MANTELL, R.E.

Handwritten notes in a cursive script, possibly a shorthand or a specific dialect. The text is arranged in several lines, with some lines starting with a large initial letter. A large, stylized flourish or signature is visible on the right side of the page, overlapping the text.

317  
Y12  
Y1

the coins and that on the Moabite Stone. The *Mem* and the *Nun* are drawn with square strokes, and long tails. The *Ain* has invariably a pointed ending towards the right. The form of the *Tzuli* is very peculiar, and quite different to that on the Moabite Stone, as is also apparently the shape of the *Koph*.

The letters are quite sufficiently well formed to make these differences apparent, and they may, I should suppose, serve as indications of the date of the text.

I enclose what I hope may be found to be the correct transliteration of the letters most clearly recoverable, into square Hebrew forms. It seemed very doubtful whether any letter ever preceded the *Nun* in the first word **נקבה**. In the second line the reading **אמה** seems probably correct, on account of the space between this word and the next, but the last letter is unfortunately partly destroyed. The word following seems quite clearly to read **לה**. The last words of the third line appeared to us to read **ביימה** and not **בירה**. The top of the letter is, however, damaged, so that it was difficult to determine between **מ** and **נ**, though the tail was too distinct to allow of its being easily read as **ר**.

The fifth line is the most perfect and most easily decipherable of the whole text, but we were unable to determine the existence of a *Yod*, shown in Professor Sayce's first published letter, the word apparently reading **מוצא** as in the Bible (2 Chron. xxxii, 30). The *Tau* in the word **במאתי** is not easily seen, though traces appear to exist. In the sixth line the two last letters of the first word, which has, I believe, been read **תאחה**, are also very indistinct. We have recovered twenty letters in this line. I am not as yet aware whether any of these form additions to those copied by Professor Sayce.

A point on which a learned opinion seems necessary is the form of the *Vau* and the *Caph*. The word which occurs three times in lines Nos. 2, 3, 4 respectively, has for its last letter a form somewhat resembling the *Vau* of the coins. In the word **ברכה** occurring in the fifth line, the form of the *Caph* is different from that above noticed, as the letter has a tail below the line. The same form occurs twice in the fourth line, and seems closely to approach the *Caph* of the Moabite Stone. The straighter form which I have supposed to be the *Vau* occurs eleven times at least in the text, and in one case (**מוצא** in the fifth line) is rendered *Vau* by Professor Sayce, while the form which I have taken to be *Caph* occurs only four times, and is so rendered by Professor Sayce in the word **ילכך** in the fourth line. If the distinction is a correct one, the word thrice occurring should read **רעך**. The difference was, however, probably not visible before the inscription had been cleaned. The occurrence of the *Vau* would naturally be more frequent than that of *Caph*, and the letters thus noticed are in most instances very clearly cut.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Lieut. R.E.*

## III.

5th August, 1881.

HAVING received on 1st instant, the *Quarterly Statement*, containing Professor Sayce's pamphlet on the inscription, and the notes of Dr. Isaac Taylor on the same, we revisited on the 4th instant the rock-cut channel, and again spent three hours in examining the text.

The result is that after several independent readings, we do not feel able to make any alteration in the copy which I sent home on the 19th ult., with the exception of one doubtful letter in the first line. It seems to us that this copy may be taken as representing all the letters clearly traceable in the present condition of the inscription; and although, when guided by Professor Sayce's copy, we were able in some cases to distinguish traces of other letters, we were not always able to make these agree entirely with the forms which he has given.

We are able only to add one letter to those given by Professor Sayce, namely a *Koph*, which appears pretty distinctly at the end of the second line. We still are obliged to omit 12 letters which are no longer traceable (to our eyes), and our copy differs in 18 letters from that of Professor Sayce, notably in two passages which occur in the third and the sixth lines. It must be remembered that I speak of the present condition of the text, as we had no opportunity of examining it very minutely before it was cleaned with acid. Dr. Guthe's copy, taken before this operation was performed, may however show letters not now traceable, although, as far as we can judge, the inscription has not been in any way damaged by the removal of the lime deposit.

In our recent visit we were obliged to stand each for an hour and a-half knee-deep in water; and we could not but admire the accuracy of Professor Sayce's results, obtained under conditions even more unfavourable than those of our last visit. The published copy is however not a *facsimile*, the spaces between the letters not being always the same as those given by the squeeze, and the form of many of the characters not being exactly that given by the text. The inscription occupies a space 26 inches long by 8 inches in height, the top being 14 inches from the upper surface of the tablet, and the bottom of the sixth line 5 inches above the lower border of the tablet, which is 27 inches square.

As regards the forms of the letters, I may add a few notes to those in my former communication.



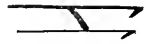
The *Aleph* is written throughout in an uniform manner, and the shape does not appear to us to be exactly that given by Professor Sayce, which resembles the *Aleph* of the Moabite Stone, but rather the form of an inverted F with a spur—such as is found on Jewish coins.



The *Vau* appears also to be written throughout with a head formed by three strokes. We are unable to find a single instance in which the head of the letter remains, and in which only two strokes occur. In all the best preserved specimens the central stroke has at the end a cross stroke or *shoe*, which makes it specially conspicuous.



The *Zain*—as now seen very clearly, has also an uniform character, and is not formed as shown on Professor Sayce's copy, no curved line occurring to join the horizontal bars. The hooks at the right hand end of these latter I have already noticed in a former letter.



The *Tzadi* also does not seem to be formed as shown in Professor Sayce's copy. The letter is only found five times on the inscription, and in three cases it is imperfect. In the two perfect instances there is no loop joining the bars, but the latter resembles a W inverted with *shoes*.



These peculiarities have no doubt become clearer since the inscription was cleaned. The length of the stroke of the *Lamed*, and its inclined position, are also details which seem worthy of notice.

The form of the *Mem* is also an important consideration. I am not sure whether my copy sent home does not show the second *Mem* of the fifth line to have the zigzag form. I have however now carefully inspected this letter, which is well cut, and feel convinced that there is not a single instance of the zigzag form on the inscription. The cross strokes are very sharply cut, and although at a first glance the letters seem to have a W form for the head, yet when minutely examined they all prove to be cut with a bar and cross strokes. The *Nun* is also formed in a similar manner throughout.



We may now proceed to consider the differences which appear in the copy made from a squeeze by Lieutenant Mantell and myself, as compared with Professor Sayce's copy. The results, which are given below, are derived from four independent readings of the inscription, two taken by me, and two by Lieutenant Mantell. The position of the letters in our tracing recently sent home is obtained by means of the squeeze, and this serves in one or two instances to check the readings, and to determine the number of letters missing with tolerable certitude.

*First Line.*—At the commencement of the inscription the original surface of the rock is still preserved, though somewhat cracked. The first *Nun* is very imperfect, and we were quite unable to trace any distinct letters preceding it, though indications of what may have been a *He* might be conjectured to exist.

It is very doubtful whether one or two dots follow the word נקבה.

There are so many small holes in the stone that the dots between the words are in a great many cases very doubtful.

The *Daleth* in the word דבר is not very clear, but its form and size resemble those of the *Daleth* immediately beneath it in the second line, the horizontal stroke being very slightly curved.

The reading בעור given by Professor Sayce appears to us to be still legible, but the third letter only is distinct, being a large and well formed *Vau*. The first and fourth letters seem to be unusually small.

The *Vau* at the end of the line has no head, and never apparently had one, the rock being quite smooth. We thought that we could distinguish traces of *Lamed* and *Ain* preceding it, as read by Professor Sayce, but their existence seems extremely problematical. There is room for two such letters, but to the right of them is a hole, and we were unable to trace the *Beth* shown by Professor Sayce immediately to the left of the great crack.

With these exceptions, the reading of the text in this line is remarkably clear, and (save as to the form of the letters) is the same as given by Professor Sayce. Our copy, however, supports Mr. Pilster's reading נקבה, and after carefully re-examining the first letter of this word, we felt sure that it could never have been a *Mem*.

*Second Line.*—The traces of a *He* will be found in our copy at the beginning of this line, and after minute examination, we were able to find the remains of a *Gimel* following it, and to distinguish a *Resh*, well formed, but much worn, to the left—thus confirming the reading דגרון. The last two letters, and the dot are quite clear.

After the word רער, there is a dot and a very clear *Vau*. Between this and the *Daleth* there is room for two large or for three smaller letters—as shown by Professor Sayce. The letters which he shows we were however unable to recognise, and the first two seemed to us most to approach בע, though so indistinct and confused by cracks as to be very doubtful. There would also seem to be the tail of a letter *Mem*, *Nun*, *Caph*, or *Pe* to the left of those two.

The *He* in the word *Amth* is, as I have previously noted, almost indistinguishable, from a crack in the rock. The next two letters are clear, but beyond these, where Professor Sayce shows פה, we are only able to trace what looks like the head of a *Vau*, and the loop of either a *Beth* or a *Resh* following it.

Beyond the great crack in this line, there is a *Koph* as shown by Professor Sayce, and to the right of this three strokes which seem most probably to have belonged to an *Aleph*. The *Lamed* after the *Koph* seems to us quite clear, as well as the *Shin* and the second *Koph* with a dot after it (this last letter is not given by Professor Sayce).

In all the distinct and several of the doubtful letters of this line, we are therefore able to confirm the readings of Professor Sayce.

*Third Line.*—The first *Aleph* should be preceded by a *Beth*, but there is now a small deep hole in the rock where this letter (marked as doubtful by Professor Sayce) would have occurred, and no trace of it is visible.

After the distinct word רעו we make a great difference from previous copies. It is to be hoped that our reading may render the translation of this puzzling passage easier. The words, according to us, should stand **היה : הית : זדה . רעו . כי . הית :** The *Caph* and the *Yod* seem very clear. The double stop after the *Tau* is not however very certain. Lieutenant Mantell was inclined to think that an *Ain* might have existed here, which Professor Sayce also shows with a query. The *Daleth* in the last word of the group is also not quite certain. There is a horizontal stroke beneath it, but the rock is smooth and well preserved, and no trace of a vertical stroke exists. Nor would the shape of the *Beth* thus formed, if it existed, be the same as that of other *Beths* in the inscription.

Professor Sayce has divided the letters מימי further on in this line into two words by a dot, but we were unable to make certain of this division. The two letters which follow are much defaced, and the rock is covered with a network of small cracks in this part, which would make the east almost entirely unintelligible. I was inclined to think that I could trace the *Koph* shown by Professor Sayce, and that it may have been followed by a *Beth*. Lieutenant Mantell would however give a *Resh* with part of the tail of another letter.

It will be for others to decide which reading suits the text best, and whether the words מימי . נקבה can have originally been written here.

Beyond the great crack on the left, we read with Mr. Piltner ובימה ; and after a very close examination we could clearly determine that the last letter but one is not a *Nun*, but certainly a *Mem*, with the horizontal stroke and cross-bars. The only letter which we are unable to distinguish to the right of this word looks like the remains of an *Aleph*. There may have been a *Lamed* between this and the *Vau*, but we regard both these letters as highly problematical. There is room for a third letter before the *Vau*.

*Fourth Line.*—The second word is read חכר by Professor Sayce ; but the first letter of the word seems to us clearly to be a *He* and not a *Cheth*. There is a deep crack in the stone at this point, which, before the deposit was removed, would have given the left stroke of the *Cheth*, but as now seen, it appears to be clearly a natural and not a sculptured line. The surface of the stone being uninjured, we could ascertain that there had never been any “horn” on the left at the end of the bars of the *He*.

By the aid of the copy we are able to distinguish the *Ain* preceding the *Lamed* in the sentence גרון . על . גרון . The first *Zain* is however imperfect, and the second *Gimel* cannot be distinguished. The *Vau* succeeding these words is fairly clear, but only the middle stroke of the head can be seen, with its characteristic *shoe* on the end of the stroke. The final *Vau* at the end of the line we could not see clearly, but a trace of its vertical stroke may perhaps be recognised.

*Fifth Line.*—The second *Mem* has the same form as all the others in the text. We are quite unable to find any remains of the *Yod* given by Professor Sayce in מוצא, nor does there seem to be any space for it

between the *Tzadi* and the *Aleph*. The *Tau* in **במאתי** seems to us to be very doubtful, though strokes exist which may have belonged to such a letter. It should be noted that between this word and the next there is more space than is shown in Professor Sayce's copy. The dot is at some distance from the *Yod*, but even then there is fully room for another letter before the *Aleph*. The surface of the rock is however injured in this place. The last two letters of this line appear to us to read **רנ**, though the last may be a *Mem*, as it is very imperfect and indistinct.

*Sixth Line.*—The third letter read *Cheth* by Professor Sayce is very indistinct, and may have been a *He*. The letters **היה** appear to us to be now quite distinct, and unmistakable, although Professor Sayce reads quite differently. The letters **גבה** also seem to us to be distinct, and the letter which follows seems more probably a *He* than a *Cheth*. The *Tzadi* which follows is imperfect, and the *Resh* or *Beth* next in order cannot be read as now seen. The final letter of the inscription should apparently be *Beth*, but the surface of the rock is here so damaged as to make it impossible to distinguish any of the three letters which Professor Sayce places after the last *Tzadi*, for there is a hole in the stone at this point.

Such is a summary of our observations, which have been pursued entirely without consideration of anything beyond the present appearance of the text. The main results which seem likely to be of some service are those which concern the forms of the letters, and the difficult readings of the third and sixth lines.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Lieut. R.E.*

#### IV.

I HAVE been favoured with a tracing of the squeeze of the Siloam inscription. In the last *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund I argued, in reply to Professor Sayce, that the Solomonic age of the inscription was on palæographic grounds quite untenable, and that it must be placed at least two centuries and a half later. In the *Athenæum* of August 13th, Professor Sayce surrenders his former opinion, and asks whether I still venture to uphold my own. In reply to this challenge I am bound to acknowledge that a date so early as the middle of the eighth century can no longer be maintained.

I argued for the earlier date on the ground that Professor Sayce's copy exhibited transitional forms of certain letters, notably of *aleph* and *mim*. In some instances the Moabite or ninth century forms were used, in others the sixth century or Eshmunazar forms. In the tracing all these earlier forms vanish. Both *aleph* and *mim* appear as we find them in the seventh century Phœnician inscription at Abu Simbel, while other letters, notably *koph* and *tsade*, approximate to sixth century forms. I cannot, therefore, now maintain that the inscription is earlier than the seventh century, nor do I think it can be later than the sixth. The closing years of the

Jewish monarchy might suit very well all the conditions of the problem, and it does not seem improbable that the conduit may have been constructed in preparation for one or other of the closing sieges, or actually during the last siege, after the aqueduct from Gihon had been cut. This would give 587 B.C. as the date of the inscription. See, however, Ecclesiasticus xlviii, 17; and 2 Chron. xxxii, 30.

ISAAC TAYLOR.

## V.

THE discovery of this inscription has excited no more attention and critical curiosity than it deserves. It speaks to us in the primitive Hebrew, the language of the past, and narrates a matter of the highest topographical interest, in the simplest forms of ancient orthography then in use. It will be our duty to interpret these forms, with all their defects, so as to have a correct conception of that little morsel of topographical history which the engraver of this inscription intended posterity should know and place on record. The following is the inscription:—

### TRANSLATION.

Behold the boring (tunnel). This is the history of the tunnel. While the excavators lifted the pick, each toward his neighbour, and while there were 3 cubits to the mouth (height of tunnel at the spot here described), the excavators came together (יהודך = *yichulo*, coming together) each unto his neighbour. They then measured (מדה) and discovered (יערה) = *ya-arah*, discovered, became obvious) in the rock, that there was a *clearly-defined* (מן = *manah* in its ancient uncontracted form, meaning to point out, clearly define, and count out by reckoning up the measurements) *crookedness* (קמטון = *kumetoo*, wrinkled, crooked, corrugated, not going straight) in the direction (בירה = *barah*, direction, leading; *beth* is a preposition in this word) of the boring (*nakarah*). The excavators then eagerly worked, and each *met* (*likrath*) his neighbour, pick to pick. The waters then advanced (*wy-yaluchoo*) and flowed from the outlet towards the pool, from a distance of 1000 cubits from the *described boundary* (תאיה = *taah*, boundary pointed out and described) of the tunnel they excavated at the head of the excavation here.

#### I. INFERENCE.—*Two branches.*

We infer, as a radical conclusion, that two gangs of men were employed in the excavation, and that they started from two opposite ends of the tunnel, and met somewhere in the length. Now the question we are about to raise is one that has never yet been assumed, nor has it ever been suggested in any publications on the subject. It has always been

assumed that the entire aqueduct from Virgin's Fount to the Pool of Siloam was one continuous construction by two gangs of men. We hold that the two gangs of men were not employed on the whole, but only on the Siloam branch which runs south. And that the two gangs formed one whilst constructing the branch running west from the Fountain. We hold the theory that the Siloam branch alone is the excavation referred to in this inscription, and that the upper or head branch of the Fountain running west is not included in this narrative. A careful reading of its clauses, and the general context also, confirm this theory. The last clause especially cannot be interpreted otherwise.

Then, again, the word **תֵּאָחֶזֶק**, in line 6, is not applied to the *lower end* of the tunnel, or to the Siloam Pool, it is applied to the other end of the tunnel where the excavators *began*; and this end the narrative calls the *raish*, ראש = "head of the excavation here." The "head" of the Siloam branch is therefore meant by this word. Certainly the "lower end" must mean the tail end, and not the head of a tunnel or stream. If, therefore, the word be admitted, it must refer to the *head* of the Siloam branch of the aqueduct. This much then is certain without further discussion. In fact, Professor Sayce has himself noticed this inherent difficulty. He says: "I must confess that the meaning of 'lower part' would be more suitable to the Siloam end of the tunnel than to the other, to which it refers."

Now a careful reading of the last clause will prove, beyond a doubt, that the double gangs of excavators worked together first as one body, and as one gang, in excavating jointly the Virgin's Fount first, giving it a wider, more open, and spacial appearance as an entrance. And this was the *first* excavation of these men, and was regarded as the *head* of the tunnel. This was carried directly west about 231 feet, with a roof of 6 feet, roughly estimated by Captain Warren. This was the first excavation to which the narrator refers, when he says:

"The waters advanced and flowed from the outlet towards the pool, from a distance of 1,000 cubits from the boundary of the tunnel *they excavated at the head* of the excavation here."

The inference is fairly drawn, that a tunnel had previously been made at the *head or beginning* of the Siloam branch, by these same men; and that this tunnel had a given limit or boundary. Now this *first* tunnel could be none other than the Virgin's Fount branch, which runs almost due west 231 feet, and 6 feet high. And the *boundary* referred to would be this limit of 231 feet. The Siloam branch must, therefore, begin from this limit, and the 1,000 cubits must be counted from this boundary of the first tunnel. After cutting this first branch at the *head* of the excavation in Siloam, the gang of men divided themselves into two independent gangs for the greater convenience of carrying out the *débris* of the cutting. It being intended that the two gangs should meet at some intermediate point. Thus we have fairly established the fact, that the last clause of this inscription conclusively proves that the tunnel referred to is that Siloam branch of the aqueduct on which the two gangs of men only were

thus engaged to meet each other; the inscription cannot refer to any other but the tunnel made by these men meeting together.

## II. INFERENCE.—*The Cubit.*

Metrologically the inscription seems to fix the length of the Hebrew cubit, or *ammah*. The tunnel is 1,708 feet in length, according to Captain Warren. If this be the length of 1,000 cubits intended by the narrator, then the cubit will be equal to 20·496 inches. But the place where these two gangs of men met was 3 cubits high = 5·124 feet, and there is no such place in the whole length of the tunnel, except at the long vault in the Virgin's Fount branch. Hence the cubit cannot be 20·496 inches.

Then, again, we have seen that the two gangs met in the Siloam branch somewhere. The heights have been given by Captain Warren. For the first 350 feet the height sloped down from 16 feet at the entrance to 4 feet 4 inches, width 2 feet. At 450 feet the height fell to 3 feet 9 inches. At 600 feet the height was 2 feet 6 inches. At 850 feet it was only 1 foot 10 inches, and at 900 feet it was reduced to 1 foot 4 inches high. Just at this point of the narrowest cutting the height suddenly rises to 4 feet 6 inches, which height continues for a length of 150 feet, when at a distance of 1,050 feet, the height is again reduced to 2 feet 6 inches, and at 1,100 feet it was again only 1 foot 10 inches. At 1,150 feet the height averaged 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches; at 1,450 feet the Siloam branch begins to turn towards the Virgin's Fount branch; and at 1,477 to 1,480 feet, the height suddenly rises in the open vault of the Fount branch to 6 feet.

Thus it will be seen the highest point in this Siloam branch is a space of 150 feet in length, where it averages 4 feet 6 inches. Now, if there be any likely spot where the two gangs met it will be at this high cutting. At 850 to 900 feet the height sinks down from 1 foot 10 inches to 1 foot 4 inches, then suddenly rises into a cutting of 4 feet 6 inches. In like manner at the other end of this same Siloam branch, from this central space of 150 feet with a height of 4 feet 6 inches, the other end also tapers off and lowers down to 1 foot 10 inches. Now, does it not seem reasonable to suppose that when the men got to a point where they expected to meet each other, they would widen their tunnel in order that the chances of meeting each other would be greater? And that where we find this space of enlargement at the middle of an aqueduct, there is the spot where they endeavoured to meet? We think it reasonable to make this inference. Professionally, as a civil engineer, we think this a very reasonable supposition, especially where the engineers were not supposed to be equal to the sappers and miners of modern times.

Let us summarize a little. If the Virgin's Fount branch be almost due west for about 230 feet, to the end of the passage with 6 feet in height, the Siloam branch will be  $1,708 - 230 = 1,478$  feet in length. But in this case the 1,000 cubits will be = 1,478 feet, or 1·478 feet to a cubit, which is equal to 17·736 inches per cubit. Let us test this value also. The

narrator of the inscription says the gangs were working, when they met, with a tunnel equal to 3 cubits; but the greatest height of this Siloam branch is near the middle, and equal to 4 feet 6 inches = 18 inches to a cubit.

Now, in an article on the "Sacred Cubit—Test Cases," October, 1879, *Quarterly Statement*, we then suggested that the ancient cubit was 17.70 inches, or  $\sqrt{3.14159} \times 10 = 17.7245$ ; or the full cubit rod of what Ezekiel calls "a cubit and a handbreadth" (ch. x. 5), consisting of 7 handbreadths = 20.6786 inches. And it would now appear that this Siloam branch of 1,000 cubits was = 1477 feet in length, or 17.724 inches per cubit; whilst the height of the place of meeting of the excavators was 4 feet 6 inches = 3 cubits of this length, as the narrator declares in the inscription. Hence the cubit used by the engineer and workmen was 17.724 inches in length. When the prophet Ezekiel said:

"A cubit is a cubit and a handbreadth."—EZEK. xliii, 13.

"In his hand a measuring reed of 6 cubits, by the cubit and a handbreadth."—EZEK. xl, 5.

The *extra handbreadth* was simply a handle by which to hold the cubit rod whilst measuring: the cubit was 6 handbreadths only, but the cubit-rod was 7 handbreadths. Hence almost every cubit rod found has measured 20.6786 inches with its *extra* handbreadths, and this simple fact has led to the conception that a cubit was 7 handbreadths = 20.6786 inches. The Egyptian cubit-rods were constructed similarly; they were a cubit and a handbreadth in length = 20.6786 inches, or 17.724 inches to the cubit.

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## VI.

I HAVE been much interested in the paper contained in the *Quarterly Statement* upon "the ancient Hebrew inscription discovered at the pool of Siloam," and particularly so in the idea that the discovery may define the length of the Hebrew cubit. My object in writing to you is to point out that further examination of the tunnel may possibly lead to the discovery of exact and definite data from which the exact length of the cubit measure used in its construction may be mathematically demonstrated. In addition to the tablet (or smoothed portion of rock) upon which the inscription is cut, Mr. Sayce says he "came across small portions which had apparently been smoothed, as well as hollows or niches in the face of them all." I suppose these niches are of triangular shape like the one said to be opposite the tablet. If so, I am inclined to form a different theory as to the formation of the triangular nich opposite the tablet than that which Mr. Schick suggests. A theory



which will also account for the existence of the other niches which are found at intervals in the walls of the tunnel.

To construct a tunnel from both ends, the starting point must be definitely marked somewhere, and careful measurement must be made along the course of the tunnel as the excavation proceeds. Now if the niches occur at regular intervals along the tunnel, it is more reasonable to suppose they each mark off a measured length, so that instead of remeasuring the whole distance whenever the amount of work done is required to be known, a measurement from the last mark would be sufficient. If the niches are large enough to hold a lamp, a double purpose may have been served in their construction. The triangular point would serve to indicate distance, and the light would serve to light the tunnel at intervals, by which facility in the removal of materials would be gained. Now suppose this theory be correct, what more natural thing than to inscribe upon the wall of the tunnel the length thereof near the last nich? Probably the ornamental finish described by Mr. Sayce as found under the middle of the bottom line may be a mark intended to direct attention to the marks on the opposite side of the tunnel. The character of the finish is a remarkable one, however, being composed of three figures, two like the triangular niches in shape, and one just like a surveyor's mark.



It is even possible that the inscription and the finish are intended to mark the exact spot from which the thousand cubits are measured. If another inscription is discovered at the other end of the tunnel much uncertainty will be removed, but without such an inscription a careful measurement of the distance between the niches may lead to remarkable results. As to the upper part of the tablet upon which the inscription is found being without lettering, this may arise from an intention to engrave upon it the name of the king who ordered the tunnel to be cut, or some other record, an intention never carried out. Or it may have been so left to draw attention to the other tablet formations which Mr. Sayce describes.

H. SULLY.

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## LIFE, HABITS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE FELLAHIN OF PALESTINE. By REV. F. A. KLEIN.

(From the "Zeitschrift" of the German Palestine Exploration Society.)

### CONTINUATION.\*

THE clothing of the Fellahin is extremely simple, but at the same time comfortable and suited to the climate. Their hair is worn quite short

\* The first part appeared in the *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1881.

except a tuft at the crown, and the first portion of the head covering consists of a white cotton skull cap. With people who have any tendency to cleanliness, this cap (*Takiyeh*) is washed every week, and for boys it is generally the only head gear. Over this they wear one or two felt skull caps, and then the *Tarbûsh* or Turkish fez, round which is wound the piece of stuff which completes the turban; this varies in colour and quality according to the religion, rank or taste of the wearer. Sometimes it is of unbleached cotton fringed and striped with red or a red and yellow silk *Kufeyeh*. The richer Christians use black cashmere, the Bethemites and upper class Mussulmen a strip of white muslin, whilst a descendant of the Prophet may be always known by his large green turban. In many neighbourhoods red cloth is worn, and the whole head covering is called a *Leffe*, from (*laff* to wind round). The more important sheikhs wear particularly large and cumbersome *Leffes*. I knew one Christian sheikh in Nazareth who, whenever he changed an old turban for a new one, took the greatest care not only to have it the same size, but of exactly the same weight; if he found it lighter than his old one he added folds of cloth or extra felt caps, for he maintained that any change in the weight to which he was accustomed, gave him pains in his head. These weighty head dresses are rapidly giving place to the Turkish mode, and many of the upper classes who formerly took great pride in their ponderous *Leffes*, now wear what is called a *keshf*, a *tarbûsh* with a light *mendil* round it, or even only a *tarbûsh stambuti*.

The thick head coverings were certainly a great protection against the scorching rays of the sun, and in case of necessity they formed a very good pillow; I have often seen the Fellahin stretch themselves under the shade of an olive tree, and enjoy the most peaceful slumbers with nothing but a stone under their head. It was strangely suggestive of Jacob. The *Leffe* with its many folds served also as a receptacle in which important documents or letters could be safely bestowed. Another head-dress which Fellahin who are in the habit of mixing with the Bedawin often adopt, is the silk *Kufeyeh* or a bright coloured *mendil*, which is bound to the head with a woollen cord and falls over the neck and shoulders.

The body is covered with a coarse blue or white cotton garment down to the ankles, with wide sleeves reaching to the knees. This answers the purpose of shirt and coat combined, and is drawn in at the waist by a broad leathern belt fastened above the hip. For hard work or travelling the skirt is turned up, and the awkward sleeves are tied back between the shoulders. To wear the clothes almost trailing on the ground is a sign of opulence or else of arrogance and affectation. In speaking of the men of one or other of the principal Mahometan families people often make the remark that "they go ungirded in their houses."

A cloak called an 'Abba completes the Fellahin costume. It is a black or brown woollen garment of the most primitive and clumsy construction, it must have been in vogue as early as the days of the early Canaanites, for certainly it is no product of modern civilization. Some of the people spin their own 'abbas; they are made of a very thick piece of stuff of an oblong

shape, and sewn so that the front part and two holes for the arms are left open. It forms a garment as useful as it is inelegant. It protects them from rain and cold ; at night it serves as covering and bed, for the Fellah retires to rest on a mat or on the bare ground, where wrapped in his 'abba he sleeps as soundly as we should on the softest mattress. Often in the inns I have seen rows of mummy-like figures lying close to each other on the ground fast asleep, and upon waking up they shook their coverings and put them on again as cloaks. If the Fellah has to fetch food for the cattle, or to carry anything to market, he uses his 'abba as a sack ; if the Mussulman has to say his prayers whilst journeying, he spreads his 'abba on the ground and performs his devotions in the orthodox manner ; if there is no available manger or nose-bag for his camel, he lays his 'abba on the ground and shakes the fodder upon it ; finally he can make a little tent of it under which to take shelter when out in the fields. Only youths or beggars can do without this indispensable garment ; for a respectable Fellah to appear minus his 'abba would be almost equivalent to going out naked. In winter many of them wear a sheepskin jacket with short sleeves, the woolly side turned inwards, and the outside smeared with ruddle. Stockings and socks are unknown luxuries ; they either go bare-footed or wear comfortable but queer looking shoes ; sandals are only met with on the other side of Jordan. But in the time of harvest, every one wears shoes on account of walking over the stubble, and at this period the shoemakers do a very good trade. Amongst people who are fairly well off the ordinary costume is of course often modified, and gives place to more of a town style, including shirts and the *Kumbâg*, a striped silk or cotton gown, also a short cloth jacket called a *Jubbeh*, and finely embroidered 'abbas, ornamental girdles and town-made shoes.

The women wear a blue or white robe with wide sleeves, and for fête days a silk gown striped in many colours with pieces of red or yellow cloth let in to the breast and sleeves. Their 'abba is shorter and narrower than the men's, and sometimes they wear a short jacket richly embroidered in gold ; the 'abba is generally dark red.

The shape of the cap varies according to the different districts. In Bethlehem they wear a sort of cloth coil ornament across the forehead with gold or silver coins according to the wealth of the wearer, and in Nazareth and the surrounding district, a padded head-dress coming down the sides of the face, and decorated with a number of silver coins (five piastre pieces), often as many as six or seven pounds' worth. These foolishly heavy decorations cause them to suffer a great deal from pains in the head and diseases of the eye, though once they have become accustomed to them, leaving them off has always a bad effect. I had an opportunity of assuring myself of this fact in Nazareth ; a woman there had exchanged the *smadi* for the light *sooki* which is worn in the towns (it consists of a small *tarbûsh* with a golden clasp, a *mendil* and only a few coins at the back), she got ophthalmia ; some others had sacrificed their coins through want of money, so that only their cloth coil remained ; and all of them suffered with pains in the head.

If a woman is in want of money, she cuts off a few coins, if she earns anything she stitches some more on, thus her head-dress forms a portable bank on which her capital is stitched. During a night attack the first thought of the women is to hide their *smade*. The Bedawin will often attack them and rob them of their head-pieces, and in some villages they have even been murdered on their way home from fetching water, only on account of their coins.

Amongst the Christians, a woman will often leave her *smade* or a portion of it to be expended in masses for the repose of her soul. A small chain or band fastens this ponderous head-covering under the chin, and sometimes from this hangs a second chain on which is suspended a large gold or silver coin as a neck ornament. The *mendil* or veil is worn over the *smud*, covering the head and neck, though not the face, but if any stranger appears the women at once cover their mouth and nose; a well behaved woman never appears in public without her *mendil*. Often riding through a village and passing near the huts, I have noticed the women without their veils, having taken them off, perhaps on account of the heat, or whilst combing their hair, but directly they became aware of my approach, the veils were on in a second. The *mendil* in some districts is white, and is often ornamented with a bright fringe and border as in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. In the Nâblus district it is red, and round about Nazareth black with yellow stripes. The beauty or ugliness of the women is alike hid by the veil, only just the top part of the face remaining visible. They all use kohel, which not only enhances the beauty of their eyes, but is also supposed to strengthen them. On very joyful occasions, and for weddings, they stain their fingers and feet with henna, and the old women also dye their hair with it when it is turning grey. Bracelets made of inferior silver, brass or silver rings and bangles for the ankles are the principal ornaments. In some parts the women dress better, wearing underclothes as well as the orthodox costume. The girls can be easily distinguished from the married women by their much simpler and lighter head-dress. The *smade* is only adopted after marriage.

Like all Orientals, the Fellah's chief wish is to have a number of male descendants. As a rule, the sons remain in their father's house, or at all events in the same village, and a father who is surrounded by his sons and his grandsons not only secures help and protection for his declining years, but also gains greatly in honour and influence. A clan (*hama'il*) numbering two hundred men, under the present state of government, can get anything they want much more easily than one mustering only fifty. The fathers are very proud of their sons, and the sisters take the greatest delight in hearing their brothers well spoken of. Such being the case, it may be imagined that there is great rejoicing over the birth of a son. All the relations and friends visit the father to offer their congratulations, adding the usual formula, "May that which has come to you be blessed," to which he joyfully makes answer, "May God also bless you." A cup of coffee is then offered to each guest, or among the Christians, wine and sweetmeats. The birth of a daughter creates no excitement, nor do the

friends offer congratulations ; nevertheless it has its bright side, for if every son adds to the family strength and influence, so each daughter is an addition to their capital, for on reaching a marriageable age, she is worth several thousand piastres. For instance, if a poor man has four daughters, they represent a capital of twelve thousand piastres, and should he be a poor man, the traders will give him credit on their account.

Immediately after birth, the children are rubbed with finely powdered salt. This process which is supposed to have the effect of hardening them is repeated for some weeks ; sometimes it does the child a great deal of harm. In Bethlehem, I remember seeing a fine boy who had nearly lost his sight through this senseless custom, the salt having got into his eyes. On the whole though, the experiment cannot do the children any real injury, for in spite of dirt, neglect, and exposure, they grow up hardy, and soon get accustomed to the rough life which lies before them. As infants they are certainly not fussed over ; even when only a few days old they are left swaddled and tied into a very primitive wooden cradle, where they have to remain whilst the mother goes about her household duties. If she has tried to protect the poor little creature from the flies and mosquitoes by throwing a *mendil* over his face, he is almost suffocated for want of air, but if left without, dozens of flies swarm round him and settle in clusters on his mouth and eyes ; at first he screams and struggles as much as his narrow quarters will allow, but escape being impossible, he submits to the inevitable. It has often surprised me to see the bigger children playing in the streets or sitting on the rubbish heaps without making the slightest attempt to brush the flies from their faces, so early do they become accustomed to the plague of the land. Still, in spite of their being brought up with so little comfort, there is no lack of maternal affection. In their own fashion, the women are dotingly fond of their children, and will endure the greatest privation, and make almost any sacrifice to further their welfare. Whilst caressing them they make use of the tenderest terms of endearment, apostrophising the child with such expressions as "My soul ! my Lord ! my Life ! Oh light of my eye !" and they sing them the softest cradle songs. They have a great love for all children, and would not willingly do one of them any harm. This is especially noticeable when they go out as nurses ; nothing can exceed their devotion and the patience with which they work or sit up at night if necessary. If anything, they carry their affection for their sons too far. Many a mother works hard or denies herself every comfort until her latest years, in order to enable her son to marry, and then to aid him in supporting his wife and children. The women suckle their children for three or four years. They consider that long nursing strengthens the child, and have several sayings to that effect, whilst they often give as the reason of a weak constitution, the fact of the sufferer having been weaned too soon. In such a climate this belief is perhaps not without foundation. If a mother dies, a neighbour will take the child until a nurse can be found, and only very rarely are they brought up on goat's milk. The children are early accustomed to eat bread, and are often

stuffed with the most unwholesome food. There is great joy on the appearance of the first teeth, for then, armed with a piece of bread, the child is left to crawl about in front of the door. If the mother has anything to do in the town or the field, she carries her child in a sort of sack on her back; and during the harvest, the cradle is often dragged into the fields. The children are spared much doctoring, a great deal being left to nature. For wounds, finely sifted red earth is mixed with water and applied in the form of a paste, or sometimes a bright red powder called zerakon. In bad cases of fever, they let blood by scraping the skin with a razor, and for inflammation of the gums whilst teething, they burn the under part of the tongue with a red hot needle. If these remedies fail, their power to help is at an end, and Allah alone can save. Many bad diseases of the eye might be prevented in the first instance by the simple use of a little clean water, but, unluckily, except for drinking purposes, the Fellah has the greatest dislike to making use of it.

A child having made his first effort at speech by acquiring the words father and mother, he next accomplishes the "abuk" or cursing of his father, and when he can seize hold of his father's beard and cry abuk, his parent greatly rejoices, and everyone predicts his future worth.

The children have literally no games, they tumble about the streets and squares, and in their way seem quite merry and contented. Directly they are old enough they begin to make themselves useful by taking the goats and donkeys to the pastures, and watching to prevent them straying into the vineyards or cultivated fields, and there the boys lie under the shade of an olive or fig tree quietly looking out, or sometimes whiling away the time by playing on a very primitive sort of pipe made of reed. When the fruit begins to ripen, they are set to watch the vineyards and fig-gardens in order to frighten away chance intruders by screaming and throwing stones. During the harvest they help to load and drive home the camels. The girls balancing a water pot on their heads, soon learn to fetch water from the well. They have also to collect fuel and dry it in the sun ready for the oven, to help their mother fetch wood, to tend the younger children, and directly they are strong enough, they learn to grind the grain, knead the dough, and help with the baking. In the neighbourhood of a large town, many children, both boys and girls, are employed by the builders, some come from a considerable distance, and remaining in the town all the week, only return home on Saturdays. They live chiefly on bread, eating with it onions, fruit, cheese, olives, or some such relish; meat they very seldom taste.

Until about fifty years ago, when foreign missions and societies began to take an interest in the welfare of the children, there were literally no elementary schools; but now, in all the towns, and in the larger villages, we find several of various denominations—Greek, Roman, Protestant, or Armenian—as well as the Government schools for Mahometans. Many of the Fellahin, convinced of the necessity of education, send their children regularly to one or other of these schools. Previously, only people who were well off sent their children to either a Christian or a Mahometan

school, where they were taught to read Arabic and perhaps to write a little. The Mussulman learnt to drone out the Koran, the Christians the Psalms ; even now the Koran and the Psalms are respectively the first reading books. The salary of the schoolmaster was paid in kind, namely in bread and eggs, which the pupils brought with them every day, and to which they added a few piastres at the end of the month. Sometimes, when the children had reached a certain part of their text books, a backsheesh would be presented to the teacher, in acknowledgment of their progress. I have met old men who could repeat the whole of the Psalms or long portions of the Koran by heart, having learnt them in this way. The writing was done on a wooden tablet, but they seldom made as much progress in caligraphy as in reading or learning by heart ; even now there are some villages (generally Mahometan) where not a creature excepting the *katib* or preacher could read or write, and occasionally not even he, so that if a letter comes which has to be read, or if anything has to be written, they are obliged to send to the next village, where the *katib* will just manage to spell out the contents, or to scrawl a few characters on paper. The Arabian schoolmaster's only method was to frighten his pupils into attention and a small amount of industry ; to this end he used the rod and the "*falak*," a wooden thing to which the delinquent's feet were tied by a cord, whilst he lay on the ground to be belaboured by his teacher. Now and then I have seen this much-hated instrument hung up on the wall, in order to intimidate the children. In very exceptional cases a father would let his daughters learn to read, but this never happened in Mahometan families. Some of the Fellahin are very sharp-witted and teachable. A good supply of capable schoolmasters and careful school inspectors would soon be able to improve the state of the village schools, and to introduce a more progressive system. The children seldom remain at school later than their thirteenth year, by which time they are very often engaged, and sometimes even married, whereupon they assume the manly *lefte*, and commence their calling in life. The majority of them take to agriculture, and find full occupation in tending the vineyards and fig-gardens, or in looking after the crops and the cattle. Others follow trades, but beyond becoming shoemakers, weavers, builders, or joiners, there is but little choice, and even in these they find scanty employment. In some villages there is not a single artisan. The weaver uses a very primitive loom, and makes the thick cotton material used for the *tob* ; although a great quantity of European cotton is sold in Syria, the Fellah does not find it strong enough for this strange garment ; in the same manner they weave the thick stuff for the 'abbas, though the finer ones come from Damascus. A weaver who begins his work in good time, can easily make enough stuff for a garment during the day, and earn a fair profit for his work. The joiners make the wooden parts of the very simple ploughs and farm implements, and those who have advanced a little in their trade are able to put up the rough doors and window frames, but more difficult work would be beyond them. The iron portions of the plough and the various tools, are made either by the smith of the nearest

town or by gipsies (Nanry), who travel about the country making nails, axe-heads, etc., and dwelling in black Bedawin tents. Only on the other side of Jordan do we find smiths in the smaller villages, and there the surname Haddad (smith or forger) is of frequent occurrence. For things which they can neither obtain in their own village nor in the neighbouring town, the Fellahin are dependent on journeymen mechanics—coppersmiths, silversmiths, gun-makers, pedlars, and coverlet makers, who travel from place to place accordingly as they find work. The pedlars and mattress-makers are generally Jews. Quack doctors and inoculators are also to be found travelling through the villages.

In Bethlehem there is a considerable industry in rosaries and ornaments made of mother-o'-pearl and the black *Aebeg musa* stone, through which trade many families earn a living, and some even become wealthy.

Again, in villages like Ram Allah and Lifta, many gain their living by keeping donkeys and carrying produce into the towns. Every morning one sees groups of these animals being driven to the market at Jerusalem, laden according to the season, sometimes with wood, fruit, or grain, at others with oil or water. In the evening they trot merrily home with much joking on the part of the drivers. Lifta is the great centre of the donkey drivers and water-carriers, and in Sâris and Kubebe there are a great many camel-drivers, who are chiefly employed in carrying wares between Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Nâbulus.

(*To be continued.*)

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## SOME REMARKS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE IMPRESSIONS ON THE VASE HANDLES FOUND AT THE FOOT OF THE TEMPLE WALL.

By J. BAKER GREENE, LL.B.

AMONGST the many objects contained in the Museum of the Palestine Exploration Fund, perhaps none are marked with a greater interest, both in their historical and their religious associations, than some fragments of pottery, easily identified as vase handles, which were discovered some years since in the vicinity of the Temple wall at Jerusalem. Two or three of these fragments contain inscriptions, or rather impressions made in the clay when in process of manufacture, but although the Phœnician characters have been deciphered, I am not aware that up to the present any explanation of their meaning has been given which has recommended itself to the acceptance of Biblical archæologists. The object of the present paper is to throw, if possible, some light upon this obscure but most interesting subject.

The characters found on these vase handles are Phœnician, and similar to



those on the Moabite Stone, the date of which is as nearly as possible 900 B.C. Judging of the probable date of this pottery, which was found at the south-eastern corner of Solomon's palace, and adjoining the foot of the Temple wall, and which must have been subsequent to the building of the Temple, and prior to the Babylonian captivity, we should expect that the words, like those in the Moabite inscription, would be similar to those found in the Old Testament records, and if so we are not likely to err in interpreting them in the same way.

The characters found on one of the vase handles transcribed into Hebrew, are as follows:—L ל, M מ, L ל, Ch ח, Ts צ, P פ H. ה, or in their entirety, L M L Ch Ts P H. To these letters we must now supply the vowel points. The subdivision of the words into L : M L Ch : and Ts P H is doubtless correct. Let us for the present postpone the consideration of the first word or letter L.

M L Ch may be read, following the Hebrew text of the Scriptures, as Moloch, Molech, or Melech. This word, however spelt, was the name given to one of the deities worshipped in Canaan, and is supposed to have been the sun-god regarded in his scorching or destruction aspect, and as such he was propitiated with human sacrifices by fire. Molech was also, especially by the Carthagenians, identified with the planet Saturn, which may explain the myth of Saturn devouring his children. The word when translated, is "king," as Baal means "lord," but in the Hebrew text the word Molech is generally supposed to be used to express the deity, Melech to express the title of king. The word Moloch occurs very rarely. Molech is, like Baal, almost invariably preceded by the definite article. There are several passages in the Old Testament where this word is translated king, in which there can be no doubt the deity was alluded to. For example, in Is. xxx, 33, "For Tophet is ordained of old. Yea for *the king* it is prepared, etc." The Hebrew text is Molech, but we know from other sources that it was in Tophet that the fearful rites of Molech worship were chiefly celebrated. 2 Kings xxiii, 10; Jer. vii, 31, etc.

The letters in this inscription may therefore be read Molech or Melech, and in the absence of anything else to guide us, might, with equal plausibility, be construed as the name of a deity or the title of an earthly monarch. Let us now proceed to consider the next word.

Ts P H is supposed to be Zepha, and this is further presumed to be a proper name. I question very much the accuracy of this conclusion. There is no record in history of a king so named, ruling either in the northern or southern kingdom, into which the Jewish Monarchy was split up by the revolt of the ten tribes, or in any of the adjacent States. I also think it very improbable that any king in those times, or indeed in any other, would have stamped his name and title on pottery intrinsically valueless. If he desired to mark it as royal property, it seems in the highest degree unlikely that he would adopt such a device or such an idiom. Let us cast about for a more probable solution of the mystery.

The Hebrew verb Zapha (Ts P H with the necessary vowel points

means "to look out, to view," and also "to shine," at least in the Arabic. It would be needless to cite passages in which it is used in the former sense, but we must refer to one because it is very much in point. At the parting between Laban and Jacob on Mount Gilead, they raised a heap of stones, and set up a pillar, and made a covenant to respect each other's possessions. Laban called the pillar "the Mizpah, for he said, the Lord watch (Jehovah itzeph) between me and thee when we are absent one from another." Gen. xxxi, 49. The verb is here employed to indicate the unceasing watchfulness of God, and a *paronomasia* is used to connect it with Mizpah, which comes from the same root, and signifies not only a pillar, but a watch tower. In the absence therefore of any indication that Ts P H is a proper name, it seems only reasonable to treat it as an ordinary translatable word, and all the more if we find that it is such a word as would in all probability be associated with the name given to the deity, and be expressive of one of his attributes. Molech was not an idol; though if we trust tradition, he was represented by a brazen image in the valley of Ben Hinnom, in whose outstretched arms the children were placed which were sacrificed to the terrible god. The early religion of the inhabitants of Palestine was simply nature worship. But the forces of nature were various. The unseen power whose efforts alone were manifest, might be exercised in a beneficial or in a destructive manner. The sun might by its genial warmth bring forth in abundance the fruits of the earth, or by its scorching heat utterly consume them. The generative power in nature needed the productive power as a counterpart, and if there was a king or lord of heaven, there was a queen or lady. The consort of Baal, or perhaps more correctly speaking the complement, was Baaltis. The Ashera (in the authorised version rendered "the grove") which was the symbol of the queen of heaven, invariably stood beside the altar which was raised to the king, and as we know, stood in the temple of Jerusalem at the time of King Josiah, by whom it was cut down. The Baalim and the Ashtaroth were numerous, but it is doubtful whether they were regarded as distinct deities or only as indicative of different manifestations of divine power. But however this may be, "the Molech," Κατ' ἐξοχὴν "the king," was believed to view, *i.e.*, to look out of heaven constantly, and if it was desired to refer to this attribute, some form of the verb Tsapha would unquestionably have been used by an Israelite living at the era to which the pottery found in underground Jerusalem unquestionably must be referred.

It may perhaps be suggested that Molech Z P H is simply an illustration of a practice which was very common amongst the various races inhabiting the region which, for convenience sake, we will call Palestine. We mean that of calling themselves by names compounded of the name of the deity they desired to honour. A great number of Israelitish names were thus formed, and a very curious light they seem to throw on the religion of Israel prior to the Babylonian captivity. For example Joash (a compound of Jehovah) has a son named Jerubbaal (a compound of Baal), who becomes Judge over Israel, and is succeeded by his son Abimelech (a compound of

Molech). Saul called one of his sons Jonathan (a compound of Jehovah), and another Eshbaal; and Jonathan in his turn called his son Meribbaal. Saul's High Priest is in one place called Ahiah (a compound of Jehovah), (1 Sam. xiv), and in a subsequent one is called Ahimelech (1 Sam. xxii), which would almost lead to the notion that Jehovah and "the Molech" were at one time considered convertible terms. David called one of his sons Beeliadah (1 Chr. xiv, 7), but elsewhere (2 Sam. v, 16) his name appears as Eliada (a compound of EL, Elohim or God). Hezekiah, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and many other names might be cited as compounds of Jehovah. The Carthagenians, it is needless to remind the reader, preserved the usage of their Phœnician ancestors, as illustrated in such names as Hannibal, Asdrubal, &c., names compounded of Baal.

May we not have here stamped on this jar handle a name compounded of Molech, and may not this stamp be that of the potter who made the jar or of the owner? The latter supposition may, I think, be summarily rejected. The modern usage of having crests or cyphers stamped on dinner plates when in the course of manufacture, or if in trade, of having the name and calling of the makers stamped on bottles and jars, was, so far as I am aware, unknown to the ancients. The possibility that it may be the potter's name demands, however, careful consideration, because if we have here simply the manufacturer's stamp, the discovery of these jar handles throws no light on the religion of Israel.


We have in the Old Testament one name which has an apparent if not a real analogy to Melech Z P H considered as a compound name. It is Zephaniah; the last syllable indicates a compound of Jehovah, but it is not so easy to speak with certainty regarding the first portion of the word. St. Jerome was of opinion that it was derived from the verb we have just been considering, Zapha, and accordingly interpreted the entire name as "speculator Domini," the watcher of Jehovah. This would have been a very fitting name for the prophet, of whose name St. Jerome supplied the etymology, but as he was named when he was a child, and as others who were not prophets held the name before him, we must examine his name irrespective of the qualifications of its possessor. Gesenius with more probability derives the name from Zaphan, "to hide," the true interpretation of the entire name being "whom Jehovah hides," that is "defends."

Those who accept the patristic etymology will see in Zephaniah the precise counterpart of Molech Zepha. The only difference being that one name is compounded of Jehovah, and the other of Molech. Those who prefer placing their reliance on Gesenius, must however still admit that there is no valid reason why a compound name should not have been formed with the verb Zapha as with the verb Zaphan.

Curiously enough there was a Zephaniah who was second priest in the Temple at the time of its destruction by order of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv, 18), and the temptation is very great to identify his name with the inscription, and to conclude that as Ahiah (1 Sam. xiv) became Ahimelech (1 Sam. xxii), so the Molech Z P H or Melchizeph of the inscription became converted by the sacred historian into Zephaniah. But irrespective

of etymological objections to this solution, it seems to me in the highest degree improbable that vessels used in the service of the Temple were stamped with the names of any of the priests.

Thus far therefore our inquiry carries us no farther than this—Molech Z P H may be a compound name, and in that case the vase handle tells us no more than probably the name of the maker ; or else Molech Z P H is a phrase which must be construed according to the meaning of the words comprising it. Let us however now proceed to consider that apparently insignificant portion of the inscription, the notice of which is purposely postponed.

The first letter is L . This is simply the preposition “to,” which is invariably used in the Old Testament writings. In 1 Kings xi, 7, which states that Solomon raised a high place to Molech, the precise letters are found in the Hebrew text as in this inscription, L M L Ch ; and equally so in 2 Kings xxiii, 10, where an account is given of the defilement of Tophet by king Josiah in order “that no man might make his son or daughter to pass through the fire to Molech.”

Does not, however, the employment of the preposition “to” furnish the key to the right interpretation of the following words, and completely dispel any doubts whether, after all, we had only acquired possession of an old Hebrew trade mark ? If Molech Z P H meant king Zepha, or if the two words together formed a proper name similar to Zephaniah, the employment of the preposition is unintelligible. But if the words be understood in their ordinary meaning, the employment of the preposition becomes at once obvious. If the vases or jars were employed in the service of Molech, what more natural than that they should have impressed on them at the time of their manufacture a stamp declaring that they were dedicated to the service of the deity, and at the same time conveying a warning that the ever watchful deity would take notice if they were stolen or appropriated to any profane use ?

And this construction seems to find corroboration in the writings of St. Paul. He appears to have been familiar with the practice of “dedicating” vessels and the way of signifying their dedications by means of a seal. In his Epistle to the Romans (ix, 21) he asks, “Has not the potter power over the clay of the same lump to make one vessel to honour and another unto dishonour ? What if God, willing to show His wrath, and to make His power known, endured with much long suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction, and that He might make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy which he had afore prepared unto glory.” Pursuing the same train of thought in his Second Epistle to Timothy (ii, 19, 20), and using the same metaphor, he writes, “The foundation of God standeth sure having this seal, ‘The Lord knoweth them that are His ;’” and then follows the allusion to the “Great house,” where were “not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and earth, and some to honour and some to dishonour.” The Apostle thus continues “If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour sanctified and meet for the master’s use, and prepared unto every good work.” The practice of

dedicating, nay of sanctifying vessels for the Temple, would seem to have survived down to the time of St. Paul, and it would also appear that in the case of earthenware vessels which, being intrinsically valueless, might in the service of the Temple be inadvertently used both for sacred or profane uses, it was the practice of the potter to impress upon those which were to be exclusively employed for sacred purposes a seal denoting their sanctification.

There are in the Museum two other handles, the impressions on which are not so legible. In both, however, it would seem that the introductory word is L. MLK ; and consequently according to this construction dedicated "To Molech."

The presumption that the impressions on the vase handles indicated the dedication of the vessels to a sacred use, is of course considerably strengthened if the inference be well founded that the figure resembling a dove with outstretched wings, which forms part of the impression, was the emblem of the sun-god.

How then must we read this inscription, and what light, if any, does it throw on the religion of Israel prior to the Babylonian captivity? What were these vases and this pottery, of which the relics were found in such quantities as to give rise to an idea on the part of Mr. Fergusson and others that they were the remains of a museum of crockery which had been collected by one of the kings of Judah? The conclusion appears to me irresistible that these vases were used in the service of the Temple, and that this is shown by the place where they were found, and the stamp which declares that they were dedicated "to Molech who views," "the All Seeing" or "Ever Watchful." That Molech worship, which was simply a worship of Baal, existed side by side even in the Temple at Jerusalem with the worship of Jehovah, is placed beyond all doubt by the records of the Books of Kings, and by the protests of the Prophets of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. Tophet, in the valley of the son of Hinnom, was just outside the walls of Jerusalem, and there the sacrifice of children to Molech was perhaps only too common down to the very eve of the captivity. We are told that Manasseh, Josiah's immediate predecessor on the throne of Judah, sacrificed his son to Molech. But under Josiah, a great reformation was effected. The book of the Law was found in the Temple by Hilkiah the priest, and Josiah proceeded to carry out the instructions which he found therein. "And the king commanded Hilkiah the High Priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth out of the Temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal and for the Grove" (the Ashera, the symbol of Ashtoreth, the consort or female side of Baal), "and for all the host of heaven, and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron, and carried the ashes of them unto Bethel" (2 Kings, xxiii, 4). Is it very improbable that in this broken pottery found at the foot of the Temple wall, we may have some of "the vessels of Baal" (as they would be termed by the historian) which were cast out of the Temple by order of Josiah, but which, from their fragile nature, intrinsic worthlessness and incombustibility, were not removed to

Kidron to be destroyed by fire? Nay, do not all the circumstances seem to indicate that these vessels were cast in Josiah's time on the spot where they have now been discovered? So long as the kingdom of Judah lasted, so long it is reasonable to assume that comparatively little alteration took place in immediate proximity to the Temple walls. But when the monarchy was overthrown, and the Temple was rifled and destroyed, the first layer would be formed of the *débris*, through which, after the lapse of two thousand four hundred years, deep shafts must now be sunk to reach the ground on which Josiah's contemporaries stood.

It is not however necessary to suppose that the fragments now found are those of the vessels which were destroyed by order of Josiah. The pottery used in the service of the Temple was, like all other pottery, fragile, and when broken was doubtless thrown out as useless. Those who accept the rendering given by Grotius of Zech. ii, 13, will perhaps recognize in the place where these fragments were found, "the pottery in the House of the Lord" that is in the precincts of, or adjoining the Temple where refuse was cast, and which was therefore an appropriate place for the thirty pieces of silver of which the prophet speaks.

The material point is that the fragments to which I have directed attention were parts of vessels used in the Temple in the service of "the Molech," and that they dated in all probability from the concluding years of the Jewish monarchy. Josiah survived his great attempt at reformation only a few years. Assyria having been threatened by Egypt, he was so ill advised as to interfere, and endeavoured to arrest the advance of the Egyptian army. A battle was fought at Meggido, where the Israelites were routed and Josiah slain. The bent of Hebrew religious thought, both among believers and unbelievers, invariably connected temporal prosperity or adversity as the case might be, with divine pleasure or divine resentment,\* and it was therefore not surprising that the terrible disaster at Megiddo and its consequences were attributed by the discontented people to their abandonment of the worship of the Baalim and the Ashtaroth. The kingdom of Judah was laid under tribute; many of the Israelites were carried into captivity beyond the Nile. Hence the bitter reproaches addressed to Jeremiah by the exiles in Egypt: "Since we left off to burn incense to the queen of heaven (ML Ch Th) and to pour out drink offerings to her" as "we and our fathers, our kings and our princes have done in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the sword and by famine." (Jer. xlv, 17, 18.) At all events, on the death of Josiah, the Jews and their rulers appear to have acted on the assumption that the deceased monarch had committed a blunder. The former religion was re-established, so far as we can judge from the little that is told us by the sacred historian of Josiah's sons and grandsons, who in turn filled the throne of Judah. It is conveyed in the familiar refrain, "they did

\* This sentiment is very clearly exhibited in the inscription on the Moabite Stone.

evil in the sight of the Lord according to all that their fathers had done." Then came the crowning disaster. The siege and capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonian monarch. The spoilation of the Temple. The removal of all its treasures, and the carrying away into captivity of the bulk of the population. To the Jews the night seemed at its blackest, but still it was the harbinger of the dawn. When they returned from the Chebar to the Jordan, and proceeded to rear the walls of the second Temple, a new era was commencing; Baal, and Molech, and Ashtoreth had vanished never to return. The overthrow of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus gave the Israelites their liberty, and when Ezra proceeded to Jerusalem, "with the Book of the Law in his hands," his companions, like himself, were the staunch maintainers of that pure monotheism which was then firmly established in Judea, and has continued amongst the Children of Israel uncorrupted to the present day.

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## BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

### JANNES AND JAMBRES WITHSTANDING MOSES.

I HAVE received with great pleasure the statement of your Committee that "they desire that their Journal should become as much as possible a record of all discoveries connected with Biblical Research." Few Biblical names are more interesting than those of Jannes and Jambres, or Kamr(es) as the Select Papyri seem to call him. The two are named by St. Paul to Timothy as agents, in a general way, who "withstood Moses;" and if we find their names connected with that of Moses in pure Egyptian papyri, in other words, if the epoch of Moses is the epoch of Jannes, and the epoch of Jannes is the epoch of Seti II and Bai-n-Ra, then many an old stop-gap theory of a merely Egyptian chronology will have to make way for the chronology of the epoch of Moses, in which the Bible and the papyri are very closely intertwined.

Most unfortunately, the fifth Anastasi Papyrus, which I shall chiefly make use of, has been injured at the name of Kamr(es), and the name only occurs once; but we shall find him engaged with a Jannes in a very important military business; a business the very object of which was to "withstand" a person named Moses. With respect to the reading of the name of Kamr(es) or Kamr, the authority of my lamented friend and former pupil, Charles Goodwin, is so great, that I am much pleased to see that he follows me so far as he goes, and differs from me only in saying nothing about the letter *r*. In the "Cambridge Essays," p. 262, he reads: "Ka Kam (Black Bull)." He agrees that Ka is a title; and therefore that the true name begins with Kam.

The passage to which I would first call your attention is in the fifth Anastasi Papyrus, beginning from plate 18, line 6. It contains a sequence of military orders from this Kamr(es) or Jambres. Happily we can here learn in a few lines a good deal about the man, and, to begin with, it is a great thing to know which side he was fighting for, in the anarchy around

him. On every occasion the scribes connected with him parade the grand titles of Seti II, and, with Janmes and Bek-n-Ptah, the three profess they will sing for Seti eternal songs; and "Oh," say they, "may he make for us myriads of festivals." Now in presence of Jambres who (as we shall soon see) could initiate the moving of troops in Edom, we have of course to ask ourselves was he a lieutenant of the Regent, Bai-n-Ra, or was Bai-n-Ra dead? Unless the latter was the case, I cannot in any degree picture the situation. Mr. Goodwin ("Society of Biblical Archaeology," vol. ii, part 2, p. 359) is astonished at the frantic loyalty shown to Bai-n-Ra (2nd Anastasi, p. 5). An explanation which merely supposes him to have been a king does not sufficiently account for the fact. This was in Goodwin's day the general opinion, which not only leads to nothing, but Miss Corbeaux had already forcibly pointed out the weakness of such a supposition. In fact it rests upon the moral impossibility that the great Rameses II should have dismembered the empire in his own lifetime. Seti II also and his children would not have dedicated royal statues to Bai-n-Ra had there been even a suspicion of treason resting on such a Bai-n-Ra as the conqueror at Prosopis. The fact that Seti and his children allowed these statues to be erected has doubtless been the chief reason why he has been thought to have been a king. But to this the answer is sufficient that, in gratitude for his great services, the statues were erected *during the lifetime of Rameses II himself*. In fact at Medinet Abou the statue of Bai-n-Ra was actually placed *before* that of his own father. This I should say instead of proving, clearly disproves that he can have been then considered as anything more than a regent. To sum up then, it seems most probable that Bai-n-Ra exercised royal functions for about five years, and that his death took place about this time, which event, coupled with the absence of his half-brother Seti II, in Æthiopia, brought forward Jambres, and was the principal cause of the rising of the Semites, which eventuated the Exodus. While alive, his mere name, and the tribute in corn which he wisely gave the Khita, would suffice to keep things tolerably quiet, but "après lui le deluge." The key of the situation seems to have been at Edom, and a regent friendly to the Semites, and pretending to be so to the Hittites, might do much from Edom which could not be done from Æthiopia.

Again, Jambres and his companions have made it quite clear in these papyri that they worshipped Amen-Ra, the great Theban god, but then it is equally clear that Bai-n-Ra, acting for his father Rameses, built a strong place, avowedly to connect Egypt with the foreign men of Jaha (2nd Anastasi, p. 1). Four deities are mentioned as patrons of the four sides of it. Amen could not of course be well left out, but the other three were Semitic, viz., Sutech, Ashteroth, and Sati. In the face of this solid fact, how can Ægyptologists have been so blinded by the early military successes of Rameses II as to forget what his glories led to, viz., tribute to the Khita in his own lifetime, and a general preparation for the Exodus soon after his death. Wonderful discoveries in this very month of August show us that the mummy of the great



Rameses, at some time not yet known, was inclosed in a plain sycamore case, and dropped into a ditch to hide it from foreigners.\*

After Bai-n-Ra's death the unity of Egypt depended upon the powerful and prosperous Khita, and the strategy of Jambres, so far as we know it, was equal to the occasion. The difficulty was first, to reinforce Zoar, the key of the position for defence against the Northerners; secondly, not to offend the Khita; and, thirdly, to keep a hold on his own Semitic troops. The device by which he secured the first and third desideratum was ingenious. He ordered a corps of loyal Midianites to Thuku or Edom, and kept in his own hands, as a pledge, the books containing the genealogies or roll call of the soldiers. This fact neither Goodwin nor Brugsch have perceived. It rests upon the following first part of the order I have been mentioning. (Anastasi 5, xvii, 6.) "Communication. When my letter gets to you, you are to bring the Midianites of the captivity to the plain in face of Tasak(arta), with an intimation given thus, viz., 'Ye (the Midianites) are not to carry away the genealogies of the people.' I will keep them in my hand in a written document. Then do you (viz., my officers) take notes, while you cause the people to pass along before their signalizing officers, for the object of arriving at Thuku. I give you command to carry them across (viz., the genealogies) for the people; I who am Captain of Archers, Bull Kamr(es) of Thuku, to Captain of Archers Ani and Captain of Archers Bek-n-Ptah in the Palace."

This translation (in a primitive form) I gave in my *Exodus Papyri*, A.D. 1855. In 1858, Goodwin, reviewing me, did not see his way to giving his own version, as he would have been brought face to face with the problem of Jambres the Bull of Thuku. Brugsch too, in 1879, passes it over in silence. It is, in my opinion, the very key-note which harmonizes all around it.

In passing on to the next part of the paragraph we come to the sign of a stop. In such a case it is not certain that the coming paragraph must be connected with what we have just read. Nevertheless, the context seems to give us a connection, and if it were not for the tantalising gaps at the most important points, we should all probably agree that we have before us what seems to be an order to close in on the south, given to another officer, Amen-mesu, son of Bek-n-Ptah. Even if this part of the papyri were not otherwise interesting, it has achieved such notoriety that I ought not to pass it by without notice. Dr. Brugsch (Vol. II, "History," p. 358) has attributed its preservation to Divine Providence, and calls it the most precious memorial of the epoch. He follows Goodwin in considering that it refers to two runaway slaves. Now considering that a singular pronoun cannot agree with a plural noun, I consider that there was only one slave, who was a slave to two people, viz., Bek-n-Ptah and Amen-mesu, father and son, and that he was not running away, but carrying

\* September. They now say that the above mummy was that of Rameses XII.

messages ; and that the order refers to the movement of a large body of troops. The reason Goodwin must have had for what he must have considered an improvement upon my version, was doubtless that the preposition *m-sa* may mean *behind*. No doubt it may ; but then, on the other hand, it no less frequently means *by the side of*. An instance of this may be found at Plate 13, line 1, of this papyrus—"While I hold thy heart *near* me." I am astonished to find in Pierret's dictionary that the sense of behind is given exclusively. "Communication. Seeing that I have given orders in the halls of the Palace on the 9th of Epiphi at time of night by the side of the *servant for two*, and considering that I am about to start for Zoar of Thuku on the 12th, to tell them to pass to the south, and to give orders for the passage on the Epiphi, I arrived at the fortress. They told me they had taken the field to pass Ta-Anab, north of the Migdol of Seti I like Baal. My order is for you to go. I have arranged for everything that could happen." Surely the running away of a couple of servants (even if they were Moses and Aaron) cannot have necessitated the movements of large bodies of troops like this. The order then proceeds, "Dispatch with them the bearer of the roll-call : dispatch ever so many men with them. I have taken care for everything that could happen, and do you give signals for great numbers of people beside them."

The English of all this seems to be that the commander-in-chief, Jambres, having received information that a body of Semites were escaping, ordered Bek-n-Ptah, who was somewhere south, to allow them to cross his front (just as Marius did with the Teutons), but to take careful notes from his corps in observation.

As had been expected, they were found to be marching north, and Amen-Mesu, son of Bek-n-Ptah, was then consequently ordered to close up south. The "Servant for two" carried the necessary orders to the two corps, while Jambres took one more night's rest, and next day drove on towards Edom.

The next portion of the papyrus is a very curious, and very natural letter from the young Amen-mesu, whom we have seen to be in active service in the field, to his elderly father Bek-n-Ptah, at the *dépôt* apparently of the troops employed. Instead of describing what he heard, and saw about him, he most dutifully, but most annoyingly says, "Prithee, send me word of thy condition." "Yea, not a man of those whom thou hast sent to visit me has told me concerning thy condition." "Moreover, send thou me some good loaves, and 50 small cakes ; the messenger brought 20 of them," etc. This translation is Goodwin's.

We next (Plate 21, line 8) have a letter which according to all rules ought to be of most particular importance, as it is from a royal scribe. Royal scribes were very great personages indeed, especially serving as generals, which this one did. His name was Rameses. He writes to one Avari, whom he orders to proceed to Bubastis, where he is to put the signals to work, and to report himself at the place agreed upon. He was not to go and stand at this place, and that place ; he was to go under command of the priest Rameses, where the military and royal Rameses

would join him at the breakage of the waters. "I am angry with you," he says, "beyond speech, your throwing away your business. I appoint you to work at the breakage, whatever state it is in."

Neither Goodwin nor Brugsch have said a word to this. This breakage of waters, however, cannot have been a small matter, so excited was the royal scribe. Whatever it was, it is probable he would seek to diminish its importance in his letters home. Bubastis was a central position between the fields of Zoan, the city of Ramesses, and Tabnet, where so much was taking place, as shown in my last paper. My own view is that there must have been partial concentrations of the Hebrews with the mixed multitudes, previous to the grand march; and that the Egyptian scribes in these papyri give their account of the partial events here and there.

We must remember that the Nile would be at about its lowest on the first day of Abib, on and about B.C. 1291. A body in marching order might, I suppose, cut a dyke so as to cross over safely, while the downward water rushed out in the form of a wall on to the surrounding country. The gap would then tend to get filled up, and the royal scribe may have done no better than our own Duke of York at Walcheren.

In giving this description, the candid reader will remember that I am not professing to describe what did happen, but what the Egyptians said happened. The same caution applies to the name and deeds of Jannes. Six times is he named in these papyri, and the religious public has a right to ask of Egyptologists is this so?

Twenty-five years ago I showed the fact, and not one step of investigation into his history has been made; and now Professor Brugsch gives us the astounding transmodification of the letter *i* into *z*, and calls him Zani! This necessitates some examination into his individuality.

The honest Goodwin, as quoted above, names a Captain of Archers as "Ani." I confess there is a difficulty about this name, for facts are stubborn things. So in the days of Queen Elizabeth, there was a mighty Keltic man, named Shan, and to have called him John, without any explanation, might doubtless have led to some difficulty. Now the name in the papyri is written in four ways.

pp. 113 and 119.	1.	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀
pp. 117 and 140.	2.	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀
p. 119.	3.	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀
p. 78 (back).	4.	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀	𐤀

To begin with, I consider that the double mark in 1 and 3 is a sign of reduplication, so that the name which Goodwin wrote above as "Ani," is really "Anni." Another thing to remark is that in page 117, the name

spelt as No. 2 is ordered to escort some obelisks, and in page 119 progress is reported by No. 3. Surely, therefore, the names 2 and 3 were *meant* to be identical. Which then of these names is nearest to the spoken name of the famous Jannes? Of course it will be said that I am prejudiced, but then St. Paul shows that there really was a man named as in No. 3. I retain then the opinion that I was right in my Exodus Papyri, twenty-five years ago. Dr. Brugsch's present opinion is absolutely incomprehensible. He reads No. 4 as Zani (*see* Vol. II, p. 127). If this were so, Jordan and Joppa should be read Zordan and Zoppa. I may as well mention here that the discoveries here attributed by Dr. Brugsch (II, 127) to Chabas were mine; as also was that of Baal-Zephon, in the 8th Anastasi, line 6. attributed here to Goodwin. The letter concerning the obelisks is valuable, in stating that Jannes and others were "of the king's children," brought up probably as Moses himself was, and I strongly suspect that the obelisks had been made for Rameses II, and were being appropriated by Seti II. Their transportation seems to be dated in the 13th year, and I know of no king but Seti II who could have had a 13th year at this time. If this is correct, it would be the very year of the return of Seti II from Æthiopia, when probably the mummy of Rameses II was lying in the ditch.

The next letter is very curious. It opens with a negotiation between Jannes and "the great man." I am aware that Pi-oeer, which means "the great man," was also a proper name, but the real name appears at the end of the negotiation. The great man had demanded a census, which had evidently been agreed to (by Jambres, I suppose). The real fight was on a point of detail, which was clung to earnestly by each party for reasons which we may guess at, but cannot well know. The question was whether the names were to be called out and answered *vicâ voce*, or written on tickets. An answer was expected that those in the actual custody of Jambres might use tickets, while those who had escaped over to the great man might use their voices. I may as well say at once that the great man was Moses himself. This compromise was to be nominally rejected, but this was to be on the plea that Jannes knew nothing about the foreign names and signals. Moses however was to be considered as on an equality with the nobles (*i.e.*, the Egyptian nobles), and if a few more objections could be slipped in while the enemy listened, it would be held that he (*viz.*, Jannes) had done his best. Thus fruitlessly did Jannes and Jambres withstand Moses.

Here is the letter (plate XXV), "Communication. To wit. Seeing that I have sent the Captain of Archers, Jannes, captain of captains, to consult with the great man, it is because he had said to us, I demand a census of the people; and because (on his statement) we were to call out loud the name of each person who owned the name. Now let it be known to them I am not for the plan of calling out.

"I wish — and Mai of Thuku\* to give them tickets in writing.

\* Mai held the highly important post of head of those Midianites who remained loyal to Egypt on the defection of the mixed multitudes under Moses.

It is between himself and God if they do not give tickets in due form. Likewise if an answer should arrive to say, 'Let it be that the names should be called out for those in your custody, for you brought them there, then you are not to make a question of the correspondence of the name called out to the ticket written, and brought there. You are to say I am not capable of reckoning with you the signals of the Midianites, with their signal officers. Thou canst repeat them, for thou art among them of a verity. Lo thou art Moses of the Semites. Art thou not a noble? Thou wast brought from another place (viz., Midian, I suppose), to set thyself on an equality with the nobles. Thou hast learnt their words of command, the answering to their names. I give orders that — should be brought, — their language with the language of those who live in Egypt, for thou art of the race of the Midianites.

"In giving our instructions again, a few words. While you listen, do what you can. Yea, are not these things to be reckoned to you. Your kind Excellency will bear the burden."

DUNBAR J. HEATH.

ESHER, SURREY, *September, 5.*

## THE PLACE OF STONING.

(*Reprinted from the "Athenæum," by permission of the Proprietors.*)

### I.

JERUSALEM, *August 17, 1881.*

THE discovery of an interesting tomb of the Herodian period in the rocky knoll to the west of Jeremiah's Grotto was recently announced in the columns of the *Athenæum*. Lieut. Conder suggests that this tomb may possibly be the "Sepulchre in the Garden" of the Gospel narrative. Whether or not the distinguished explorer is right in his conjecture will probably always remain an open question. I desire simply to call attention to one or two facts which will, I think, throw some light on the name "Place of Stoning," mentioned by Lieut. Conder in connection with the lately discovered "sepulchre."

It is well known that when Jerusalem was in the possession of the Crusaders the northern gate of the city (a predecessor of the present Damascus Gate) was known as the Gate of St. Estiene—St. Etienne—St. Stephen, from its proximity to a church of that name, situated outside the walls on the spot where, according to the traditions of that age, the proto-martyr had been stoned. From the account given in "La Citez de Jh'rusalem" (*vide* Appendix ii to vol. ii of Robinson's "Biblical Researches") it appears that the church of St. Stephen was built on the opposite side of the road to that on which stood the "donkey-house of the Knights Hospitallers," the ruins of which building were discovered by Col. Warren some years ago. Saewulf (p. 43, "Early Travels in Palestine," "Bohn's Antiquarian

Library") tells us that "the stoning of St. Stephen took place about two or three arbalist shots without the wall to the north, where a very handsome church was built, which has been entirely destroyed by the pagans." These notices evidently point to the "Place of Stoning," that is, the rocky knoll above mentioned, as the site of the mediæval church of St. Stephen, and it seems probable that one or other of the two or three rock-tombs on the spot may have been the last resting-place of Eudoxia, the empress of Theodosius II. A French "guide-book for the use of Latin pilgrims to Palestine ("Guide Indicateur des Sanctuaires et Lieux Historiques de la Terre Sainte") states (p. 252), on the authority of William of Tyre and Albert Aquensis, that Eudoxia was buried in the church of St. Stephen, which she built.

It is remarkable how, during the lapse of centuries, the monkish traditions as to the place where Stephen was stoned varied. Arculf (A.D. 700) was shown the site of Stephen's martyrdom on Mount Zion ("Early Travels in Palestine," p. 5), Bernard the Wise (A.D. 867) mentions the place as on Mount Zion (p. 28), Saewulf (A.D. 1102), and the author of "La Citéz de Jhérusalem" (A.D. 1187) place it north of the city, and Sir John Mandeville (A.D. 1322) on the east, over against the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The spot now shown to pilgrims as that where Stephen suffered is on the way from the St. Stephen's Gate of our days (during the Middle Ages it was the Gate of Jehoshaphat) to Gethsemane.

## II.

JERUSALEM, *August 25th, 1881.*

Having in my letter of the 17th called attention to a few historical notices concerning the mediæval church of St. Stephen, which is alleged to have been built by, and to have contained the tomb of, Eudoxia, and having also made some remarks on the vacillating character of the monkish traditions, I would now say a few words about the Jewish opinions respecting the "Place of Stoning." From various passages in the Talmud, especially Sanhedrin, fol. 23, 1, Bab. Sanhedr., fol. 42, 2, in explanation of

Leviticus xxiv, 14, we learn that the **בֵּית הַסֵּקִילָה**, Beth Hasekeelah, was without the camp, or more correctly, "without three camps," **הוּזָן לָגֵי מַחֲנֹת**, the first **מַחֲנֶה**, or camp, being the place of the Shechinah, *i.e.*, the Temple, the second the camp of the Levites, and the third, Jerusalem, the camp of Israel. In other words, the Place of Stoning was situated outside the city, always supposing the tribunal which condemned the malefactor to have been held within the city.

Maimonides, Sanhedr. xii, 3, p. 96, is of opinion that if the trial took place outside the city, then the place of execution was situated at a distance of **שְׁלֹשָׁה מִילִין**, that is, three times the distance a person resident in the city was allowed to walk on the Sabbath from the place where the

tribunal sat. We are not, however, told in what direction from the city the place of execution lay. One local Jewish tradition considers the Convent of the Cross (el Músallabeh) to be situated on the site of the **בית הסקילה**, and another points to the ground above Jeremiah's Grotto with the precipice as the Place of Stoning. This is, perhaps, the Place of Stoning alluded to in the notice in the "Athenæum" mentioned in my letter of last week. The general opinion amongst those Jews of whom I made enquiries on the subject of the location of the Beth Hasekeelah, who did not seem to know anything of, and to whom I took care not to mention, the traditional sites I have just referred to, is that the Place of Stoning was situated outside the city and not far from the Damascus Gate, or rather the place now occupied by that gate.

The chief arguments in favour of the supposition that the place above Jeremiah's Grotto really was the Jewish Place of Stoning seem to be (1) the tradition; (2) its position outside the city; and (3) the adjacent precipice, though the last does not appear to have been an absolutely necessary adjunct to the Beth Hasekeelah, which, it seems, was a sort of scaffold ("ein Gerüst," Rabbinowicz, 'Einleitung in die Gesetzgebung und die Medicin des Thalmuds, aus dem Französischen übersetzt,' Trier, 1881) from ten to twelve feet high (*see* Lightfoot on Acts vii, 58), or twice a man's height.

If, therefore, we are able to identify the place above Jeremiah's Grotto with the ancient Jewish Place of Stoning, where after death the bodies of executed criminals were hung up by the hands (a proceeding suggestive of crucifixion), the question very naturally suggests itself as to whether this spot may not have been the Golgotha of the New Testament, conspicuous "afar off" (Mark xv, 40, Luke xxiii, 49), near a great high road leading up "from the country" (Mark xv, 21, Luke xxxiii, 26), and "nigh to" but "without" the city gate. Compare John xix, 20, with Hebrews xiii, 12.

This theory seems to have great probabilities in its favour, though, as I remarked in my former letter, it will probably always remain an open question as to whether the recently discovered Herodian tomb be the actual "Sepulchre in the Garden" or not.

J. E. HANANER.

## SITE OF MEGIDDO.

ABERDEEN, 30th March, 1881.

ROBINSON identifies Megiddo with Lejjun, and Conder with Mujedda in the Jordan valley.

There is one important notice of Megiddo that seems not to have been taken into account in determining the site, 2 Kings ix, 27, "But when Ahaziah, the king of Judah, saw this, he fled by the way of the garden

house. And Jehu followed after him, and said, Smite him also in the chariot. And they did so at the going up to Gur, which is by Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and died there." This seems to me absolutely to exclude Mujedda from identification with the Megiddo here mentioned. Jehu would come from the direction of Mujedda. It is not likely that Ahaziah would flee in that direction, but rather towards Jerusalem. This agrees with one of the places mentioned in the same verse—Ibleam. According to Conder's "Handbook," this is to be identified with Wâdy Belameh, south of Jenin. This is exactly the course that Ahaziah would likely take, but it is irreconcilable with Megiddo being either Lejjun or Mujedda.

There are three passages in the Bible which give definite indications regarding the site of Megiddo.

1. Judges v, 19, "Then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo." The obvious meaning of this is that the battle was fought in Taanach, and that Taanach was by or over the waters of Megiddo. Whether Taanach be a town or district, if the battle was fought south of Tabor, the only waters in which it could be fought are some of the sources of the Kishon. It is a question, however, whether the words may not be rendered "The kings of Canaan, in Taanach, by the waters of Megiddo, fought." The Targum of Jonathan paraphrases the text thus, "then the kings of Canaan began war; in Taanach did they dwell, and extended even to the waters of Megiddo." Jonathan was probably well acquainted with Palestine, and felt the difficulty of connecting Taanach either with the battle between Barak and Sisera, or with the waters of Megiddo. The only other of the ancient versions whose author we may suppose to have known Palestine, the Syriac version, indicates a consciousness of the same difficulty. It drops Taanach altogether, and translates "The kings came and fought by the waters of Megiddo." Thus the passage, in the light cast on it by these two translations, rather opposes than favours the idea of any close connection between Taanach and Megiddo.

2. 2 Kings ix, 27. The flight of Ahaziah. The localities indicated here are the garden-house, or Beth Gur, the ascent of Gur near Ibleam, Megiddo. If the situation of Megiddo were once determined, it would determine the direction of the other places; or if the position of the other places were determined, it would determine the direction of Megiddo. Lieutenant Conder, in his "Handbook," where there is no theory to support, identifies Ibleam with Bel'umuh, near Jenin, in which case Jenin might indicate the site of Beth Gur. In the last number of the *Quarterly Statement* he identifies it with Yebla. It is thus evident that mere similarity of name is not a sufficient guide. We must turn to other considerations to find out the direction of Ahaziah's flight. Jehu approached Jezreel from the direction of Mujedda. It is not likely that Ahaziah would flee in that direction, or that he would flee in a direction that would cut him off from his own kingdom, Judah. It is most probable that he would take the road for Jerusalem, and the natural road would be through



Samaria. The account in Chronicles says that he was hid in Samaria. Jehu, when he was on the way to Samaria, met the brethren of Ahaziah. It seems to have been then the recognized route for the princes of Judah to take in visiting their kinsmen in Jezreel. The whole connection of the passage would indicate Jenin as the road which Ahaziah took rather than Beit Jenn. It would be absurd to suppose that he went thence to Lajjun, but it is as difficult to see how he would go thence to Mujedda.

3. 2 Kings xxiii, 29. The battle between Josiah and Nechob could hardly have taken place at Lajjun. Lieutenant Conder's objections to this seem unanswerable. But the corresponding passage in Chronicles speaks of the battle as taking place in the *valley* of Megiddo. Mujedda would be a good situation from which to attack an army wishing to cross the Jordan, as Lieutenant Conder points out. But to a non-military reader it appears not to be secure against an enemy coming up from Egypt, unless the heights to the west were also occupied, and if they were occupied, it is more likely that the battle would take place towards Jenin.

With regard to the two sites, Lajjun and Mujedda, the former seems to have nothing to support it, the latter has its name. Biblical indications do not point to either, but rather to some point on the road, or near the road, from Jezreel to Samaria, where an army approaching from Egypt by the coast might be encountered.

4. The battle of Megiddo. We read in 2 Kings xxiii, 29, that Nechob slew Josiah at Megiddo when he had seen him. And his servants carried him in a chariot dead from Megiddo, and brought him to Jerusalem." In 2 Chron. xxxv, 22, we read that he came to fight in the *valley* of Megiddo. There seems also to be little doubt that the reference, Zech. xii, 11, "the mourning of Hadad Rimmon in the valley of Megiddon"—is to the same event.

These are all the references we have to this battle in Scripture. If Nechob's army followed the usual route by the plains, the only possible part of the plain of Edraclon, in which the battle could have been fought would have been about the head, somewhere near Jenin. To a non-military reader Mujedda would not seem a very safe position unless the heights to the west were occupied, and if they were occupied, the battle would more likely be on the western side towards Jenin. It is difficult, too, to conceive why Josiah should have allowed Nechob to march all the way up the coast without attacking him.

But it is highly probable that this was not the route which Nechob took. Herodotus (II, 159) informs us that he constructed a powerful fleet in the Mediterranean, which he used as he had opportunity; that he invaded Syria, and defeated the Syrians at Migdol. The natural inference is that he invaded Syria by sea. He was obviously anxious to avoid all quarrel with the king of Judah, and to strike a blow at the Assyrian power. The point from which he could most effectively do this with a fleet at his command was obviously Accha, and it is probable that this was the base of his operations. He would consider the kingdom of the ten tribes as part of the possessions of Assyria while Jenin laid claim to it.

Hence the conflict between the two. Migdol has been considered a corruption of Megiddo, but on the map there is a place marked el Mejdil, south of Accho, which an army advancing from the latter place would naturally occupy in going to encounter an army coming from Jerusalem. It may have been the head-quarters of the Egyptian army, and Hadad Rimmon that of the Jewish army, while the battle would probably take place between the two.

While the Bible does not supply data to enable us to determine with absolute certainty the site of Megiddo, all indications point to the plain of Erdracdon as being the valley of Megiddo.

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### REMARKS ON THE "JAM SUPH."

IN the *Quarterly Statement* for April, p. 107, the writer of the "Notes on the Topography of Exodus" says, "It is remarkable that throughout the direct narrative there is no mention of a Jam Supt. Let us look at Exodus xiii, v. 17, there we are told that God led them (the Israelites) not by way of the land of the Philistines, although it was near . . . but God led the people about (the original implies a circuitous route) the way of the wilderness, literally Jam Supt (there is no *of*); and verse 20 says God led them to the edge of the wilderness (clearly still the same as before, Jam Supt); there we find them encamped. The narrative then is continued in Chap. xiv. And God spake to Moses, 'Speak . . . that they turn and encamp before Pihahiroth between Migdol and the sea.'" Here we find the direction of their march altered, they are to turn. Now let me remark that the writer having stated that they had encamped on the edge of the wilderness, defined by Jam Supt, must in his continuation of the narrative when he speaks of the sea of necessity refer to that particular sea described as Jam Supt, and so I would say throughout the narrative, and this is confirmed by the repetition of Jam Supt in the song in chap. xv, and in v. 22 we have it stated that Moses brought Israel from Jam Supt.

Further, in Deut. xi, 4, we have these words of Moses in his exhortation to the people, "What He did unto the army of Egypt, and how He made the water of the Jam Supt to overflow them as they pursued after you." Other passages in the Old Testament clearly state that it was Jam Supt that was dried up (see Joshua ii, 10, iv, 23). Joshua xxiv, 6, relates Joshua's speech before his death. He was an eye-witness, and says it was the Jam Supt. Surely these places are rather too numerous to be accounted for, as Mr. Greville Chester does, by saying that the Jam Supt has crept into the text; can any one doubt with these passages before them that the Jam Supt was the sea where the miraculous preservation of the Israelites and destruction of their enemies took place? In the New Testament, Acts vii, 36, St. Stephen mentions ἐρυθρὰ θάλασση, the Red Sea. This alone would prove little; but on turning over the same passage

in the Syrian version I find this translated as in the Old Testament "Jam Suph." Some will perhaps say this is a mere tradition, but anyhow we have Scripture traditions stating that it was the Jam Suph. The Jam Suph is first mentioned in Exodus x, 19, in connection with the plague of locusts. An east wind brought the locusts, a west wind took them away and carried them into the Jam Suph. Surely the description here given seems well to answer to the position of the sea east of Egypt called the Red Sea.

G. F. S. STOOKE VAUGHAN

## HIDING PLACES IN CANAAN.

### III. SAMSON AND THE ROCK ETAM,

DISTANCE was nothing to the roaming lion of Dan. Eager to prey on the Philistines, he went down to Ashkelon, though both Ekron and Ashdod were nearer to Timnath; at another time he carried away the gates of Gaza to within sight of Hebron. When therefore he wanted to be quiet, Samson might easily have sauntered quite as far from home in going down to the top (lit. fissure) of the rock Etam.

In seeking then for this hiding place of the famous Danite, we must not groundlessly assume that it was in the vicinity of his native Zorah, but be guided solely by the following conditions required in the Bible:—

A. The *rock* Etam is in Hebrew called a *selu*; therefore it was a *precipitous* rock or *crag*.

B. It was in the tribe of Judah, as also was Lehi.

C. It was probably near to Lehi, where the Philistines having gone *up* spread themselves, and also to an eminence called Ramath-Lehi, close to which was a spring called En-hakkore.

D. Its position was such, that it is said (1) that Samson went *down* (from Timnath or Zorah?) and dwelt in the top of the rock Etam, and (2) that the men of Judah went *down* to the same place and brought him *up* from the rock to Lehi.

In "Tent Work," the rock Etam is placed at Beit 'Atâb, and the identification is there thought satisfactory. It must however be rejected, as it fails to satisfy A; for though it may be said to be pre-eminently a *rock*—a knoll of hard limestone, without a handful of arable soil, standing above deep ravines, still it has no claim whatever to be considered a *selu* or *crag*, if we compare it with known instances, viz., Petra and the precipices of the passage of Michmash. Further, it is not clear how the springs to the north-west of Zorah could represent En-hakkore in Lehi, for they are situated far *below* Beit 'Atâb, in Dan, while Lehi was in *Judah*, and the men of Judah brought Samson *up* and *not down* from the rock to Lehi.

Any candidate for the honour of being the *rock* Etam, must pass the preliminary examination required by *selu*.

Accordingly it is unnecessary to sift the suggestions that Samson's retreat was in one of the caves near Deir Dubban or Beit Jibrîn, until a genuine *selâ* reveals itself in that neighbourhood.

No position for the rock Etam seems to me more likely or suitable than one in Wâdy Urtas. This valley becomes a romantic gorge as we descend eastwards to the great cave of Khureitûn. Here, if not nearer to Solomon's pools, are found magnificent *crags*, fully deserving the title of *selâ*. As this part is in the desert of *Judah*, conditions A and B are already satisfied.

The Ramah of Samuel was certainly (as it seems to me) just to the west of Solomon's pools. We have then a *Ramah* (with a spring adjacent) not far distant from a *selâ* in Wâdy Urtas to answer to the Ramah in Lehi. This latter name appears to me to have been that of the valley extending north-east towards Rachel's sepulchre.

With Lehi in this position, the Philistines would naturally be said to go *up* to it in search of Samson, probably intending also, at the expense of Judah, to recoup themselves for their burnt corn with the rich harvest in Lehi or (else) in the valley of Replaim. With the same precision of language, the men of Judah would be said to go *down* towards Khureitûn, and to bring Samson *up* to Lehi.

This position for the rock Etam is not really at variance with the statement that Samson went *down* (from Timnath ?) to the top of the rock, though the long *ascent* preceding the *descent* is not alluded to. David (1 Chron. xiii, 6) went *up* to Kirjath-jearim (from Jerusalem) to bring *up* thence the Ark of God (to Jerusalem). Why may not an *ascent* be passed over in silence in Samson's case, just as well as a *descent* in David's? Thus a *selâ* in Wâdy Urtas further satisfies C and D.

The name Etam still survives in 'Ain 'Atan, near Solomon's pools, and a city Etam at one time apparently existed in this district (2 Chron. xi, 6); though "the rock Etam" does not seem to me *necessarily* to mean that the rock was near a city of this name.

An Etam also occurs in 1 Chron. iv, 2, immediately after the mention of Zorathites, while the Zareathites (*i.e.*, the people of Zorah) and Eshtaulites seem in II, 50-54 to be connected with Bethlehem. This contact of the tribe of Judah with Dan at Zorah may have influenced Samson (even if he were not by descent connected with the immigrants from Bethlehem) to take refuge in their country when it was expedient for him to leave his own.

Not improbably then, through information given by Judah, the secret fissure in the crag Etam became the celebrated hermitage of the great Nazarite. But whether this could possibly be identical with the still more famous cave of Adullam of after time, must depend upon the precise kind of *hole* or *fissure* really described by the Hebrew word rendered "top" in the A.V.

W. F. B.

## THE NATIVES OF PALESTINE.

WE have from time to time been able to give papers on the manners and customs of the natives of Palestine, which have been received with great interest. The Rev. James Niel, formerly incumbent of Christ Church, Jerusalem, has just produced a work on the same subject, in which he embodies his own observations while resident in the country. Many of them are extremely interesting and valuable as illustrations of the Bible. We are permitted to quote one or two passages from this book. The first extract is on the measuring of corn.

One of the characteristic sights of Palestine, shortly after the harvest has been gathered in, is the measuring out of wheat and barley, which sometimes takes place in the corn-market, but more frequently in the courtyard of the purchaser's house. All families at this time, that is, during July and August, lay up in store the wheat which will be required to provide bread for the use of the household throughout the ensuing year, and also barley sufficient for their horses, mules, and asses during the same period. Samples are procured either from the farmer or merchant, and when approved the whole quantity ordered is delivered to the purchaser bound up in sacks. A professional measurer is always present on these occasions, and in the presence of the seller and buyer, or their representatives, duly proceeds to ascertain the contents of each sack. This is done by meting out the grain in a circular wooden measure in the shape of our own bushel, but less deep, called in Arabia a *timneh*. The measurer seats himself cross-legged on the ground, and proceeds to shovel the wheat or barley, as the case may be, into the *timneh* with both his hands until it is partly full. Next he seizes the measure, and shakes it strongly from side to side, by means of two or three rapid half turns, without raising it from the ground, in order that the grain may settle into a smaller space. This quick shaking together of the corn is a striking part of the process, and is very effective in forcing it to occupy less room. He then fills it further, and repeats the shaking from side to side, going over the same thing again and again until it is full up to the brim. As soon as this is the case, he gently but firmly presses upon it with his hands, so as to drive it into a yet smaller space. Finally, having first made a slight hollow on the top, he takes some more handfuls of grain, and very skilfully constructs a cone of corn upon the flat surface of the *timneh*, which he has now filled. He continues carefully to build up this cone until no more grain can possibly be held, and that which he adds begins to flow over and run down. Upon this the measure is considered to be of full weight, and is emptied into the purchaser's sack. This is the universal method by which grain is now meted out, and the price is always quoted at so much per *timneh*.

These professional measurers are often dishonest, taking bribes from seller or buyer, and in this case are very skilful in cheating either party as it suits their purpose. If it is to their interest to do so, while apparently going through the ordinary process, they can so contrive as to bring the contents of the measure to half a *rotlle*, or three pounds less than the proper quantity, involving a loss

to the purchaser of over 6 per cent. On the other hand, their dishonesty more commonly favours the merchants and townspeople, who buy from the poor *fellah*, the peasants. The cunning of the measurers in this way is said to be brought to the highest degree at *Nablous*, the ancient Shechem. If one of them in that town is bribed by the buyer of wheat, not only does he bring his measure to take up the largest possible quantity, but in raising it after it is flowing over, he secretly lifts up with the hand supporting the bottom of the measure a considerable quantity of grain, which is so swiftly and adroitly done as to escape the observation of the *fellah* who is selling it.

I have taken means carefully to ascertain the capacity of the Palestine *timneh*. It is true, different kinds of wheat differ in weight. The following measures give the contents in the case of the best quality. A *timneh* filled up to the brim, without being shaken or pressed, weighs six *rottles* and one-sixth, or just thirty-seven pounds. The same *timneh*, not only filled to the top but running over, that is, piled up above in the shape of a cone, also without being pressed and shaken, weighs seven *rottles* and one-third, or forty-four pounds. When, however, the measure in question is not only filled till it flows over, but is, at the same time, shaken together and pressed down, it holds just eight *rottles*, or forty-eight pounds.

No doubt it is to this simple and familiar custom that our Blessed Lord alludes, when He speaks under an allegory of the recompense of those liberal souls who shall assuredly themselves be made fat. "Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, shaken together, running over, shall they give into your bosom [that is into the capacious natural pocket formed by that part of the loose Eastern shirt which is above the girdle]. For with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again" (Luke vi, 38; Matthew vii, 2; Mark iv, 24). The above facts lend far more power and definiteness to our Saviour's graphic illustration than we should at first sight have supposed it to contain. There is no less than eleven pounds' difference in weight between a "measure" filled to the brim, as we should fill it here, and one such as I have described filled according to the bountiful method of Bible lands, when it is "pressed down, shaken together, running over." In this latter case no less than about 30 per cent. is added to its worth!

The next extract illustrates a remarkable passage in Ezekiel (xxiv, 7, 8) with other passages.

A practice to be constantly noticed throughout Syria is that of hiding any blood, which may happen to be spilled on the ground, by covering it over with the surrounding soil or dust. If while you are on a journey a *Bedaween* of your escort only so much as cuts his hand, or suffers from bleeding at the nose, he is very careful to let the blood fall upon the earth, without leaving any stain upon his clothing or person, and he then and there buries it out of sight by scraping over it the sand or dust of the desert before he proceeds on his way. The reason which they give for this observance I have not been able to discover. Most probably it comes from the thought in Numbers that blood pollutes the land if left to lie upon it (Numbers xxxv, 3) and from the plain direction in the case of the huntsman who caught any beast or fowl, to "pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with dust" (Leviticus xvii, 13). It is reasonable to

suppose that this direction, like many other matters contained in the Law, embodied and sanctioned an already well-known and universal practice. Very likely it arose from anxiety lest any blood appearing upon the ground might by any possibility be construed to represent some act of violence, and thus, in the language of Scripture, "cause fury to come up to take vengeance." This, in a land where the law of blood-revenge causing endless sanguinary family feuds is so stringent, may well be no imaginary fear. In any case, it is deeply interesting to mark its observance at the present day. It would seem to be referred to in the strong figurative language of several passages, notably that where Job in the bitterness of his soul cries (Job xvi, 18),

"Earth, cover not thou my blood."

A very striking Scripture in connection with this Eastern usage is that in Ezekiel, where God foretells the judgments coming upon Jerusalem at the hands of the Chaldeans. These judgments are declared to be a retribution for the reckless violence and cruelty that had openly stalked through her streets. "For her blood is in the midst of her; she set it upon the bare rock; she hath not poured it upon the ground to cover it with dust. That it may cause fury to come up to take vengeance, I have set her blood upon the bare rock, that it should not be covered" (Ezekiel xxiv, 7, 8). There is here a force of meaning that might at first sight be overlooked. Jerusalem, as I shall have occasion elsewhere to explain at length, is essentially a rock city. The rock crops up to the surface in every part of it. In ancient times, before the rugged slopes and precipices of limestone and indurated chalk were choked up and covered over, as they are now, by mountains of *débris*, it appeared, as at the fortress of Jebus, with its walls resting on rock scarps in some places fifty feet high. Hence one of its proud titles was "The Tableland Rock."

## CITY OF DAVID.

PLYMOUTH, *March 24th*, 1881.

*The Editor, "Quarterly Statement" of the Palestine Exploration Fund.*

SIR,—Will you allow me to point out in reference to the question whether the "City of David" was on Ophel, as contended by the Rev. W. F. Birch; that on page 229 of the number for October 1880, Lieutenant Conder maintains, that "these royal sepulchres on Ophel are identical with the 'field of burial of the kings' (2 Chron. xxvi, 23), where Uzziah was buried," and are a "place distinct from the Royal Cemetery in the City of David."

Now if the two passages in which account is given of the burial of Uzziah, be compared together, it will be seen that the place where Uzziah was interred, was *in the City of David*. They are as follow:—

2 Kings xv, 7.

"So Azariah (Uzziah) slept with his fathers; and they buried him with his fathers *in the City of David*: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead."

2 Chron. xxvi, 23.

"So Uzziah slept with his fathers, and they buried him with his fathers in the field of the burial which *belonged to the Kings*; for they said, he is a leper: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead."

Two other passages (one of which shows the distinctness of the two places of sepulture) confirm the view that *both* were "*in the City of David.*" They are—

2 *Kings* xvi, 20.

"And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers *in the City of David*: and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead."

2 *Chron.* xxviii, 27.

"And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city, *even* in Jerusalem: but they brought him not into the sepulchres of the Kings of Israel; and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead."

In this latter passage the "sepulchres of the Kings of Israel" are evidently equivalent to the "sepulchres of David," whose existence on *Ophel* Mr. Conder says on same page (229, lines 6 and 7), cannot be denied.

It *follows* therefore, I venture to think, that the "City of David" wherein these kings were buried, must have been on *Ophel*.

Yours truly,

H. B. S. W.



PALESTINE  
EXPLORATION FUND.

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Patron—THE QUEEN.

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*Quarterly Statement*

FOR 1882.

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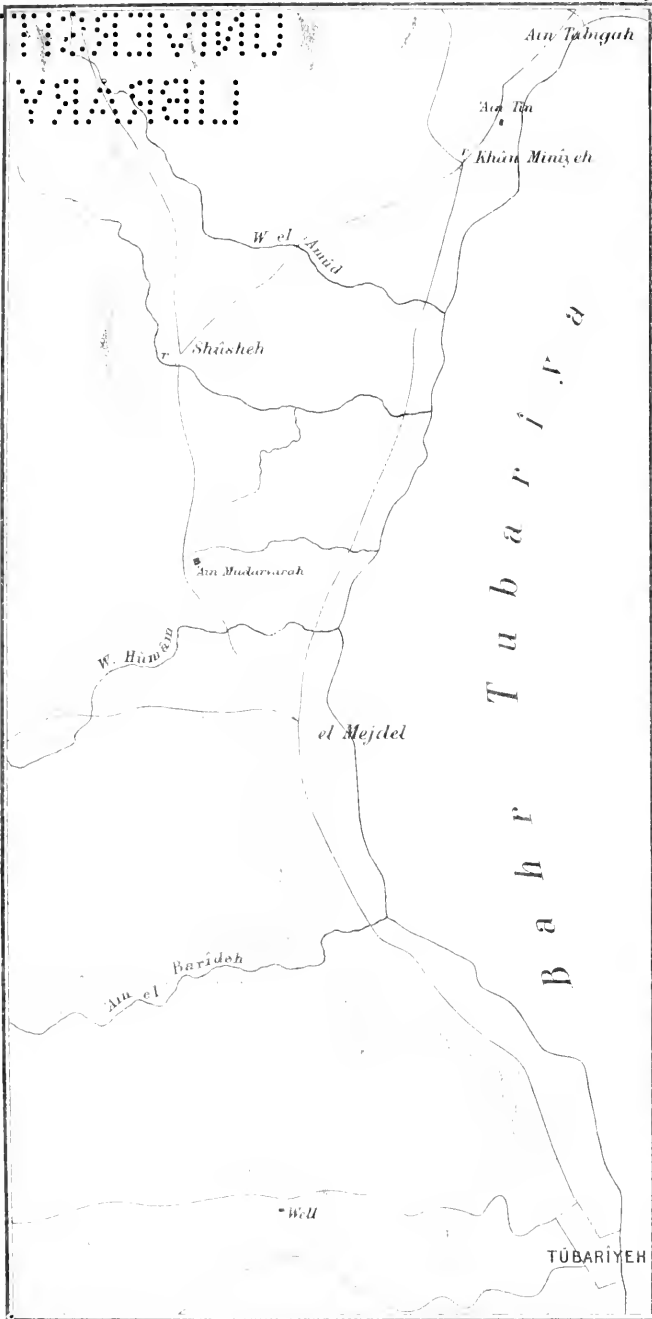
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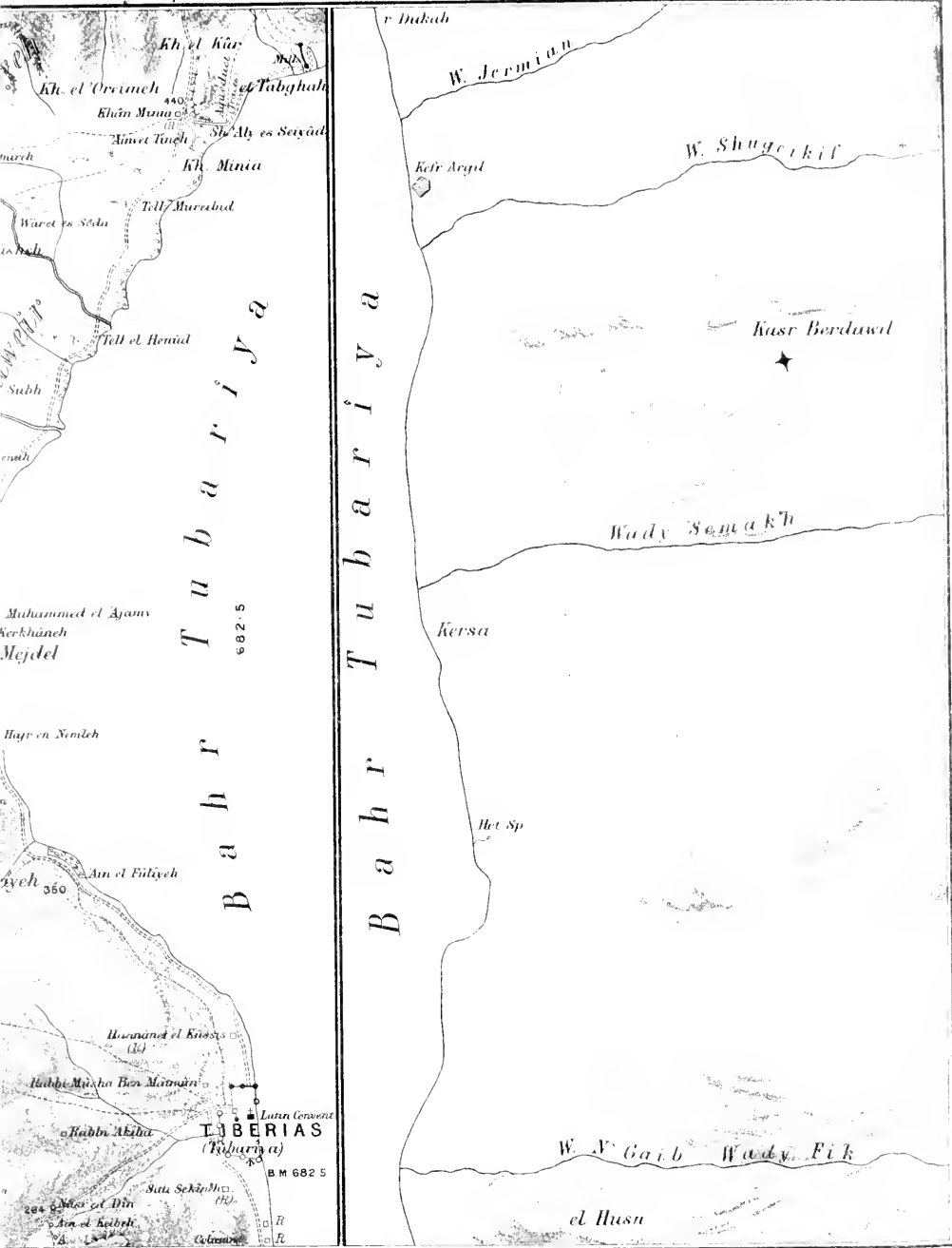
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THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

---

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE first years' campaign in Eastern Palestine is completed—Lieutenant Conder has returned to Jerusalem, bringing with him the survey of 500 miles, with plans, drawings, and photographs. This may be considered an excellent beginning. During the winter Mr. Armstrong will lay down the 500 square miles of survey on a sheet while Lieutenants Conder and Mantell draw the hill shading and the special plans and prepare the Reports for the future Memoirs. There has been difficulty about the validity of the old Firman with the Turkish authorities, but it is hoped that this will be speedily removed. The Reports which are published in this number prove sufficiently how rich a harvest remains to be reaped in this part of the country, even though our party followed in the steps of Canon Tristram and others who have recently visited Moab. The expedition has unfortunately lost the services of Mr. Black, who has been invalided home.

---

Lieutenant Conder, after twice passing four hours in the passage between the Virgin's Fount and the Pool of Siloam, succeeded in discovering the place where the workmen met. He found no other inscriptions. M. Clermont Ganneau has in preparation a treatise on the inscription, on which Dr. Ginsburg has also been working. Certain questions have been raised in the last number of the Transactions of the German Palestine Exploration Society, as to the correctness of Professor Sayce's statement of the expense borne by this Society in the preliminary lowering of the water and other things. It seems, therefore, desirable to state exactly what was the action of the Committee in the matter. It was on August the 3rd, 1880, that the Committee first heard of the inscription. They immediately resolved that the sum of 25*l.*, which was estimated to be sufficient for the purpose, should be voted for such expenses as might be incurred; and Dr. Chaplin, the Honorary Secretary for Jerusalem, was autho-

rised to draw upon the Treasurer for that amount if necessary. The sum actually drawn by Dr. Chaplin and given to Herr Schick for the purpose was five pounds.

---

The portion of the work already completed includes special surveys of Heshbon, Elealah, Madeba, Baal-Meon, Nebo, Pisgah, the hot springs of Calirrhoce, and Rabboth Ammon. Over 600 names have been found and 200 ruins examined: some 400 cromlechs have been discovered and sketched, with many menhirs and stone circles: search was made, but without result, for remains of the Cities of the Plain: 36 photographs have been taken: a building has been found at Ammon, which Lieutenant Conder thinks is of Sassanian origin: a number of Arab traditions have been collected: and identifications have been proposed for the *Field of Zophim*, the *Ascent of Luhith*, *Jazer*, *Sibmah*, and *Minneth*.

---

A second rock-hewn channel in connection with the Virgin's Fount has been discovered by Herr Schick, who has made a plan of it, but no copy has yet been received in England; it is reported to have carried water direct to the lower Pool of Siloam. A new Crusading Church has also been discovered near Jeremiah's Grotto; Lieutenant Conder has made a plan of it.

---

It is with the greatest pleasure that we publish three "Notes" from the pen of M. Clermont Ganneau, containing an account of the recent archaeological work. He hopes to be able to continue these notes from time to time. The first is called Note II, because there was an earlier note, which seems to have miscarried. The discovery of the capital with the inscription in Greek and Phœnician characters opens many new and interesting questions in the archaeological history of the country. M. Ganneau has now quite recovered from his late severe illness.

---

During the repairs in the Haram Area another gate has been discovered in the eastern wall. It does not appear, however, to be of great antiquity, and is reported to be built in the later masonry. It has been measured and sketched by Sir Charles Wilson, and by Lieutenant Conder.

---

Colonel Sir Charles Wilson, writing of his recent visit to Palestine, makes the following observations, which will be read with great interest:—

"In fifteen years there have necessarily been many changes, and some of the points which struck me most may interest you.

“The population of the Lebanon and the area under cultivation have greatly increased, and it was quite a novelty to see all the people going about unarmed. Beirut has grown almost out of my remembrance, and the number of large good houses built during the last few years is quite remarkable. Damascus has hardly changed at all.

“The Haiffa Temple Colony was quite a new feature, but the members of it are, in one sense, doing great harm, for they are rapidly dis-foresting Carmel. Our man uses the wood as fuel for his factory or mill, I forget which, and a great quantity goes in this way. Charcoal burners also are hard at work. The clearance of trees in some parts was most painfully visible.

“It is hard to trust the memory after fifteen years, but it certainly seemed to me that in the country between Jerin and Jerusalem there had been much planting of olive and fig trees since my day. I used to be struck with the bare aspect of the hills; I was now struck by the amount of cultivation; perhaps, however, this may have been due to my late sojourn on the treeless plateau of Anatolia. The smallness of the country, and its natural features, were more than ever striking, after living in a country where all the features are on a large scale, and a journey of nine or ten days is an ordinary incident of Anatolian life.

“At Samaria I found all my excavations filled in, and those made by Anderson on Mount Gerizim were partially filled. It was most extraordinary to notice the fresh appearance of the rubbish thrown out round Justinian’s Church on Gerizim, and almost impossible to believe fifteen years had elapsed; the heaps of rubbish looked but a month old.

“I went from Jaffa to Jerusalem by the carriage road, which I had not seen. The people complain of its roughness, but it is the best road I have seen in Turkey, save the French Beirut-Damascus road, and is the only mountain road I know of made by the Turks except that from Trebizonde to Erzurum.

“The approach to Jerusalem was to me a painful one. When I left in 1866, the only buildings outside the town were the Russian convent, and two or three small houses; now new Jerusalem is almost as large as the old one. I had always liked to think of Jerusalem as the walled city, with its gates closed at nightfall, surrounded by olive gardens, which I had learned to know so well during the survey, and it was anything but pleasant to ride over a hard metalled road, through a long suburb, such as one sees round a third class Italian town. However, it seemed to remind one of the villas and gardens which spread outside the second wall at the time of the Crucifixion.

“Within the city there has been little change, except the erection or completion of some of the large religious establishments, and after the first half-hour I felt myself quite at home in the winding street and blind alleys. One great change is, however, in progress; all the rubbish is now being shot into the Pool of Bethesda, which is to be filled up and planted as a public garden; a large portion at the east end had already been levelled up.

“I paid a hurried visit to the site of the German excavations, and was astonished at the work they had managed to do for the small sum of £300, I think. I believe they have found much of interest, but as many of the pits were half filled in, I could not examine all the places, nor would any descrip-

tion be easily followed without reference to plans. The excavations seemed to me not to have been exhaustive in any one place, rather a series of small excavations, in hope of making a lucky find. One of the most interesting points is the discovery of a second rock-hewn channel, in connection with the Fountain of the Virgin, of which Mr. Schick showed me a plan, and of which I believe he was the discoverer; it apparently carried water direct to the lower pool of Siloam, and is perhaps older than the other, which starts off from a corner shown in Warren's plan of the conduit. It may throw some light on the cubit question in the inscription. I also saw the supposed city wall uncovered, near Siloam; it is in the position one might expect to find such a wall, but the masonry did not appear to me such as is usually found in city walls; it was more like a retaining wall. The publication of the results obtained by the Germans will be looked for with great interest.

"I was glad to find Mr. Schick had still in his possession the original plan of Jerusalem, which I gave him in 1866 to keep as a record of rock hurls. He has entered on this the exact points at which rock has been found since Colonel Warren left Jerusalem, and I have arranged with him to make a facsimile copy, which I hope may some day be published.

"There are many other minor points, but my letter is already too long; I must mention, however, that I examined and made a plan of the door in the East Haram wall, found by M. Ganneau; it is comparatively modern, but of interest from its position. You have no doubt received full information about this already."

---

The support given to the new enterprise during the last twelve months may be considered fairly encouraging. The amount received in all from subscriptions and donations reached, up to December 20th, the total of £2,432 1s. 9d. This is only a little more than enough to cover the cost of the party while in the field. The printing and distribution of the *Quarterly Statement*, and the management expenses, call for another 800*l.* The Committee, however, find on all sides a renewal of the old interest which had naturally diminished while the preparation of the memoirs and maps for publication was the only occupation of their officers, and expect a much larger support next year.

---

Will every subscriber remember that about one-third more than was subscribed this year is *absolutely necessary*? It is too much to ask every one to increase his subscription by one-third, but if every one would only persuade one other to subscribe with him, there would be no difficulty. The circular enclosed may be useful for this purpose. It may also be pointed out that the splendid maps already issued, and those which will be published in the spring, together with the Memoirs and the *Quarterly Statements*, have thrown such a flood of light on Biblical topography, as to render all previous publications on the subject comparatively valueless. What has been done for Western Palestine will now be done for the East, with results equally valuable. It is not a great

thing to ask our 4,000 subscribers, to whom the *Quarterly Statement* is sent, to make up between them the sum of £3,500. And the Committee's hands are greatly strengthened by payment being made early in the year.

---

During the last twelve months the Committee have issued three volumes of their Memoirs, besides their reduced map of Modern Palestine. The Water Basin Edition of the reduced map with Mr. Saunders's "Introduction" will be ready for the new year. The next volume of Memoirs will also be ready in January: the other volumes will follow as rapidly as possible; and the ancient maps will be completed, it is hoped, in the spring. In addition to these a General Index to the *Quarterly Statement*, 1869-1881, has been prepared and will be issued immediately; the pamphlet "Some of the Biblical Gains from the Survey" is under revision, and a new edition will be published as soon as possible; lastly an Index of Bible names with proposed identifications will be printed for and with the new maps already issued.

---

The Committee have resolved that Branch Associations of the Bible Society (up to March the 1st), all Sunday Schools in union with the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, shall be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the map (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

---

The Committee have to regret the loss of one of their most valuable members during the last quarter. The Bishop of Jerusalem, Dr. Joseph Barelay, died in the Holy City on Saturday, October 22nd, after a very short illness, and was buried the same afternoon in the Protestant Cemetery on the southern slopes of Mount Zion. Dr. Barelay was a Missionary in Constantinople from 1858 to 1861, and was then for some years Incumbent of Christ Church, Jerusalem. He returned to England in 1873 and became Rector of Stapleford, Herts. He was appointed to the Bishopric of Jerusalem in the autumn of 1879. His diocese extended from the Euphrates to the Levant in Asia, and in Africa from the west to the south of Abyssinia and Galla Land. Dr. Barelay was an accomplished linguist as well as a profound Hebrew scholar: he was able to preach in German, Spanish, Turkish, and Arabic.

---

The income of the Society from all sources from September 22nd to December 16th, 1881, was £969 17s. 11d. The amount in the Banks on Tuesday, December 20th, was £270 12s. 9d.

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It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a bank. Many subscribers have adopted this

method, which removes the danger of loss or misarrriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

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Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

---

While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

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## LIEUTENANT CONDER'S REPORT.

No. IX.

## HESHBON AND ITS CROMLECHS.

*Ain Faneili, 17th September, 1881.*

SINCE my last report the Survey has been advancing steadily in spite of a week of most intense heat— $112^{\circ}$  F. in the shade with a difference of about  $40^{\circ}$  between the wet and dry bulbs and with a hot dry ozone—less east wind.

*Base.*—Two cool days were selected, and on these the base line was measured. The north end is directly connected with the highest point in the ruins of Heshbon, the south end is on a knoll at the ruin of Kufeir. The total length is about 3.8 miles, and the two measurements (taken with a light chain compared with a standard chain before and after use) agree within two links (1.3 feet).

This cannot but be considered a highly satisfactory result, and could only be obtained by such careful and experienced surveyors as Messrs. Black and Armstrong are well known to have proved themselves. The ground was hardly as good as could be wished, and much inferior to that on which the two former bases were measured. The Ramleh base gave a difference of only 4 inches between its two measurements in 1871, in a distance of about four miles. The Esdraelon base had a difference of three links or 1 foot 10 inches in about four and a half miles. The character of the new base is thus quite equal to that of the previous work west of Jordan. The new base is *prolonged*, as it is termed, at its north end by a line measured at an angle of  $60^{\circ}$ , forming one side of an equilateral triangle, and thus exactly equal in length to the distance not measured on the main line; which construction was necessitated by the rough ground in the ruins of Heshbon. The prolonged portion (about a quarter of a mile long) was twice measured by Lieutenant Mantell and myself with a steel tape, and the results agreed within 2 inches, the ground being good.

*Triangulation.*—Twenty theodolite stations, including the sites of Heshbon, Nebo, Elealah, &c., have been selected, and observations have been taken from eight of these with the excellent 8-inch theodolites furnished by the Committee. We were fortunate in obtaining clear weather in which to observe our old stations west of Jordan, and we were even able to obtain a good line from Siaghah to Neby Samwil, whence Jaffa—the original longitude station—can be seen. We also observed Rujon el Bahr in the Dead Sea, Jebel Kūñtal above Jericho, Kasr el Yehūd near Jordan, and Kurn Sartabeh east of Shechem, and were thus able to fix our new triangulation in its proper position respecting longitude

and latitude. The junction is not yet as complete as it will be made finally, but our rough calculations show that the results derived from the new base are likely to agree in a most satisfactory manner with the calculations depending on the western bases. The new Survey may thus, I think, be considered to rest on a firm basis, and our subsequent work will constantly be checked by observations to the stations on the western watershed, where cairns exist which we rebuilt in the earlier summer months of the present year.

The American Survey cairns are well built, and the stations skilfully selected. The use of these stations has saved us several days of labour, in addition to which the Arabs have a most fortunate propensity towards the construction of cairns on every high top—a reminiscence perhaps of the worship of Nebo or Mercury—and we are thus often able to make use of structures which are not likely to be disturbed because custom has made them familiar to the wild shepherds of these mountains.

The survey of detail has commenced, and the examination of the ruins by Lieutenant Mantell and myself, in a few days some 100 square miles of the new Survey will be completed all round Heshbon.

*Heshbon.*—The ruins of the capital of Sihon are at first sight disappointing. Shapeless mounds of hewn stones, rude pillars and cornices of Byzantine origin, a great pool on the east, a ruined fort on the south, numerous caves and cisterns with remains of a colonnaded building on the highest part of the hill, are all that we have found. The details have been measured with the same amount of accuracy observed in the important ruins west of Jordan; but no inscription has yet rewarded our search, and although the site is very extensive, its buildings are evidently all of late origin (4th to 6th century probably). One curious illustration of Scripture appears, however, to be presented by the site. The eyes of the Shulamites (Cant. vii, 4) are likened to the “fishpools of Heshbon by the gate of Bath Rabbim,” and Canon Tristram points out that the bright pools in the stream which runs beneath Heshbon on the west, are probably intended. The plateau on the edge of which the city stands is reached, from this stream, by an ancient road which, at the top of the ascent, passes through a sort of passage cut in the rocks about 8 or 10 feet high and 3 or 4 yards wide. This entry to the site of Heshbon from the north-west is known as the *Bueib* or “gates,” and these gates looking down on the fishpools of Heshbon may perhaps be those noticed by the author of the Song of Songs under the name Bath Rabbim “Daughter of great ones.” From Heshbon a good view is obtained to the south over the great Belka plateau, and from the high top west of the ruins the Jordan valley becomes visible, with the mountains beyond, the thorn groves of Râmen being seen through the gap caused by the deep gorge of Wâdy Hesbân.

Of this hilltop (el Kerûmîyeh) there is more to be said later, for here we first came across one of the great centres of rude stone monuments which form one of the most interesting features of the new country, and present the oldest remains as yet found in Syria.

*Identifications.*—Several names of Biblical interest we have already

collected, among which the most important are apparently the five following :—

*The Field of Zophim* (שדה צפון Numbers xxiii, 14) was at or identical with Pisgah or Nebo. The word signifying “views” comes from a root identical with the Arabic *Safi*, “clear” or “shining.” My Arab guide volunteered the information that the ascent leading up from the 'Ayûn Mûsan to the top of *Jebel Neba* is called *Tal'at es Safa*. Thus on the side of Nebo we still find the name Zophim preserved unchanged, and this discovery, which is I believe entirely new, serves to confirm the ordinary identification of Nebo with *Jebel Neba*. We can have little hesitation in identifying the “Field of Zophim” with the plateau of arable land, a rich red field at the top of *Tal'at Safa*, from which the knoll of limestone called *Râs Neba* rises some 50 feet on the west. In connection with this question I may mention that I have taken careful notes on the spot of the view from Nebo, as former travellers have given different accounts of the prospect. It must be confessed that in many respects the panorama is disappointing, especially as it seems to be an impossibility that the utmost (or western) sea can be seen either from Nebo or from any other mountain in the district.

2. *The Ascent of Luhith* (Isaiah xv, 5 ; Jeremiah xlvi, 5) is mentioned in connection with Zoar and Horonaim. The valley leading up to the plateau west of *Neba*, on the south side of the ridge, seems still to preserve this name in the form *Tal'at el Heith*, which is well known. This *tala'h* or “ascent” communicates between two of the main roads leading towards *Madeba* from the plains of *Shittim*.

3. *Ja'zer* (יער), an important boundary town of Reuben and Gad (Joshua xiii, 25), would seem to answer to the large ruin of *Beit Zar'a*. The Arabic and Hebrew contain exactly the same radicals, but the guttural would seem to have been displaced, in a manner not unnatural, and of which other well known instances will be recalled. The situation of the site north-east of *Heshbon* where the plateau, called *Mishor* in the Bible, begins to rise into the wooded uplands of Gad, seems to suit well with the idea that the old tribe boundaries were as the modern still are, marked by natural features. *Beit Zar'a* is also possibly the *Zara* of Josephus east of *Jordan*.

4. *Sibmah*, mentioned (Numbers xxxii, 3–38 ; Joshua xiii, 19) with *Pisgah*, *Beth Peor*, *Beth Jeshimoh* (*Sueimeh*), *Nebo*, *Heshbon*, *Elealah*, &c., would possibly be the present important site *Sûmia*, where are ancient tombs, and a curious tablet close to the stream measuring 7 feet 3 inches in height by 8 feet in width, but entirely without inscription or sculpture. The “Vine of *Sibmah*” is mentioned (Jeremiah xlvi, 32), and it is interesting therefore to remark that the hill above *Sûmia* presents remains of several large wine-presses, and ruined vineyard towers. The *Ouo-masticon* places *Sibmah* 500 paces from *Heshbon*, which might perhaps be intended to represent the site of *Sûmia*. Remains of a Byzantine town exist here, and of a monastery, the masonry of which was used by *Makbil* in *Nimr* about a century ago in the construction of a little fort.

On one of the lintel stones in this building I found carved the cross potent or Jerusalem cross, which I have never before found in any other building in the country.

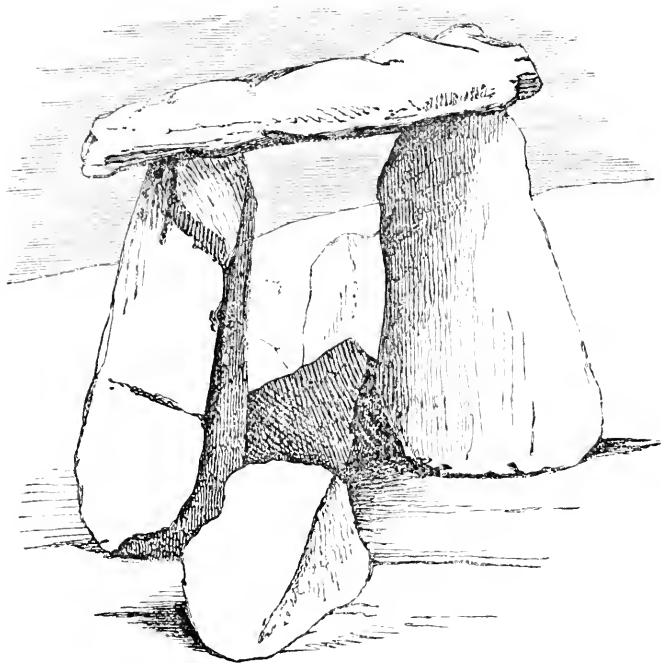
5. *Minnith* (Judges xi, 33) might be conjectured to be the present Minieh south of Nebo. The Onomasticon, however, places it four Roman miles from Heshbon. The mention in connection with Aroer would seem to suggest a southern situation like that of Minieh.

I find on careful enumeration that we have only some 40 Biblical sites to discover between the Arnon and Hermon, and besides those already given I have several to propose which await confirmation by further enquiry.

*Heshbon Cromlechs.*—My time and attention for several days have been wholly devoted to the wonderful rude stone monuments with which this district abounds. The contrast in this respect with the west of Jordan is very striking, and is perhaps accounted for by the supposition that the Jews deliberately destroyed all traces of these structures—connected as they must clearly have been with the barbarous religion of the early aborigines. In Galilee, where Jewish influence was probably never predominant until a late period, a few cromlechs still exist. In Moab and the Jordan valley they are marvellously numerous. On one hill I have gathered 26 examples, and in three days nearly 50 cromlechs have been planned, sketched, and photographed. At Jebel Neba and el Maslûbiyeh other groups occur, and we are informed that they are even more plentiful in the Ghor.

Time will not allow of a detailed account of the various specimens, but some of the general results are of sufficient interest to be summarised. In the first place it seems to me that these monuments are not sown broadcast over the country, but that they are referable to certain centres which represent the old sacred places of the primitive inhabitants. One of these centres appears to be the rounded summit west of Heshbon, already noticed and called el Kerûmiyeh. There is a flat plateau west of the summit some 200 feet lower than the highest top. This runs out westwards about 300 yards, and terminates in a knoll commanding a view down Wâdy Heshbân. The lower knoll was once apparently crowned by a cairn, of which the foundations remain, and a circle of stones of moderate size surrounded the cairn, the circle being about 40 feet in diameter. Lower down the hill on the west are remains of a second circle of about 200 yards diameter, consisting of two rows of stones with a path or interval of 8 feet between them. Outside this circle, on north, south, and west, are groups of cromlechs of every size and form. At least 26 were clearly recovered, and others fallen, or of less distinct character, were noticed. The best specimen is on the north near the fort of the spire which rises some 800 feet above the valley. This specimen, found and photographed by Lieutenant Mantell, has a table stone measuring 9 feet by 8 feet, supported by two very square, standing stones, and measures 5 feet 6 inches in the clear under the table stone. On the plateau north-east of the central cairn and circle is another fine cromlech of equal dimensions. These

two are the largest and most lofty, the average height of the standing stones being about 3 feet, with a table stone 5 feet square.



There is a second group of cromlechs on the north side of Wâdy Hesbân, more than a mile west of the Kerûmîyeh hill, and it is remarkable that these, numbering at least 16 in all, are placed so as in every case to obtain a view of the Kerûmîyeh hill east of them. They all occur on the east slopes of the hill, and none are found on the west. Other specimens occur on the south slope of the hill north of el Kerûmîyeh. From this circumstance it seems likely that the Kerûmîyeh hill—the highest near Heshbon—with its cairn and circles, was a sacred mountain, and that the cromlechs were built facing it, just as the modern Arab builds his little stone piles—degenerate offspring of the mighty works of former times—in positions whence the sacred centre might be seen with the sun rising behind it.

It is remarkable that the mountains thus covered with cromlechs are also those where the modern Arabs pile their stone heaps or kehakîr, which they are accustomed to place in sacred spots or along roads, at points where shrines first come into view. They explain these piles to have reference to Neby Mûsa west of Jordan, but they are more probably

intended to propitiate the Ghouls, for the cromlech obtains the name *Beit el Ghâl* or "Ghoul's House" from the Bedawin.

In a former report I have noticed the stone circles still erected by the Arabs. We had an opportunity the other day of observing the cultus of these sacred circles, which consists in placing a small offering on the lintel or cromlech, which in most cases occurs on the west side of the circle. The worshipper then touches the lintel with his forehead and mutters an invocation to the local divinity. We have found a single example in which the lintel was on the east of the circle, but this was in the vicinity of a very sacred place, *Kabr 'Abdallah*, towards which the worshipper at the lintel thus faces.

The theory that the cromlechs were graves seems to me to be contradicted by the fact that the three stones stand in most cases on the live rock. In many cases circular holes are found in the top stones of the Heshbon groups; these are sometimes 8 or 9 inches in diameter and 2 or 3 inches deep. Possibly they may be connected with the use of the cromlechs as altars, either as receptacles for blood or for fire.

The cromlechs have no special orientation. They occur generally on the hill slopes, not on the summit, and are found where fallen blocks were abundant and where open ground sufficient for a few worshippers exists. They are raised high enough to command a view of the sacred centre, but the labour of climbing to the top of the hill, or perhaps the yet more serious difficulty of transporting large blocks to the heights, seems to have induced their builders to choose comparatively accessible positions. The two standing stones do not appear to be essential, but the top table stone may be supported in any convenient manner, so long as it is propped in a fairly horizontal position. Large flat blocks with a single small stone inserted beneath, occur among the cromlechs, and seem to have been less ambitious attempts at constructing a rude altar. Strata of rock in other cases have been prized up, and supported by a stone on the lower side, while in some instances three flat stones stand one on the other. Circular holes are often excavated in the live rock close to the cromlech.

The existence of cromlechs surrounding a large cairn on Nebo is of great interest. The mountain where Balak's altars were built took its name apparently from Nebo—the planet Mercury, and for this reason is said to have been changed by the Reubenites—possibly to *Pisgah*; (cf. Numbers xxxii, 38), and Nebo like *Baal Peor* and *Baal Meon* was no doubt a centre of Pagan worship.

Mercury or *Hermes* was one of the earliest of the Semitic gods, and under the names *Set* and *Thoth* was worshipped by the Egyptians, the Hittites, and the Phœnicians. He was essentially a stone-god. The Talmud records the practice of throwing stones on to a heap in honour of *Marculim*, and the Latin proverb recalls the same curious species of worship. Not only Nebo but possibly *Jebel 'Attârûs*, with its great cairn, may be connected with this ancient cultus, the name of the latter being very close to the Arabic *'Attârûd*, the name of the planet Mercury.

Should the fact of the relation of the cromlechs to these mountain

centres be established by further observation, we may perhaps obtain a clue for the discovery of Baal Peor, and Bamoth Baal, both of which are as yet doubtful.

Some curious rock-cut chambers are found in connection with the cromlechs. They are generally 3 to 5 feet long, 3 feet broad and high. In other cases they are 6 or 7 feet long, and were evidently once tombs, but the shorter ones, which are the more numerous, seem hardly to have been intended as sepulchres. They are almost always excavated in detached cubes of rock 10 to 15 feet wide, and in many cases these blocks have been subsequently overthrown by earthquakes or landslips. There is as yet no evidence whether these excavations are as old as the cromlechs, nor indeed do we know how old the latter themselves may be. The cromlechs appear to occur in connection with ancient towns, and this may account for the association with the rock chamber. We have not found any flint instruments or chips near the cromlechs, though several specimens of rude flint instruments occur at 'Ain Hesbân on the flat ground near the stream.

North of 'Ain Hesbân we have as yet seen no cromlechs, but specimens are known to exist in Mount Gilead. It might perhaps be suggested that the "throne" of King Og (עֶרֶב Dent. iii, 11), rendered "bedstead" in the English version, and usually supposed to have been a sarcophagus, may really have been a cromlech. The dimensions (12 feet by 9 feet), are rather larger than those of the cromlechs as yet measured. This throne was to be seen at Rabbath Ammon, and cromlechs still exist at 'Ammân, which we shall measure with unusual interest.

*Geology.*—The observations as yet are not sufficiently numerous to allow of important deductions, but the general succession of the strata is unmistakable. The Nubian sandstone attains to a thickness of some 2,000 feet above the Ghor as seen in Wâdy Hesbân, and is of all colours from slate and mauve to light buff or white. Above this follows the hard dolomitic limestone, found west of Jordan, forming a second step in the hills, and a third step is made by the soft chalk, with flint bands, which forms the substratum of the Belka plateau. The water sinks through this formation, and there are consequently no springs on the plateau, but only a few wells, while on the sides of the great slope of 4,000 feet leading to the Ghor, beautiful streams burst forth at the base of the chalk, above the impervious limestone. Every valley at this level, some 2,000 feet above the Mediterranean, has its springs and streams, fringed with oleanders and canes, which flow murmuring down the gorges falling in cascades over the rocks. The contrast of this rich water-supply with the scantiness of streams west of Jordan is striking. So far as has yet been observed the dip of the strata downwards towards the west is much less marked than on the west side of the Ghor, thus seeming to confirm the conclusion of Lartet that the valley was neither more nor less than a gigantic fault. Traces of volcanic action, and a hot spring, were noticed near Kefrein, but no basalt occurs in the district at present surveyed.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Lieut. R.E.*

## SUMMARY OF THE FIRST SURVEY CAMPAIGN.

1st November, 1881.

THE work was commenced on the 17th August, and carried on until the 29th October, when the party returned to Jerusalem; during this period of eleven weeks a total of 500 square miles was surveyed, but a great part of the time was taken up in preliminary reconnaissance, necessary before establishing the triangulation, and in measuring the base line. The actual rate of progress, after these preliminaries had been completed, was about 250 square miles per month, which is an average higher than any reached during the former survey, except during the campaigns which I conducted in 1875, when, however, the European Staff included three surveyors, whereas during the last fortnight of the present campaign only one surveyor has been working, in addition to the two officers.

The cost of the work, in spite of the heavy payments to the Arab escort, has been less than at any previous time, principally on account of the cheapness of food and forage. The collection of the names has given comparatively little trouble, as the Arabs knew the nomenclature well, and imparted information readily. Over 600 names were collected, and more than 200 ruins were examined. Some 400 cromlechs were found, and careful plans, sketches, and photographs of the best specimens were made. The idea put forward in a former report that these cromlechs are referable to certain centres was fully established, seven such centres being explored where the cromlechs occur in numbers, whereas in the other parts of the country not a single cromlech is found. In addition to cromlechs some very interesting *Menhirs* or standing stones were also found, and ancient stone circles occur in connection with both classes of these monuments.

Among the sites explored are Heshbon, Elealah, Madaba, Baal-Meon, Nebo, and Pisgab, the hot springs of Calirrhoe, Rabboth Ammon—where the party remained fifteen days among the ruins, and of which site a special survey has been very carefully made. In the Jordan valley search was made for the Cities of the Plain, but without any very conclusive results.

I think that we have also fixed with great probability the sites of Baal-Peor and of Bamoth Baal, in positions entirely unsuspected before, and we have some interesting suggestions to make in connection with the "bedstead" (or more correctly "throne") of Og in Rabboth Ammon, as well as respecting the history of Balaam and Balak.

At 'Arâk el Emîr we made an interesting discovery of the probable method by which the enormous stones were brought from the quarries to the palace of Hyrcanus, and we explored carefully the existing ruins and copied the inscriptions and details of architecture.

The number of photographs taken by Lieutenant Mantell is 36 in all. A short account of these is attached, and copies will be sent as soon as possible



to England. The large majority of subjects have, I think, certainly never been photographed previously.

The discoveries of inscriptions have been few and of no great value. Two Greek inscriptions were found fairly preserved, and fragments of others were also discovered. A Roman milestone with a Latin inscription was also found by Lieutenant Mantell, and there are remains of a Greek inscription in the great Temple of 'Ammân. The Arabs, however, state that no stone like that of Dibon has ever been since found by them, although during the last twelve years they have been constantly searching for such relics.

A building explored at 'Ammân is likely to prove of great interest to architects. It has been previously described as a Byzantine church and as a mosque, but there can be little doubt that it is of Sassanian origin, probably about the same age as the Mashita palace discovered by Dr. Tristram. Its architecture, together with that of an early moslem Mosque in 'Ammân, seem likely to illustrate in an interesting manner the question of the style of the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem. Plans, sketches, and photographs of these and all the other buildings of 'Ammân have been obtained.

A number of interesting Arab traditions have been collected, some of which have a considerable mythological value. Statistics respecting the names, numbers, and property of the eastern tribes have also been obtained, although with some difficulty.

Full reports on the heads above enumerated will be forwarded as soon as possible, but the great press of work at the present moment renders it impossible to give more than a rude summary of the most interesting of our discoveries.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

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## NOTES BY M. CLERMONT GANNEAU.

## NOTE II.\*

*Jaffa, 8th October, 1881.*

BESIDES short expeditions to different places in the neighbourhood of Jaffa, I spent nearly five weeks in Jerusalem and its immediate environs. I started the 2nd August and did not return until the 7th September. Upon reaching Latrun I mounted one of the carriage horses and made my way to Anwās. There I obtained three fragments of ancient inscriptions, one Greek and two Roman; one of the latter is an imperial protocol. The Greek inscription consists of two lines; in the first line one can still distinguish the characters ΠΟΛ which are possibly part of the word ΝΙΚΟΠΟΛΙΣ; if so this gives us the ancient name Emmaus Nicopolis. On the second line we find [Υ]ΠΑΤΙΑ either signifying Hypatia, a feminine name, or else the word ὑπατεία, *consulship*.

Amongst the fresh inscriptions which I have collected at Jerusalem, and of which I have brought back either copies or photographs, I must mention the following:

A fragment of a Roman inscription containing the name of a certain 'Rufus' (with the addition of the word "*patronus*"), who may be identical with the governor of that name at the time of the revolt of the celebrated Barkochabas, which ended in the transformation of Jerusalem into a Roman province under the name of Ælia Capitolina.

Another fragment from the neighbourhood of Jericho.

A fresh Jewish ossuary with Greek and Hebrew inscriptions. Amongst the number are references to the following names, all of some interest:—

ΜΑΘΙΟΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΚΤΟΥ—ΒΕΡΟΥΤΑΡΙΟΥ ΚΑ  
ΝΙΚΑΝΔΡΟΥ—ΤΡΦΩΝΟΣ ΠΡΕΣΒΥΤΕΡΟΥ—  
ΜΑΤΤΑΘΙΟΥ—ΒΕΡΟΥΤΑΡΙΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΑΣ, &c.

One of these ossuaries has an epigraph written in cursive Greek characters which are not easy to decipher, and which are too indistinct to photograph. I have taken a careful sketch of it. Another has a Hebrew inscription (written in the early square characters) in which the name of Jesus is twice repeated, followed by some patronymic which I have not yet succeeded in reading.

Three fragments (Greek and Roman) from Colonia, a village near Jerusalem, one of which contains the letters ΝΙΑ—the end perhaps of the ancient name of this place which was apparently a Roman settlement.)†

\* Note I appears to have been mislaid or not to have arrived.

† This locality is worth careful exploration. They told me of the existence of some long inscription, but I searched for it in vain; but I do not despair of finding it at some future time.

There are also a number of mediæval inscriptions of the period of the Crusades and of the later Jews. I especially noticed one at the base of one of the columns of the galleries in the interior of the Haram esh Sherif, and belonging apparently to the epitaph of some Templar. (Characters of the 12th century.)

[hic ja] *cet D* [ominus] *Ogo* (or *Odo*) *de Bus*.

Two shields of the 15th century, painted on paper and found glued to the interior wall of the Cœnaculum, the present Neby Daoud, under an old plastering. One is dated 1414, and has on it the name of a certain Kunz (Conrad) the Geuder von Noremberg—the other with the name of Sigmund Laber would be of about the same period. Ancient writers, especially Faber, tell us that the pilgrims to Palestine were in the habit of affixing their names and arms on the walls of the sacred buildings which they visited. I have taken photographs of these shields, and send the one of Sigmund Laber as a specimen.

There are also a number of Greek inscriptions, for the greater part Christian; amongst them I found the epitaph of the Abbess of a convent on the Mount of Olives, of Armenian origin. I must also mention another Armenian inscription from Kerak on the other side of Jordan, which seems to be very ancient and of historical value.

I find that the making of false inscriptions is still carried on in Jerusalem. I revealed the existence of this species of imposture in 1874, and some of my discoveries regarding it are not wanting in interest.

I have paid particular attention to the Hebrew inscription (in Phœnician characters) discovered a year ago on the rock in the subterranean canal which connects the Pool of Siloam with the Fountain of the Virgin. I have spent a good deal of time in very uncomfortable positions in the aqueduct during my endeavours to decipher it, for the inscription has naturally attracted much attention; even now it is not fully understood. I think I have arrived at the correct reading of all those parts which are not completely destroyed, and I have some very good squeezes of it. I hope soon to write a paper on the subject, in which I shall endeavour to point out its exact meaning, and try to decide upon the origin of this channel. At present I will merely call attention to two facts:

*Firstly*.—Every one makes a mistake in considering this to be the first inscription in Phœnician characters yet discovered at Jerusalem. They seem to have forgotten that twelve years ago I discovered two in identically the same characters engraved in like manner on the rock which forms the outer wall of a cave near Siloam.

*Secondly*.—I think that with regard to the history of the source in question we must take into consideration *three* epochs; *the first*, during which the water took its natural course into the valley of Jehoshaphat, then much deeper than at present; *a second* period, when the inhabitants wishing to gain access to the pool without exposing themselves to the blows of a besieging enemy, bored an inclined subterranean passage through the rock, which enabled them to draw water from a well pierced vertically below the source; *the third epoch* being when the inhabitants, not content

with this defensive precaution, and wishing to deprive the enemy of the water which still continued to run into the valley, determined to alter its course, and caused it to run into a new bed which they formed for it under the hill, and thence into a large reservoir which they made in the valley of Tyropœon, and which was protected by the neighbouring walls. And it is to this latter work, I think, that the inscription refers; the previous work being represented by the subterranean system discovered in 1867 by Colonel Warren under the hill of Ophel.

With respect to my own archæological researches I have two matters of importance to relate, leaving aside all secondary points.

*Firstly*.—I have succeeded in inducing the Turks to make some excavations in the interior of the Haram, such excavations being strictly forbidden to the Christians. I attained this result by referring to a certain Arabic inscription which I discovered years ago in the wall of the Haram, and which says that at *that point there are stones buried for the use of the Haram*.

As at this moment the Turks are proposing to make some repairs, thanks to this inscription, I was able to persuade them to make an opening in the wall, about fifty yards from the inscription where from certain indications I expected we might find a door which had been walled up and has hitherto remained undiscovered. My prediction was realized. The door was there, and gave access to the open ground in the interior of the Haram. They were continuing their excavations when I left, and it is not unlikely that they will make some very unexpected discoveries. I hope to return and verify the results.

*Secondly*.—I have been on the spot and paid a good deal of attention to the vexed question of the origin of the vast mausoleum called the Tomb of the Kings. And I think I am in a position to produce new and important, if not decisive elements of information on the subject. One result of which is, that I believe the sarcophagus which M. Sauly took to the Louvre, and which he and other authorities considered to be that of a Queen of Judah, is really the *sarcophagus of Queen Helena of Adiabene with her national name written in Adiabenean and in Hebrew*. My return journey to Jaffa was not without result. I went to Gezer and commenced some explorations which I hope will result in discoveries. My speedy return there obliges me to shorten this report. From Ramleh I have brought back fragments of a Greek inscription and a pair of capitals from Niane, a neighbouring village, on one of which is the same inscription that we found on the capital at Amwās—**ΕΙΣ ΟΓΟC** engraved in a semi circle. I have also a bronze seal with the name *Cucius Aelius Optatus*. A short visit to Lydda had no result. But in passing Sarfend I obtained two more fragments of inscriptions, one Greek, the other Arabic. I noticed, whilst there, indications of important ancient remains, to which I hope to return.

From the 19th to the 21st September I made a hasty visit to Haifa, Carmel, and St. John of Acre, in order to prepare for the researches which I hope to make a little later on.

Amongst my various expeditions in the neighbourhood of Jaffa, I must mention my rambles to the south of the town, a region very little known, and which even the map of Palestine leaves unnoticed. I have discovered some very interesting points, ancient cities rich in remains of buildings, pottery, glass, mosaics, etc., especially Tell Dalbeh, Hajar Gādām, and above all *Tell Younés*. All these points are situated between Jaffa and Yabneh.

Amongst the objects with which I have lately enriched my collection of antiquities, I must mention :—

The handle of a dagger in enamelled copper of the time of the Crusades.

A Jewish ossuary with ornamentation in relief (very rare).

A beautiful fragment of a sculptured marble vase.

A Greek inscription from Moughar.

A fresh brick of the 10th Legion *fretensis* (Beit Jala).

A fragment of a Greek inscription from the Necropolis of Jaffa.

A radiated head of Helios (bronze statue from Tripoli).

A winged Cupid (bronze statuette from Gaza).

Four fragments of Greek inscriptions, and one Hebrew from Gaza and Ascalon.

A little bottle of crinkled glass.

A cylinder with Egyptian hieroglyphics.

A Phœnician scarabee in *pierra dura*.

A leaden ball.

A glass Tessera with a Cufic inscription (from the same places), etc.

### NOTE III.

#### I. EXPEDITION TO BEIT DEJAN AND SAFERIYEH.

##### AN ANCIENT TOMB.

*Jaffa, 22nd October, 1881.*

THE Caimakam, or Governor of Jaffa, Youssef Effendi, is a most intelligent man, and has a taste for archæological research, which I have done my best to encourage. A little while ago he begged me to go and examine an ancient tomb recently discovered near the villages of Beit Dejan and Saferiyeh, on the left of the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. I hastened to avail myself of his invitation, and we started on the 24th June, accompanied by an officer of the Zabtiyeh (gendarmerie), who had been despatched on the first rumour of the discovery to preserve the monument

and any objects of value which it might contain. For a distance of about six or seven miles we continued along the road which leads to Jerusalem, passing the village of Yazûr,\* the sanctuary of Imam Ali, and the village of Beit Dejan. Between the third and fourth of the small block-houses which command the road all the way to Jerusalem, we turned off, bearing to the left across country and in the direction of the western plain. After walking about a hundred yards over undulating ground we arrived at a spot called *Wâdy Abu Rûs*, which may be translated "valley of the father of heads," or better, "valley of heads." This valley is formed by a very slight depression of the plain. It is accurately marked in the Survey Map, only its name is not given. There we found at a depth of about three feet below the ground the newly discovered tomb, half exposed to view. It consists of a rectangular receptacle in soft calcareous stone, and is of the ordinary dimensions. But the lid (cover) which had been already raised to get at the interior is of a peculiar type. About a dozen years ago I had one dug up which was exactly like it, at a distance of about seven miles from the *Wâdy Abu Rûs*, and in the direction of the Mussulman sanctuary of *Nebly Danian* situated to the south-east and close to Lydda. This specimen was carefully raised under my directions, and a drawing of it was made by M. Lecomte during my mission of 1874.

The top of the lid has simple finials (acrotères), one at each of the angles and one in the middle of each of the longer sides; the top is made with inclined planes, the intersecting edges of which form a large cross.

It is possible that this cruciform design is not the result of pure hazard, but that a religious feeling suggested the choice of this particular geometrical form. With the aid of some fellahin from the village of Beit Dejan we completed the digging out of the tomb, but neither on the exterior of the tomb nor on the top did we find the slightest trace of any characters or inscription. One of the two longest sides of the tomb had been stove in either by some one in search of treasure or by the pressure of the earth. We next examined the interior, which was partially filled with mould, but in spite of the most careful search we did not find a single object; the bones, however, were in their respective positions, and I at all events hoped we should recover the skull, as it would have been an object of interest for anthropologists; but in vain did we search for it, although the position in which it should have occupied was clearly indicated both by the position of the bones and by the place formed for its reception at one end of the sarcophagus. The search ended, the fellahin carefully replaced the bones, saying amongst themselves that they were perhaps the remains of some saint, which possibly caused them to look on our researches with no very friendly eyes. In

\* For a long time Yazûr was supposed to be Gezer, until I discovered the true position of this royal city of the Canaanites at Tel el Gezer, near Abu Shushah. This discovery was confirmed by some inscriptions in Hebrew and Greek characters engraved on the rock, and giving all the letters of the name of the town.

replacing the heavy top, it broke through their want of skill, and they were then ordered to cover the whole with earth.

The absence of the skull is certainly remarkable, and naturally leads to the supposition that the occupant of the tomb may have been decapitated. On this hypothesis the defunct must have been the victim of one of those religious or political turmoils of which Palestine was so often the scene.

I cannot help connecting the fact with the name of the valley—*Wādī Abu Rās*, “valley of heads,” by which the place is locally known, and the still more characteristic name of “*Maqtaleh*”—place of murder or slaughter—borne by a neighbouring spot on the opposite side of the road to Jerusalem. I am aware that popular tradition (which by-the-by always requires strict examination) accounts for this name by a commonplace story of brigands and cut-throats; but it is not improbable that in this tale we may find the obscure survival of some events more or less historic and belonging to one of those periods to which I have alluded. Popular tradition is more tenacious than exact; in every country it follows a sort of law which may be resolved into the following somewhat paradoxical formula: “Tradition only preserves the truth at the expense of changing it.” In no place is this truer than in Palestine, the classic ground of tradition.

One may suppose that the tomb is not an isolated one, but that it belongs to a group of sepulchres made at the same period, and in which were buried a number of people (possibly Christians), who had met with a common and tragical fate. In any case I think it would be advisable to carefully explore the immediate vicinity of this tomb, which possibly indicates the existence of a large or small necropolis belonging to either Beit Dejan or Saferiyeh. The actual spot is in the territory of Beit Dejan.\*

These two villages—Beit Dejan and Saferiyeh—undoubtedly represent two ancient sites.

For a long time the first was supposed to be identical with the Beth Dagon (Βῆθ Δαγών—Καφὰρ Δαγών) of Eusebius and St. Jerome, which they regarded as the Biblical Beth Dagon of the tribe of Juda, and described as being between Diospolis (Lydda) and Yabneh. The modern identification

\* Joshua xv, 41, בֵּית דָּגוֹן, the house of Dagon, the celebrated god of the Philistines. “Dajûn” (Note). I believe I have found a mention of this locality, Dajûn, in the Samaritan chronicle “El Tholledoth,” under the form of Tsadjoun, “Abraham, son of Our of Tsadjûn, is the father of the children of Tobiyah and of the children of Gala. (“Asiatic Journal,” 1869, pages 443 and 405, the translation of Neubauer.)

There is also mention of this place in the Arabic Treatise on Geography of *Moqaddesy*, which is of great importance. I am not able to quote the passage exactly, not having either my previous MS. note or the later publication of the text by M. Goeje by me, but in it the different routes branching away from Ramleh are enumerated: the road to Lydda, to Jaffa, to Egypt, etc., and finally, the road to Dajûn (داجون), “which leads to the town of that name.”

seems to me to be open to question. About seven years ago I discovered to the south, and towards Sitt Nefiseh, an ancient site called *Dajûn*, which does not appear in the Name Lists, and which answers quite as well as Beit Dejan to the description of the Beth Dagon given by Eusebius and St. Jerome, and from a topographical point of view even better, for we cannot say that Beit Dejan is situated between Lydda and Yabneh, while *Dajûn* actually is; hitherto the latter place has escaped the attention of explorers, and its name is not marked on the Survey map. *Dajûn* is certainly worthy of exploration, and it is one of the places which I have marked on my programme. With regard to Saferiyeh, Van de Velde has suggested that it is the episcopal *Σαριφαια*, which is mentioned in several ecclesiastical documents, and which has been supposed to lie a little more to the south-east near Saifend. If future explorations lead to the discovery of a Christian necropolis in the position which I have indicated, the hypothesis of Van de Velde will gain weight. I shall not lose sight of this interesting question, and I propose to commence further excavations directly I have a favourable opportunity.

It would be necessary to bore round about the tomb we have already found. I must add that owing to the suspicious disposition of the fellahin we were unable to find out the exact date of the discovery, or the circumstances which attended it. Upon consulting my old note-books, I came across the following passage written at Jaffâ in 1874, "There is a talk of an ancient tomb having been recently discovered at Saferiyeh." But at that time I had not sufficient leisure to allow me to verify the report. I am inclined to attribute to this period the caving in of the side of the sarcophagus. I am assured that the fellahin often search for ancient tombs with good results. The people of Yahudiyeh, a little village to the north of Saferiyeh, are the cleverest at it; and I am told that for this purpose they use long iron bars, with which they bore into the ground.

I must verify these reports, and endeavour to have an interview with these fellow archeologists.

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## II. EXPEDITION TO AMWÂS.

(EMMAUS-NICOPOLIS).

ON the 25th June last, feeling somewhat better and being able to spare a little time from the affairs of the Vice-Consulate, I determined to make a two days' expedition to Ramleh, Goubab, Latrûn, Amwâs, and Lydda, the chief object of my little tour being to examine the ruins of the church at Amwâs, and especially a Hebrew inscription which has lately been dis-



covered there. Not being well enough, however, to bear the fatigue of riding I was obliged to go by carriage, a mode of progress which proved most awkward. I reached Ramleh at eight o'clock in the morning, and whilst the horses were being baited I took a hurried ramble through the bazaar and the town, and talked to some of the inhabitants, who were most of them old acquaintances, with a view to further explorations at Ramleh. It is a most interesting town, but as a rule it is neglected by travellers, as they usually pass through it at night. It is chiefly on account of its Mussulman antiquities that it deserves attention. The Crusaders, also, erected some important buildings, notably a fine church, which is now transformed into a mosque, and of which we made a plan and drawings with the aid of M. Lecomte in 1874. I drew especial attention to a fine and curious relief on the lintel of the door of the minaret, and of which I possess a very good drawing.

During my short halt, a workman of the town brought me a fragment of a Cufic inscription. I bought it of him rather by way of encouragement than for any actual value that it possessed. It is very necessary to act on this principle in Palestine in order to obtain things of real importance. A little money thus expended often has the best results in the future. It is only sowing to reap. I have always followed this system, and hitherto it has repaid me a hundredfold. On this fragment amongst other legible words I find سنة, year—but the date which should follow

and which would make it of value has unluckily disappeared. At Ramleh, both in the public and private cemeteries and religious buildings, there are a great number of ancient Arabic inscriptions which might furnish really valuable materials for a collection of Mussulman epigraphs.

In about an hour's time we recommenced our journey towards Anwās. Soon after leaving Ramleh we noticed towards the south south-east and to the right of the road, Abu Shusheh and Tel Yezer, commanding all this region, in which one notices the commencement of the orographic upheaval which further on develops itself in the mountains of Judæa. It is difficult to understand how this site, which is undoubtedly that of the ancient Gezer, and which is so visible to all travellers on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem, can so long have escaped the notice of archæologists and explorers.

The strategic importance of this point alone should have sufficed to attract attention to it; Abu Shusheh, Kubab and Latrūn (the fortress of Anwās) form a triangle which completely commands the entrance to the mountains of Judæa. And this explains the number of battles fought in this region at the time of the Seleucides and the Maccabees.

At about eleven we arrived at Latrūn, having passed Kubab, which I hoped to examine on the way back. So far we had got on very well save for the rough joltings caused by the bad condition of the so-called carriage road, which was made about twelve years ago between Jaffa and Jerusalem. This road passes one end of Latrūn, which lies on the right

of it, but Amwās is some little distance from it on the opposite side. I was anxious to proceed there at once, but the heat had become intense, and I hesitated at carrying out my intention of mounting one of the carriage horses and riding to the church. Instead of doing so I told the coachman to turn off the high road and drive down a road which turns off from it a little beyond the "blockhaus" between Kubab and Latrūn, and which leads straight to Amwās at a distance of rather more than a mile. This road I believe to be really the old Roman way which ran from Emmaus-Nicopolis (Amwās) to Gezer, and which crosses the modern road to Jerusalem at an angle of about 45°. It is the same road by which Eusebius and St. Jerome measured the four miles which they gave as the distance between these two towns. I must admit that I speedily repented my resolution of driving along it, for after rumbling on for a few hundred yards over large boulders the carriage gave a violent jolt and was turned over by a sort of embankment. The shock was terrible. My head came in contact with an iron bar, and for some moments I remained under the carriage completely stunned. At length I succeeded in disengaging myself, and with the help of some fellahin, who ran to the coachman's aid, we succeeded in lifting the carriage up again, and in the end I did what I ought to have done at first, mounted one of the carriage horses and in a few minutes reached the ruins of the church. There I found that a little building had been erected to facilitate a surveillance over the work of exploration which has been undertaken at the expense of Mlle. St. Cricq. Captain Guillemot is directing it with much zeal and intelligence, and several ecclesiastics had come from Jerusalem to view a discovery which they suppose will supply a perfect proof of the truth of a religious tradition to which I shall refer later on. As soon as I had recovered from the effects of my shaking, I proceeded to examine the inscription which was the principal object of my journey. In default of photographs I must give a short description of it. Unluckily the photographs I took with the gelatine bromide process proved very imperfect when I developed them at home. Doubtless the plates were injured by the overturning of the carriage. But I shall be able to replace them directly I go to Jerusalem, as the monument has now been transported to Bethlehem. It consists of a capital of white marble in false carved Ionic style, coarsely and irregularly sculptured. On one side between the two traditional volutes is a cartouche in form of a *titulus*, having to the right and the left the two little side pieces which it is supposed to be fixed by. On the cartouche is an inscription written in two lines, separated by a horizontal stroke and engraved in Archaic Hebrew (that is to say Phœnician) characters. It can easily be deciphered  $\frac{\text{ברוך שם}}{\text{ולעולם}}$  "Blessed be His name for ever!" It is exactly the reading which I had suggested from the imperfect copy of the inscription sent to me on its first discovery, but from that I could only give my intuitive conclusion, and I felt a certain doubt as to its accuracy. On the other side, disposed in a circle, is the inscription  $\epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma\ \epsilon\iota\varsigma\ \theta\epsilon\omicron\varsigma$ . —"There is one God." Finally I discovered a large mason's sign, on the part

intended to be placed downwards on the top of the shaft of the column.

It is a sort of **S** and I suspect it is more likely to prove a numerical letter. To complete the description of the capital, I soon found on one side an eight-pointed star contained in a circle; and on the other side a sort of "fasces" tied with a band.

The capital was found in the pavement of the left hand side amongst other miscellaneous remains, used in like manner for paving this part of the building at some epoch which it would be well to know.

The formula  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  though it may be equally well applied as a general dogma of any one of the three great monotheistic religions, is in this form essentially Christian. It occurs very frequently in the stone inscriptions of Syria where it was apparently very popular. Probably it was from there that it passed into the creed of Islam under the form  $\text{تَوَاسَّ}$ —god alone. A glance at M. Waddington's Greek and Latin inscriptions in Syria, shows us how frequently it occurs either laconically, as in the present instance, or else accompanied by words which more precisely define its scope.

As examples I may cite the following :—

On the lintel of a door at Oum-el-Jemal (Nabat)-

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$  +  $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$  with the cross.\*

On another lintel at Dāna (Antioch)—

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$  [ $\acute{\omicron}$ ]  $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$   $\alpha\upsilon\tau\omicron\upsilon\upsilon$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\tau\acute{o}$   $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\nu$   $\pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha$ ,  $\beta\omicron\eta$   $\theta\eta\tau\omega$ —(of the year 483) †

On a lintel at Kokanaya (Antioch)—

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\kappa\alpha\acute{\iota}$   $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma$  (of the year 318). ‡

On a lintel at Katoura (Antioch)—

$\iota$   $\eta\sigma\omicron\upsilon$   $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}$ ,  $\beta\omicron\eta\theta\epsilon\iota$ ,  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\mu\acute{o}\nu\omicron\varsigma$  (of the year 331). §

On the doors at Dellouza (Carriotide and Apamena).

+  $\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\upsilon\pi\acute{\epsilon}\rho$ , etc. ||

On a lintel at Deir Seta (Antioch)—

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\beta\omicron\eta$   $\theta\acute{\omega}\nu$   $\pi\alpha\sigma\omega$  (of the year 411). ¶

At Domeir (Damascus)—

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\acute{\omicron}$  [ $\beta$ ]  $\omicron\epsilon\iota$   $\theta\eta$  [ $\nu$ ]. \*\*

At Dama (Trachonite)—

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\acute{\omicron}$   $\beta\omicron\eta$   $\tau\omicron$   $\beta\epsilon\iota\eta$ . ††

At Salmeustha (Batan)—

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$   $\acute{\omicron}$   $\beta\omicron\eta$   $\theta\omicron$  [ $s$ ]. ‡‡

At Oum-er-rumman (Nabathæan)—

$\epsilon\acute{\iota}\varsigma$   $\theta$  [ $\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ ]. §§

\* No. 2,066. † No. 2,689. ‡ No. 2,682. § No. 2104; notice

the strong form of monotheistic affirmation. || No.  $\left\{ \begin{array}{l} 2,606 \\ \text{or } 000 \end{array} \right\}$ . ¶ No. 2078.

\*\* No. 2,562 b. †† No. 2,451. ‡‡ No. 2,262. §§ No. 2,057.

At Deir-el-meyas (Nabathæan)—

[Eἰς] θεὸς ὁ β[ο]θ[η]θ[ω]ν.\*

At Bastra (Nabathæan)—

Eἰς θεὸς κ[α]νος [ ] Ἄμην.†

It would be easy to multiply examples of this formula. I will conclude by citing Sinaic inscriptions, one of Jezzīn (region Sidon)‡ another of Cyprus (Golos)§—an amulet belonging to M. Perétié with εἰς θεὸς ὁ μικῶν κακά— and especially an inscription at Arzouf-Apollonia εἰς θεὸς ὁ ζων.

The Christian character of this formula is clearly demonstrated by these examples. It is probably of Jewish origin, and must have sprung from the well-known verse (the fourth) in the sixth chapter of Deuteronomy,|| which contains the word יהוהאודד, Jehovah, rendered in the Septuagint by κυριος εἰς, and which precedes the dissertation on the Commandments. It is worthy of remark that this formula is generally found inscribed above the entrance doors, as ordained in the ninth verse (with regard to the Commandments, of which it is, so to say, the preamble), “and thou shalt write them on the posts of thy house, and on thy gates.”

This Jewish connection agrees well with the double inscription on our capital, in which the Hebrew and Greek are so closely associated, and of the former of which I will endeavour to give some details. The sense seems to me quite clear, though I foresee that attempts may be made to give other readings in order to justify certain preconceived opinions. But I think that my reading of it will be accepted by all those who have had any real experience of Semitic epigraphs: “Blessed be His Name for ever”—in reference, naturally, to the Name of God. The phrase seems to have been taken literally (with the omission of only one word) from Psalm lxxii, verse 19, “And blessed be His [glorious] Name for ever.” It is exactly the anthem of the Roman Liturgy, “*Sit Nomen Domini benedictum in secula.*” There is a similar form which frequently prefaces the

inscriptions of religious offerings at Palmyra, לברוך שמה לעלמא “to Him Whose Name is blessed for ever.” Making allowance for phonetic and grammatical variations between Hebrew and the Aramaic dialect in use at Palmyra, it is word for word the same as the formula which we

\* No. 2073 b.

† No. 1918, or rather Eἰς θεὸς Ἄμην κ[α]νος (*sic*); M. Waddington corrects by κ[α]λος—perhaps it should read (ὐ)καρὸς—sufficing, and to be compared to the Arabic formula “God, He is enough,” and “God sufficeth me; He alone is enough.”

‡ E. Renan, “*Miss. de Ph.*,” p. 20.

§ Collected by M. Colonna, Accalok.

|| It is, properly speaking, the axiom of monotheism, besides which it plays an important part in the Jewish liturgy.


are considering. Very often the dedicatory word ל, "to" is omitted,\* and the formula appears in the shape of a simple exclamatory invocation, בריך שמה לעלמא, "His Name is blessed," or "blessed be His Name for ever!"

That we find this ancient Hebrew inscription on this particular capital is certainly very extraordinary, more especially from a palaeographical point of view. For, in the first instance, if we adhere to the now well-known law which governed the development and changes in Hebrew writing, we should have to place the date of this inscription (written as it is in Phœnician characters) at a period long anterior to the Christian era, whilst, on the other hand, the style of the capital, and the presence of the Greek inscription (which from its appearance we should attribute to the fifth or sixth centuries after Christ) "on its opposite side," quite contradict this conclusion.

We cannot possibly suppose that the two inscriptions belong to different periods. Plastically the one is the pendant of the other, and the longer sentence seems equally a grammatical sequence of the other, as though we had to deal with a mixed phrase, half Greek, half Hebrew: "there is only one God, may His Name be blessed for ever!" Also it must be acknowledged that in the Hebrew part of it the word God is understood. This ellipsis certainly is not opposed to Semitic ideas, as we can see by referring to the formulas at Palmyra, which have just been cited.

Whatever they may be, these two phrases seem inseparably joined one to the other, both with regard to their position and their age. This leads us to ask why they should have used, several centuries after Christ, a Hebrew alphabet which, according to all historical and archæological researches, had fallen into complete disuse, having been replaced by the square characters. There is but one possible reply to this question, namely, that it was an *artificial archaism*, similar to those which have been found on Jewish coins. On them we also find inscriptions in the ancient Phœnician characters. Though we ought to make some exceptions with regard to the earliest coins, the evidence with regard to the later utterances is convincing, those, for instance, which took place under Barchochebas in 135 A.D. These epigraphic anachronisms have their parallels in other countries and periods, and are easily accounted for by the national or religious prejudices, which caused the Jews then in certain cases to make use of the ancient Hebrew alphabet, which had already become important through disuse. This factitious revival, however, must not put us on the wrong scent. Upon carefully examining the palæography of the inscription on this capital, one feels at once convinced that it belongs to about the same period as the above-mentioned coins. It is not impossible that it was

\* Psalm cxiii, 2; cxv, v. 2. Daniel ii, v. 20. I would cite as examples the following numbers from the collection of M. de Vogüé: "Syria (Central)," Nos. 78, 79, 82a, 82b, 85, 87, 88, 90, 94, 100, 101, 112, 115. M. de Vogüé has already drawn attention to the similarity of this Palmyrian formula and the Jewish and Christian invocation.

either from them, or from documents of the same character, that the graver of the inscription took his models for the letters. I have not the necessary materials by me to enable me to make a careful comparison, or to determine the exact issue of coinage, which it might have been, as for that purpose it would be necessary to have the actual specimens before one's eyes in order to examine them. I must content myself with pointing out the curious form of the *vau*, which occurs three times, and which is almost identical with that generally adopted on the copper coins, which are supposed to belong to the earliest period,\* and which form but seldom appears in the subsequent utterances. I would call attention also to the little hook which forms the lower part of this letter  This peculiarity is quite in accordance with the tendency in the Hebrew alphabet to curve (towards the left) the tails of the lower part of the letters // . The word שמי is separated from לעולם by a visible point. We know that the separation of words by means of a dot is found in the oldest form of Semitic epigraphy.

Before endeavouring to fathom the motive with which so curious an inscription came to be made, it is necessary first to inquire why it was graven upon a column, and also for what purpose this column can have been used.

There are examples of inscriptions having been placed on capitals, for instance, in Cilicia, at Cyinda, at Tarsus, and Mopsuesta; but keeping within the limits of Palestine, I may mention one which I discovered at Nablus, on the capital of one of the columns of the large mosque,† and which, if I remember rightly, runs thus **ΛΟΥΚΙΟΥ ΙΑΚΚΟΥ** *Lucius Iacchus*. This epigraph is really very different to the one we are considering—it evidently has reference to the name of the giver of the column, and is therefore similar in appearance rather than in reality.

I have already mentioned that the lower side of our capital possesses a mason's sign. We know that not only in the early mediæval, but also in the early classical and Byzantine periods, these signs were very often the

\* As far as I can judge from an imperfect reproduction which I have, the copper money attributed to the period of the first revolt and issued by Simon, has the shin, the ayin, the lamed, the resh, and the vau, very like the ones on our inscription.

† On the abacus of a capital in the Corinthian style, at the western extremity of the nave and the second column of the northern row. More than this, at one of the angles of the volute there is a B, probably a numerical letter signifying No. 2, and on noticing the position of the column we find it is really the second of the row. The conclusion which may be drawn from this latter accordance of number and position, is that for the churches erected at the time of the Crusades (and since turned into mosques by the Mussulman), the builders made use of foundations and materials which had belonged to more ancient edifices, and that they paid attention to their position. I think I have proved the existence of the same thing in the Great Mosque of Gaza.

actual initial of the masons—the mark of the builders. But I doubt whether this is the case in the present instance, on account of the nature of the sign which I am more inclined to consider a numerical letter; the *episema Fav*. If it had been any other letter, one might have supposed it to be as an initial of the name of the workman, but at this epoch the *Fav* was no longer a letter, but a number pure and simple, signifying 6. On this hypothesis our capital is marked number six, which naturally leads to the conclusion that there were at least six similar capitals. I say similar, for had they been exactly alike, it would not have mattered which of the six shafts received them, consequently, the numbering of them would have been useless. This care in marking the position which they were to occupy, shows us that they were sufficiently alike to satisfy the requirements of architectural symmetry, and perhaps also to be mistaken one for the other, and seems also to prove the presence of inscriptions which had to be placed in certain progression or in a particular order, as it is not impossible that they formed a series of sentences. This last conjecture seems to me quite plausible, for whatever architectural combinations we may imagine, we should never regard a column as being entirely isolated. It must at all events have had a pendant, and this second capital would also have devices and inscriptions corresponding to the one discovered, or would more or less repeat them. But if we accept the sign as meaning six, this would bring under our consideration a group of not less than six columns. Looking at it in point of size, the capital is not large. The lower part, which is notched in a circle (or rather elliptically) in order that it may fit on to the shaft, measures in diameter, taken at two points, and running parallel, 0·31m. or 0·42m. The diameter of the column near the summit could not then have exceeded 0·36m. or 0·37m., which, taking the largest system of proportion, would only give a column of very moderate height. The height would naturally be limited by the distance at which the characters could be read, and the letters are far from large, so that we cannot recognise in it a portion of a large edifice; nor does it seem possible that it can have been one of the columns of the church, in which it now, after unknown vicissitudes, forms part of the paving. At the most, it could only have formed part of some interior erection, an altar, a ciborium, or even a baptistery. If the original number of columns may be taken at six, they might have been disposed in a circle, or else in a rectangular or hexagon form. I remember various specimens of baptisteries, built in the shape of a hexagon—there is one at Sienna, another at Parma, one at Aquileia, and in Central Syria there is one at Deir Seta.\*

On this hypothesis the presence of religious axioms might be easily explained, provided that they were merely Greek Christian mottoes, like the almost hackneyed  $\text{Εἰς } \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$ , and others of the same class which we meet with so frequently on the religious buildings in Syria. If the inscription is connected with a baptistery, one might recall the verses

\* De Vogüé, "Syr. Centr. Arch. civ, et rel.," p. 117.

inscribed on the architraves of the one of St. John at Latrūn, which was constructed by Constantine, and restored by Sextus III.\* But the appearance of a Hebrew inscription (and that inscription in archaic characters) is an unprecedented occurrence for which it is most difficult to account. One could understand it a little more easily had the inscription been written with square characters, such as were used at the period at which the capital was made, for we know that the influence of the Jewish over the Christian ritual was sufficiently great—especially in Palestine—to admit of the use of a language which had already given to the Christian liturgies such words as Hosanna, Alleluiah, Amen, etc. It is possible that if I had the minute directions contained in the “*Guide de la peinture du Mont Athos*,” before me (which unluckily I have not), I might find a proof that, in certain forms of Byzantine art, the use of short Hebrew epigraphs was permitted. In any case we know that in Christian art the square Hebrew characters were then still used for writing the ineffable name of Jehovah. It is no more extraordinary than the design of a seven-branched candlestick, an essentially Jewish symbol, found upon a fine capital which was discovered at Beit Jibrin, and of which we made a drawing during my explorations in 1874. I expect this column must have belonged to the ancient Church of Sandanna, which had some points of resemblance with that of Amwās. But I must repeat that the great difficulty lies in the archaic form of the characters. The half Hebrew, half Greek inscription, which I discovered on the shaft of a column, and below a seven-branched candlestick, in the mosque at Gaza, was in the square character.† One may next inquire whether the inscription may by some chance have been of Jewish origin, in the case of the capital having belonged to some synagogue. But it is scarcely worth while lingering over such a supposition. Even putting aside the thoroughly Christian formula *Εἰς θεὸς*, it is certain that a Jew at that period would have made use of the square character, for we have a number of authentic Jewish inscriptions in Palestine dating from the first century of our era, and without an exception they are written in square characters. And even if we attempt to attribute it to the Samaritans, who have kept to the ancient characters down to the present day, we do not find in it any of the peculiarities which distinguish the Samaritan alphabet in the inscriptions on the most ancient of their (known) buildings, some of which date from the fifth and sixth centuries after Christ. It also seems very improbable that we should find a Samaritan building at Amwās. The inscriptions on the capital were evidently engraved from a Christian point of view.

With regard to the strange use of the archaic characters, it seems to me to have proceeded from a determined design which is worth our

\* See the “*Liber pontificalis*.”

† This inscription, which I hope to describe at greater length elsewhere, is distinctly Jewish, and probably a dedication to a certain “Ananias, son of Jacob;” it is instead of a statue, the erection of statues not being allowed on account of the iconoclastic tendencies of the Jews.



consideration. According to my view the author calls attention to the past Jewish dispensation, a time which even then was comparatively remote. It is probably to the tradition, in commemoration of which the church was built, that we must turn whilst searching for the solution of the enigma. Here we are met by the grave questions—what was the name of this church, and what right has Amwās to be identified with Emmaus of the New Testament, the place at which Jesus supped with two of his disciples after His resurrection, and was recognized by them through the breaking of bread? It is no part of my present purpose to enter into a discussion with regard to this delicate topographical and religious question, one which has already raised numerous archaeological controversies, not to say quarrels. But of this we may be certain, namely, that in the fourth century Eusebius and St. Jerome, both reliable authorities, considered the Emmaus of the New Testament to be identical with the town called Nicopolis, which is decidedly the Amwās of the Arabs. In addition to the many proofs which have been adduced in favour of this identification, I will add one which to me seems conclusive, and which I obtained through my discovery of the true site of Gezer: the inscriptions which I found engraved on the rock give the very name of this town. The position of Gezer, then, being fixed, so to speak, with mathematical accuracy, we gain the key to that of Emmaus, from which point the Onomasticon takes its bearing in giving the position of and distance to Gezer—and this measurement and description only applies to Amwās).

The house of Cleophas (one of the two disciples) in which the miraculous manifestation is said to have taken place, was at an early period transformed into a church. St. Jerome even speaks of the existence of a basilica; and Willibald, in the eighth century, writes as though he had seen it, unless, indeed, he merely imitates St. Jerome. It would indeed be singular if the Christians, ready as they were to preserve and commemorate the smallest incidents in the life of Jesus (even on the slightest foundations) should have neglected to consecrate so distinct a tradition by the erection of a church.

We can understand that from the time when Amwās-Nicopolis\* came to be considered identical with the Emmaus of the New Testament, the ancient church (of which this capital is apparently a remnant) would

\* The ancient name of *Amwās*. As a secondary proof, I would point out that at the time of St. Jerome, the place which he identified with Nicopolis apparently bore a Hebrew-Semitic name equivalent to the actual Arabic Amwās. He explains the name of Emmaus as being *populus abjectus*. He evidently alludes to the Hebrew words **עַם מַאִים** *Amm + Maous*. This etymology is rather far-fetched, but it shows us that St. Jerome analysed in his own method the name *Ammaous* with an ayin similar to the Arab form *Amwās*. Also that, for this reason, he preferred the form **עַמְאִים** to any of the other forms used in the Talmud. Moudjir-el-din says that the Arabic name **تواس** is pronounced 'Amwās or 'Amawas. In the place itself I discovered a third method of pronunciation, *Ommās*.

become associated with the sacred and half-proved tradition. But even this does not explain the presence of the Hebrew inscription. We allow that this epigraph represented very nearly the laudatory formula for the blessing of bread according to the Jewish ritual) and was, perhaps, in reference to the act which, according to the account of the Evangelist, revealed to the two disciples the personality of the Founder of the Last Supper. But was it not quite apart from the end they had in view, to engrave this formula in characters which had ceased to be used long before the time of Jesus? The use of the ordinary square characters would have been quite sufficient. Why then this effort of erudition? Was it really a reference to the evangelical tradition, or was it not rather a pointing back to the earlier Jewish period? For the present I can only ask this question without pretending to solve it, though I hope to return to the subject. In the meantime I will point out one fact which furnishes food for reflection. Excepting in the two passages of St. Jerome and Willibald to which I have just referred, ancient writings, although containing a great deal about the Emmaus of the Gospel, are almost silent with regard to the church of Amwās. It is not until much later that any reference is made to it, and then under quite a different character.

It is then called the "Church of the Maccabees.\* At present I cannot imagine for what reason this surprising name could have been given to it, nor can I understand how it originated. I cannot even say whether the writers, who have preserved this appellation, and who presumably had it upon the authority of earlier traditions, refer to the Asmonean princes or to the seven brothers of the same name who, according to tradition, were martyred under Antiochus Epiphanes. At an early period these two sets of Maccabees were already confused. Even St. Jerome falls into this error, which became general, and was favoured by the universal veneration in which the Jewish martyrs of Antioch were held (in the fourth century) throughout the whole of eastern and even in some parts of western Christendom.† In these more or less fabulous stories we see that they were the prototype of all the Christian martyrs. I should not be inclined to rely on this appellation as evidence, for the name may have been given to the church of Amwās at a later period, though if it has any foundation it would very well account for the use of the archaic characters, taken as they were from the ancient national alphabet, which was affected by the Maccabees and was a known characteristic of their dynasty. Certainly in no place would this perplexing epigraphical resuscitation be more likely to occur than in a church consecrated to the name of the Asmonean princes, or to the other Maccabees who were identified with them through an erroneous but wide-spread legend. Only on this hypothesis we must

\* Tucher (1479), Mariti (1767), Quaresmius (1616), and several more ancient writers speak of the church of the Maccabees, a little distance from Latrūn and north of the road.

† The church of St. Just, at Lyons, was originally dedicated to the Maccabees.

allow that this appellation of the church was given after the time of St. Jerome, who, confusing the identity of the Asmoneans and the seven brothers of Antioch, associates their memory with Modin, but *never* with Emmaus. In the endeavour to reconcile all these conflicting points, we may imagine that the church or rather basilica of Emmaus was erected on the supposed site of the house of Cleophas, the scene of the miraculous supper—and that it contained a chapel, a confessional or a “martyrion” especially dedicated to the Maccabees. And this martyrion possibly contained, according to a usual custom, some relics taken from their actual sepulchre at Modin—the present Medyeh.\* In which case the capital would belong to one of the columns which sustained the *ciborium*, or else may have ornamented the altar itself.

We know that the *ciborium*, a sort of baldachin placed over an altar or martyrion in a basilica, was supported by columns, the number of which might be two, four, or six, which latter number reminds us of the possible numeral on our capital.

If we follow this supposition still further, we may imagine that the designer of the Hebrew inscription on this capital destined to form part of the martyrion of the Maccabees, took for his palæographical model the great inscription on the tomb of the Asmoneans at Modin, and which perhaps contained almost literally our formula, with even other phrases which were reproduced on the other capitals of the *ciborium*. I need hardly say that I offer these conjectures with *great reserve*, and merely in order to give the data of a problem which still remains to be solved.

Whatever it is, the Hebrew inscription on the capital of Amwās is a most curious discovery, in spite of, or rather on account of its *not* belonging to a very remote period.

It is incontestably in the most recent form of the archaic Hebrew characters, and in virtue of its being the “terminus adquem,” it deserves to be inserted in the “Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum.”

I cannot help being grateful to the good fortune which allowed me to bring to light (at an interval of a dozen years) both the most ancient and also the most modern known inscriptions in the archaic Hebrew characters, of which at present the Moabite Stone and the capital of Amwās form the alpha and omega.

After having examined the capital which has formed the subject of this long digression, I went and looked at the ruins of the church, a portion of which has already been excavated (thanks to the efforts of Mlle. de St. Cricq) under the direction of M. Guillemot. The two lateral arches have been entirely freed. The body of the church has, however, still to be excavated, and there, perhaps, we may make some interesting discoveries. According to my idea there is a chance of our finding in it some historical mosaic pavement, containing perhaps inscriptions which will throw *mor*

\* The distance from Medyeh to Amwās, as the crow flies, would, I think, be about seven Roman miles.

light on the past history and origin of the church, than all the suppositions to which for the present we are reduced. I think that the idea of excavating this church originated with me in the year 1874. It was true I only took soundings, but they proved to me that of the church erected previous to the Crusades a portion had been used again. It is another point of resemblance between the church of Amwās and that of Beit Jibrin. According to the laws of mediæval masonry, which I discovered and explained seven years ago, we are able to clearly distinguish the work of the Byzantine period from that of the Crusades, tracing it block by block. Further than this, on several stones cut or recut by the Crusaders, I have come across some lapidary signs which I shall add to the large collection I already have of these curious marks, and which some day I hope to publish an account of. Nothing is of more value for the critical study of the ancient buildings of Palestine, in the classing of which there is often such difficulty, than these technical indications, which are really a better guide than the considerations of style, which so often prove deceptive. I shall have occasion to give further details of the church of Amwās, the rest of which we hope soon to bring to light.

A few days after my visit to the ruins, M. Guillemot sent me a cutting of a fragment of an inscription, which in like manner had been discovered amongst the mixed pavement on the left side of the church, where the enigmatical capital was found. It is a piece of marble, with portions of an inscription on either side. The Greek characters, belonging to the Byzantine period, which can be traced on it, are fairly well executed. The following will give an idea of the inscription:—



It may be seen that it was no easy matter to decide on the words of which these letters are the remains. At first sight I was inclined to give as the reading of the first word on side A.—ε [τ] ε [ι] year. But the τ is indistinct, and might be Γ. Again one is tempted to imagine it ἐγε [ίρε] especially as there seems to be an indication of the foot of an I after the second E. It is not impossible that it may be a quotation from the Psalms,\* ‘Ο ἐγείρων ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχόν, etc.

This verse was used in the Christian epigraphy of Syria, as we may see by the inscription on the lintel of a door at el Barra, which is ‘Εγείρει ἀπὸ γῆς πτωχόν, etc. The first line of side B may perhaps be [ἀγ] ἴων, “of the saints.” The second lines of both sides most likely were the same word. The fact of the two inscriptions being back to back seems to indicate that the inscription was either repeated or continued, and also that the stone was intended to be viewed from both sides.

This word in the second line is in both abridged, and contains the

\* Psalm cxiii, v. 7.

letters **ΥΖΥΓς** followed, at least on side A, by **KA** [I].\* The restitution of letters is naturally limited to a small number of combinations. *ΕὐΖυγος* belongs to poetical language, and would be out of place here. *Βουζύγης*, *Βουζύγιον* is no better. There remains *συζυγία* and its collaterals. But *συζυγία* may be taken in several senses; that of marriage might perhaps be appropriate. This supposition accords well enough with the *ἔτε*, and implies a distinct date. If I had even the index to the "Corpus Inscriptionum Grecarum," I could find out if *συζυγία* was ever employed for dates. We may suppose that this fragment belonged like the capital to the ancient church, and was re-utilised for paving.

In going through even the village of Amwās, I noticed several ancient fragments, capitals, and bits of frieze, etc., which testify to the importance of the ancient Nicopolis.

Above the door of one house I noticed a sort of vase or funeral urn made of black basaltic stone, and sunk into the wall, the concave side outermost. All round it were engraved characters, but of what nature I could not tell owing to their height. It required a ladder to reach them. I very much wanted to get at this vase, but the proprietor of the house was at that time imprisoned at Jerusalem with several other villagers who had been arrested after a violent conflict which had caused the death of a man. But it will be a thing to return to. In the immediate vicinity of the village the peasants are led to seek for ancient foundations in order to extract material for new buildings. I noticed here and there the traces of large ancient buildings. In one of their explorations they brought to light a huge block of calcite.† It had apparently been the lintel of a door. Inscribed on the cartouche is a Greek inscription, three lines in length. The characters are irregular, and so much worn away that it is very difficult to decipher them. I took a copy of them, from which I have made the following letters. The inscription seems to read—

**ΕΥΤΙΧΙΤ  
ΟΓΑΜΟΣ  
ΔΙΑΒΙΟΥ**

*ἐντχ [ε] ἴτ [ε] ὁ γάμος διὰβίου.*

I must mention, however, that I am doubtful about several of the letters. The formula *ἐντυχῆτε* has occurred in Syro-Greek epigraphs — and the orthographical form *ἐντιχῆτε* is not peculiar. We may compare it to an inscription on the lintel of a door at Kseir, in the neighbourhood of Tyre, **ΕΥΤΥΧΙ ΖΩΙΑΕ ΚΤΙΣΤΑ**. M. Renan, who discovered it, thinks it is a funereal inscription similar to No. 4564 in the "Corpus Inscrip. Gr."‡ and another mentioned by M. de Sauley in his "Journey round the Dead

\* Waddington, "Inscrs. Gr. and Lat. of Syria," No. 2651.

† "Mission de Phénicie," p. 646. The name of the place Atabeh signifies threshold or lintel, and probably originated from this stone.

‡ Waddington, "Inscrs. Gr. and Lat. of Syria," No. 2398.

Sea," both of which are funereal, and contain the *ἐυτύχει* or *ἐτύχι*. I cannot say anything definite with regard to the first, not having it before me, but the second would certainly read *ἐυψυχι*—which is a well known funereal exclamation. I doubt though whether the verb *ἐντυχῆω* would be here taken in the funereal sense. In the following inscription of Deir el Leben (Auranite) it has a distinctly religious meaning, *Εισελθε χαίρων Ηλια τοῦ κόσμου Εντυχ[ε]μ*. Several times we find the adverb *ἐντυχῶς feliciter*, in the ordinary dedication of an edifice—often associated with the expression *Αγάθη Τύχη*.\* *Εύτυχεῖτε* is exactly the Latin *valete*, by which it is translated in the imperial and proconsulate decrees of which we have epigraphs.†

The succeeding words seem to be *ὁ γαμος δια βίον*, so that the whole seems to constitute a sort of nuptial exclamation. It may be compared to a Syrian inscription (at Dāmā, Trachonite), which also refers to a marriage, and is one of those I cited as containing the formula *εἰς θεός*: it ends with a vow made by the constructor of the edifice: *χῆ ὁ βοθεσας (sic) εἰς την οἰκο δομη ν βοθησηκ[ε]ῖς τους γάμους*. No one can exactly fathom the meaning of this expression *διὰ βίον*—it occurs pretty frequently in the Græco-Jewish epitaphs of Italy under scarcely recognisable forms—*Zà βιον, διὰ βίο, "dīa cīu, iā bīus,"* and its actual signification is not yet decided. I need not point out that it is most interesting to come across it in Palestine, the country where it originated, and on a monument which to all appearance is Christian. Some explain it as referring to earthly life, others consider it a funereal exclamation which alludes to the life eternal; a transla-

tion from the verse in Daniel xii, 2; *לְחַיֵּי עוֹלָם* —*εἰς ζωην αἰώνιον*—*ad vitam aeternam*, equivalent to *διὰ βίον αἰώνιον*. Our inscription thus adds a new point to the problem. It remains for us to know whether it refers to the indissolubility of the human marriage tie according to the Christian ideas, or rather to the symbolic marriage under which image the New Testament and the early fathers designate the mystic union of Christ and the Church. Before giving a decision it would be necessary to know whether the lintel had belonged to a religious or to a private building; whether it formed part of a house destined for the reception of a bride, and ornamented accordingly with a device at once pious and gallant, or whether it belonged to some chapel.

We may compare this formula with various nuptial sentences written in letters of gold on glasses and other objects evidently given by Christians as wedding presents—for instance, the *feliciter nuptiis* of the

\* For example, at Mesehgough (Nabat), Wadd., *op. cit.*, No. 2053, shows us that we must correct No. 2491 from *ἐύ τοχος* into *ἐν τυχῶς*; also No. 2197 in the same way, at least, if it be not a proper name, see *ἐν τυχῶς* at Ephes (Wadd., *op. cit.*, No. 150), and *ἐπί ευτυχία* at Aphrodisias of Caria (*ibid.*, No. 594).

† For example, Wadd., *op. cit.*, gives (No. 866) a letter from Antonius the Pious to the Panhellenes of Aezanite—it occurs before the final date. Also No. 877 ends with *ευτυχεῖτε*.

celebrated golden medal struck on the occasion of the marriage of Marcius and Puleteria. It only requires the addition of the epithet *aternis* for us to find in it almost a literal translation of our Greek formula.

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NOTE IV.

*Jaffa, 19th November, 1881.*

AN Arab of St. John of Acre has given me copies of two inscriptions, one of which is of considerable interest.

The first is from the village of Yerka, situated at a distance of about ten miles from St. John of Acre. It is in Greek, and as far as I can judge from the words which I have been able to decipher, it must be Christian. It is, however, incomplete, the right hand portion being still underground. The copy is too imperfect to be of much use, and I shall not risk giving an interpretation of it until I have at least a good squeeze. On the other side of the paper are more characters, apparently Greek, and copied perhaps from another inscription at the same place.

The second copy comes from St. John of Acre, and is sufficiently clear to admit of nearly all of it being read. It is the epitaph of a Frenchman, a certain Gautier Mein Abeuf, and of his wife Alemane.

Ici gist sire Gantier Meine-Abeuf qui tres (passa) an l'an de l'incarnation nostre Seign(o)r Jhu. Crit. (M) CCLXXVIII, a XX iors de ive, esc espouza Madame Alemane qui trespasa a XX (? ?) iors dou.

I send a slight sketch of the copy I have before me. I need hardly add that both the sketch and the above reading may need alteration when compared with the original. In the year 1275 the Crusaders were still in possession of Acre, their last Syrian stronghold. It was at that time and in that very city, which was so soon destined to fall again under the Mussulman yoke, that Charles of Anjou, through his representative the bailli Roger de St. Severin—disputed the crown of Jerusalem with Hugues III, endeavouring to gain what was already no more than an empty title.

I have been lucky enough to come across a document which enables me to identify the subject of our epitaph. I have found his name in a chapter granted by Jean de Ibelin—Sire de Barut—on 15th September, 1256, to the Teutonic Knights, letting them the Casale Imbert\* and the appurtenances thereof, for a term of ten years. Amongst the witnesses we find the name of *Gautier Maynebeuf*. I do not know whether the spelling has been accurately given by the editors of this work, but the original character, written in French, is, I believe, preserved amongst the archives

\* Situated between Tyre and Acre.

of Venice. Although the orthography is different, the identity of the name is, I think, certain. I would also point out that Gautier Meine Abeuf was very possibly a relative of Barthélemy Mainebeuf, one of the vassals of Julian, Sire of Sagette, whose signature we find at the end of a deed of sale drawn up for his suzerain in 1254.\*

Meine Abenf or Meine à beuf seems to me a merely different form of the name Mainébeuf, if it is really thus that these names are spelt in the original documents, which unluckily here are not accessible to me.

The name of the wife Alemane recalls that of the family of Aleman who played a somewhat important part in the Holy Land.† The inscription has various orthographic irregularities, and contains several points which deserve to be examined by experts. For instance, I do not know what to make of the character which ends the epitaph of the husband; perhaps it is indistinct at this point: one would naturally look for the name of a month—June or July perhaps.

The wife, it seems, died the same year, in the month of August, and apparently soon followed her husband to the grave; the exact date of her decease is uncertain, as the units following XX are indistinct.

The epitaph of Madame Alemane was, I conclude, added afterwards, and, as far as one can tell from the copy, was not so carefully engraved, for the letters are not divided by two points, as are those in the epitaph of the husband. But whatever its correct form may be, this inscription is none the less a precious record in connection with the history of the Crusaders.

## A PHœNICIAN FUNEREAŁ TABLET.

THE bronze tablet from the collection of M. Péretié, of Beyrout, of which Lieutenant Conder, R.E., published a description and a drawing,‡ is of so much interest as a work of art, and an illustration of the religious ideas of Western Asia, that I would venture to add some remarks upon it. In these notes I have chiefly drawn upon Assyrian and Babylonian sources, as it is evident upon the most casual inspection of the bronze, that the Phœnician artist has also engrafted the mythological conceptions and art representations of Assyria and Egypt, and even of the tribes of North Syria, the Hittites, into his representation of the Story of Death which he has portrayed in so weird a manner in this tablet. The mixed character of the sculpture is quite in agreement with the other examples of Phœnician metal work which have been preserved to us. In the bronze bowls from Cyprus, which form so valuable a portion of the Cesnola collection; and in

\* Archives de Venise. Mélanges diplomat. Busta XV, No. 297; also "Recherches sur la domination des Latins en l'Orient."

† Paoli Codice Diplomatico I, No. 123; also Ducange.



Ducange. Les familles d'outre Mer., ed. Rey, pp. 505, 559.

‡ *Quarterly Statement*, July, 1881.



the examples from Nimroud, found by Sir Henry Layard, the same fusion of styles is met with. The more explorations are carried out on the shores, and among the islands of the Mediterranean, the stronger are the facts which accumulate to prove how greatly the Phœnicians had contributed to the spread of culture and civilisation westward. Yet, strange as it may seem, this enterprising race of "the cunning Phœnicians," who in their black ships bore to Greece her alphabet and schooled her in the early paths of art—these early navigators, whose ships passed by the bounding pillars of Heracles, and who, returning, carried back with them the wealth of many lands, leaving behind them colonies whose influence extends even to the present day—have bequeathed to us no distinctive art remains, no purely national style of architecture. They seem to have borrowed, adapted, transmitted, but never to have invented. It was this hardy race who carried abroad the teaching of the schools of Nineveh, the art, the myths and legends taught in the temple schools, and thus spread the learning and wisdom of the Chaldean over the Mediterranean. The alphabet which they bore to the western world, and made the script of commerce and diplomacy, was but a modification of the hieratic script of Egypt, which they had found too cumbrous for the exigencies of trade. So in Assyria and Babylonia had their ancestors on the shores of the Erythrean Sea, adopted from the inventive Akkadians the script of the land in order to pursue their vocation of trade. Cumbrous as the cuneiform syllabary was with its ideographs, determinatives, and polyphonic characters, these adaptive Semites had rendered it suitable to the required end. Art, mythology, and science had alike been borrowed and utilized by the kinsmen of the Phœnician in the Tigro-Euphrates valley. And if any conclusive proof of the way in which the Phœnician civilisation was made up of a mosaic of borrowings and adaptations was required, perhaps no more striking one could be produced than this tablet of which M. Péretié is the fortunate possessor. As I have pointed out in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology," we may always see in the ideas which a nation held of the glories of the life to come—the state after death—an idealised form of the state of civilisation existent at that time. The heaven of the Assyrians was but an idealised life on earth; the god Ann, the Assyrian Zeus, held in heaven his kingly court, and it was but a glorified king of Assur, with his Ninevite court. The North American Indian, whose daily existence is the hunter's life, sees his *Ælysium* in the happy hunting-grounds; and even the extent to which this may be carried, is shown by the Esquimaux's idea of heaven as a vast ice-house beneath ground, a conception which would seem irrational, were it not based on the earthly life.\* This tablet of M. Péretié, with its symbolism gathered from so many sources, shows how mixed a character was the civilisation of Phœnicia. The figure which covers the back of the tablet, and grins over the top, is the demon of Death, "the devourer." The description of this figure given by Lieutenant Conder

\* Rink. "The Esquimaux."

corresponds exactly with the figures of the Assyrian demon of death. The demon has four wings, a lion or dog's body, eagle claws, a short tail, and a serpent in front. The head is that of a lion or some beast of prey. This demon is again figured in the lower and largest compartment of the obverse of the tablet. This is certainly the "demon of death," the Namtar  or "destiny" of the Akkadians, a demon who was regarded as the chief opponent of "the life of man."\* This demon, who was the servant of the Queen of Hades, or the "House of Death," the "Bit Mitiv" or Arali, and was especially said to preside over that most terrible form of death in the East, "the plague." In that beautiful legend of the "land whence none return," the story of the descent of Istar into Hades (W.A.I. IV, pl. 31), Hades is called "the house of corruption," the abode of the god  IR-KALLA, a deity who bears the title of "the devourer," a name applicable to the demon of death, who is here fitly represented on this bronze as a beast of prey. The god of death, Namtar, was regarded as the son of Hea or Mul-ge, the Akkadian Pluto or Hades, and his wife, Nin-ki-gal or Allat, the Queen of the Tombland Arali, the Persephone of the Greeks. He was the servant of his mother, and when Istar, the rival Queen, penetrated into the land of death and its seven-walled city, it was Namtar or "Death" who was sent against her to afflict her with diseases in all her members. In my consideration of this story of death, which the Phœnician artist has derived from the Akkadian or Assyrian conception of that dread demon, I must reverse the order of explanation of the tiers or compartments of the obverse of the tablet, and commence with the lower, which affords us a glimpse of the land of death. Here we see depicted the voyage on the river of death, and the Assyrian origin of this tableau is very apparent. On the bank we see again the demon of death, who stands by the river of death. This tableau receives very full illustration from the voyage of Isdubar to visit the translated Tamzi or Adrakhasis, and to inquire of him the secret of immortality, which is detailed in the Xth of the Isdubar legends. Isdubar, to reach the abode of the Chaldean Noah, had to cross the waters of death, which no one had previously crossed, and to do this he has to gain the services of the Assyrian Charon, a deity whose name was Nes-Hea, the "lion of Hea," the god of the underworld, in whose boat the dead crossed the waters of death. The land where the translated Khasisadra dwelt was on the remote side of the river or waters of death, and its position is indicated in the Deluge Tablet. Khasisadra telling Isdubar of his translation, states that the gods took him "and caused him to dwell in a remote place at the mouth of the rivers." We may therefore consider the mythic house of death to have been in the extreme south of Babylonia, in the district now known as the Afadj. In these reedy marshes, with their dark

\* Figures similar to this have been found at Nineveh, and one evil spirit thus represented was the demon of the hot south-east wind.—(Lenormant, "Chald. Magic.")

sluggish streams, was the dwelling of the departed, and through it flowed the river or "waters of death."\* The representation of the stream which the Phœnician artist here gives, would seem to correspond to the Assyrian idea, as the river is flanked by tall dark weeds. The artist seems to have drawn in this compartment rather on Assyrian than Egyptian sources. But in the group of the voyagers on the river, we have one of those blendings of various conceptions which are so peculiar a characteristic of Phœnician art. The description of this group, by Lieutenant Conder, R.E., is as follows: "A fearful lion-headed goddess with eagle claws, kneels on one knee on a horse (the emblem of death), which is carried in a kneeling attitude on a boat with a bird-headed prow. The goddess crushes a serpent in either hand, and two lion cubs are represented sucking her breasts." Here we have a fusion of the Asiatic and Egyptian conceptions of the Queen of the under-world. The type, however presented, is extremely interesting, as it shows certain local features connected with the worship of the mother goddess. In the form which the Phœnician artist has presented to us, we can see blended together many of the various conceptions of the great Asiatic mother-goddess, the goddess, Anatha, or Anatis, whose worship was introduced into Egypt about the time of Seti I, of the XIXth Dynasty, and who was a war-goddess. On the rocks at Redosieh in Upper Egypt this goddess is represented as clad in warlike costume, mounted on a horse, and wielding a battle-axe: but her association with death is shown by a funereal tablet in the British Museum† where she is represented as standing on a lion, and holding in one hand flowers and in the other a pair of serpents. It is clear that the Phœnician artist has not confined himself solely to the form of this goddess as she appears in the Egyptian representations of the time of the XIXth Dynasty, but has also borrowed from the North Syrian form of the goddess as worshipped by the Hittites. The statue found at Jerablus or Carchemish, the sacred city of this deity, exhibits a somewhat similar conception to that of the Phœnician artist. The Hittite goddess had long locks, was full-breasted, and is representing as standing on a lion‡ or a cow§ both of which animals were sacred to her. It was this full-breasted goddess, the Nutrice of all nature, whose worship spread from Babylon to Ephesus. Neith, the Egyptian representative of this nature goddess, is represented as suckling crocodiles, and the statues of Artemis Polymastos represent her as giving nourishment to all the animal kingdom.|| This figure from the tablet of M. Péretié forms a link between

\* The south point of the compass was with the Akkadian "the point of Arali," or the tomb.

† Figure in Sharpe's "Egyptian Inscriptions," and in Cooper's "Serpent Myths," *Vict. Inst.*, 1873. The name of this goddess occurs in the name Bent-Anat, the sister of Rameses II.

‡ On a sculpture at Milidijeh, on the Upper Euphrates.

§ A gem in the possession of S. Tommassini, of Aleppo.

|| See articles in the "Builder," 1880, on a "New Chapter in Art," where this connection is fully explained.

the representations of the mother goddess in Syria, Assyria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. Here, however, the Phœnician artist represents the mother goddess in her character of the great Earth Mother Demeter, who as mother of all living was also queen of all death, and mistress of  $\Sigma\text{||||}\text{ }^{\wedge}\text{ }^{\wedge}\text{ } \times$  as E-MAD-BAT or ARALL, the house of the land of death, "the tomb." There appear to have been in Assyrian and Akkadian mythology three mother goddesses of the under-world.

1. DAY-KI-NA. "The earth mother" or Demeter, the Dauke of Damacius, the Baan or Bahu of Phœnician cosmogony, the  $\text{ברך}$  of the Hebrew (Gen. i, 2).
2. NIN-KI-GAL. She was the queen of the great land, and dwelt in the palace of the under-world.
3. NIN-A-ZU. "The lady of the waters;" this was a title of the death goddess, and she appears in the XIIth Isdubar legend under this name.

Since the Akkadian age, when magic formulæ were passing into hymns and fetish spirits in deities, Nin-ki-gal and Nin-a-zu have changed genders. In a magical litany, W.A.I. II, pl. 19, the following weird description of death and the fight for the soul of the departed is given:—

Nin-ki-gal, spouse of Nin-azu,  
 May she cause him to turn his face to the place  
 Where she is.\*  
 May the wicked spirits depart,  
 May they lay hold of each other.  
 † He favourable demon and the propitious giant,  
 May they enter into the body.†

But in the later description of death and its dread queen which is preserved to us in the XIIth Isdubar legend, we see Nin-a-zu as the dark queen of death—

Oh Darkness! Darkness! mother Nin-a-zu,  
 Her mighty shade as a cloak covers him,  
 Her womb as a pit enfolds him.

This idea of the queen of death enfolding and enshrouding the dead man is one of the most beautiful in the Assyrian inscriptions; and the poetic idea of those who die returning to the embrace of the mother goddess is beautifully expressed. We see how closely this idea is followed in the story of Saul and the witch of Endor, where the dead Samuel was called from the palace of death wrapt in a mantle (1 Sam. xxviii, 14). Such are some of the ideas of the dread queen which centre round this figure, in which the Phœnician artist has embodied so many of the symbols of death current in the West of Asia.

The boat in which the goddess rides is in all probability the boat of

\* The tomb-land.

† The struggle for the possession of the body and soul of the deceased.


Nes Hea, the "Lion of Hea," the Assyrian Charon; it may be the sacred ship of the king of the under-world (W.A.L. IV, pl. 25) in which the goddess sails over the waters of the sea of the Inferno.

I now pass to the second compartment, which deals more especially with the departed one for whom the tablet was made; and here we see again how much the Assyrian or Akkadian teaching has been followed. To illustrate this I will first quote a fragment from the XIIth Isdubar legend, to which I have already referred, which seems very graphically to ascribe portions of this tableau:—

On a couch he reclines, and  
 Pure waters he drinks,  
 Who in the battle was slain. Thou seest and I see\*  
 His father and his mother (guard) his head;  
 His wife weeps over him.  
 Those who are his friends (allies) in the field† are standing.  
 Thou seest and I see\*  
 His spoil of the earth he regards not.  
 Thou seest and I see\*  
 Those who are his offspring long for food. The food  
 Which is placed in the tent‡ is eaten.

The two fish-clad creatures who stand by the couch are two spirit messengers of Hea, the life giver. The attributes of this god are clearly shown in a tablet of the Creation series—

Lord of the illustrious incantation, vivifier of the dead,  
 Who to the hostile gods has granted a return,  
 The homage they have rendered he has caused his opponents to bow  
 down to;  
 To fear them he made mankind:  
 The merciful one with whom is life.

In this same hymn we find Hea, whom M. Lenormant has proved to be synonymous with the Musarus Oannes, entitled "the lord of prosperous life." In some cases Hea deputed his son Merodach, the Silik-mulu-khi, "protector of the god man," the work of raising the dead to life. The two demons who are fighting in this tableau are the evil spirits, the wicked  U-TU-KI or demons, who being ejected from the body of the dead man, are now fighting with each other: "Of each other they take hold," as the magic formula above quoted states. This ejection by Hea and his son Merodach of the devils or evil spirits which in the form of sickness or disease and even death possess the man is

\* This passage is a dialogue between Isdubar and the witch who has raised the spirit of his friend and chief adviser Hea-bani, the Satyr. Hea-bani was to Isdubar what Samuel was to Saul.


† Heaven is regarded as a vast camp.

‡ This probably refers to some custom similar to the Egyptian offerings of food.

the great doctrine and basis of all the Babylonian religio-magic creed. The bearded figure on the right of this group is somewhat difficult to explain, it seems to me best explained as the shade or εἶδωλον of the man for whom the tablet was composed. The extent to which this idea of the soul as a transparent form of the body was very elaborately worked out among the Egyptians is shown by M. Renouf\* in the "Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology." The idea of the shade was not unknown to the Assyrian, as in the XIIth Isdubar legend, from which we have already gained so much information, the spirit of Hea-bani when raised by the witch from Hades is said to be transparent like glass. This passage has been somewhat differently translated by Professor Sayce, but I think there can be little doubt about the reading, "The spirit of Hea-bani as glass from the earth ascended." I therefore, judging both from Egyptian and Assyrian analogies, think that we may see in the figure here represented as bearded and clad as the Phœnicians are represented on the monuments, the shade of the departed one for whom the tablet was engraved.

The two remaining compartments of this tablet are purely symbolical, and probably represent the deities of the Phœnician pantheon who were worshipped at the time when the tablet was made; and in them we see the same borrowing and appropriating of symbolism from surrounding nations. In the lower of the two tiers we have the gods and their bodily forms, while in the upper we have their symbols.

The deities all face to the right, and so commencing with the first, I will endeavour to explain some of the forms here represented.

- (1.) The serpent-headed deity is probably the Phœnician Ophion or , the history of whose defeat by the god El resembles that of the defeat of Kirkir Tiamat, the dark serpent, by Merodach.
- (2.) The bird-headed deity may be the same as the raven-headed creatures which figure on the walls of Assyrian palaces, and these "men with the heads of ravens" mentioned in the Cutha legend of the creation. They were called NAT-TIŒ by the Akkadians, but to which of the great gods they belonged is doubtful. The figures may be of Egyptian origin, and represent Phœnician forms of Ra or Khonsu. (See Birch's "Catalogue Egypt. Antiq.")
- (3.) The boar-headed figure. This must be the Winter god of Phœnicia, who with the boar's tusk of winter slew the youthful Tammuz. The boar does not appear in either Assyrian, Akkadian, or Egyptian mythology.
- (4.) The "ram-headed;" this is in all probability the Egyptian Chnonmi, who had passed into the Phœnician pantheon.
- (5.) The dog-headed is possibly the genus of the inferno, one of the four dogs of Merodach, or perhaps a form of death as the devourer, like the Vedic-Yama. (See M. Müller "Rig. Ved.")
- (6.) The lion-headed is the Akkadian and Assyrian NERGAL, the

\* Vol. vi, on the word "Ka."

god to whom the lion-headed figures and winged lions were dedicated. He was like Horus the midnight sun, which illuminated the "land of death."

It would seem to me, as far as I am able to judge, that we have here the gods of inferno, the gods who rule the "land of death and darkness, and oppose the passage of the soul of the good man;" and it may serve to illustrate the emblems of these seven gods, to quote the following from a hymn addressed to the Seven Evil Spirits. (W.A.I., IV, pl. 6.) "The passage unfortunately broken may be of use. In the recurring days\* were the wicked gods, rebellious spirits, who in the lower part of heaven had been created; they wrought their evil work, devising with wicked heads at sunset; † as a sea beast to the river they turned. Among the seven of them, the first was a scorpion ‡ . . . the second a thunderbolt, the third a leopard, § the fourth a serpent, the fifth a watch dog, || the sixth the raging tempest, ¶ which to god or king submits not; the seventh the messenger of the fatal wind."

I have endeavoured in these notes on the animal-headed gods only to suggest points which may be of use to other students, and I anxiously await the results of the examination of this valuable tablet by that master of Phœnician art and archaeology, M. Ganneau, who will no doubt be able to solve many points which are now obscure.

The upper tier is occupied by the symbolic emblems of the gods.

In the consideration of this portion of the tablet, I would venture to suggest that these are the emblems of the *good gods*, the protectors of the good man deceased against the hostile gods figured on the tablet. The emblems are nearly all of them common to Assyrian and Babylonian religious tablets, but some of them appear to be of special interest in the religions of Syria and Phœnicia, and so I will add a few remarks on them, referring students to tablets and sculptures in which similar examples are to be found—

(1.) The Seven Stars, the Pleiades, the god invoked in the Bavian inscription of Sennacherib as the "god Seven,"  $\rightarrow \rightarrow \uparrow \begin{matrix} \text{v} \\ \text{v} \\ \text{v} \\ \text{v} \\ \text{v} \\ \text{v} \\ \text{v} \end{matrix}$ . On the

\* The seven *Mustakridhat* of Syria, from February 25th to March 3rd, when evil spirits were supposed to have special power. (Sayce-Smith, "Chald. Gen.," p. 99.)

† The period when the evil spirits and demons begin their work, after the sun, their great opponent, has gone to rest. Compare the Hebrew idea of the "pestilence that walketh in darkness."



‡ "The piercer of the rain-cloud," most probably the lightning, *birku*, the  $\begin{matrix} \text{ב} \\ \text{ר} \\ \text{ק} \\ \text{ך} \end{matrix}$  "Smasher."

§ *Nimru*, a leopard or panther, the Arab  $\begin{matrix} \text{ن} \\ \text{م} \\ \text{ر} \end{matrix}$  *nimr*. This may be one of the carnivorous-headed figures of the tablet.

|| This must be the equivalent of the Indian Vama and his dog, and perhaps the deity from whom the Dog River derives its name.

¶ The winter-cloud, the boar-headed figure of the tablet, whose rude onset slew Tammuz the Summer Sun.

statue of Esarhaddon, at the mouth of the Nahr el Kelb, these appear, and I do not know of any other royal statue on which they appear, though they are frequently found on the gems. I should be inclined to connect them with the Cabiri.

- (2.) The crescent moon is certainly the emblem of Istar or Astarte. She was, as I have shown, the goddess of the moon from the commencement of the last quarter to the end of the first. The Hittite moon goddess has a helmet surmounted with a crescent.
- (3.) The winged circle, the Persian Fervhar, is the emblem of the golden rayed sun-god. (*See* "Athenæum," September 6th, 1881.)
- (4.) The rayed disk the moon.—The solar disk when not represented as the winged circle of Fervhar, is distinguished from the lunar by having eight star-like limbs, and eight wave-like rays, so seen on the tablet discovered by Mr. Rassam at Aboo Hubba or Sippara of the Sun, the Chaldean Heliopolis, and on the boundary stone of Merodach-Baladan I (B.C. 1300), and Merodach-Nadin-akhi (B.C. 1100).
- (5.) The two next emblems  are difficult to explain, but they appear to be the Asherah or wooden posts, the אֲשֵׁרָה or אֲשֵׁרִים, the posts which, like the fir tree of Cybele, took so important a part in the worship of the Asiatic mother goddess.
- (6.) The Trissul is here clearly the thunderbolt of Rimmon, the Jupiter Tonans of Syria and Assyria. This is of frequent occurrence on seals and gems, and on the statue of Esarhaddon at the Nahr el Kelb, and on the boundary stones mentioned above.
- (7.) The peculiar club or staff  is the emblem of Merodach in Assyrian, and probably of the Phœnician Melkarth. It is the weapon described in the tablet of the War of the Gods. It is the same as Khreb חֶרֶב borne by Perseus against the Dragon which tradition says he slew at Joppa, and of which a tradition may linger in the story of St. George, located in St. George's Bay at Beyrout.\*
- (8.) The horned cap was the emblem of Baal or Bel, and was always worn by him. The examples of it are numerous, on the Bavian rocks, on the statues of Assurnazirpal, Samsi-Rimmon, in the British Museum, and that of Esarhaddon at the Nahr el Kelb, and on the boundary-stones mentioned above.

The curious group of figures arranged in the lower compartment are very difficult to explain without a careful examination of the original tablet, and I think that the suggestion of Lieutenant Conder of their being offerings to the shade "and the gods of death" is a very possible solution. At the same time I would suggest the comparison with Hittite inscriptions, whereof the signs, as far as I can distinguish of them, several occur. On

\* On a boundary stone of the 14th century B.C., discovered by Mr. Rassam at Babylon, this staff has a dog's head.



the monuments at Jerablus we have the vase, the altar, jar, or basket, boots, horse's foot and quiver, the remaining character appears to be a harp, which does not occur.

In my account of the seals in the possession of S. Tommassini, of Aleppo, which appeared in the "Athenæum" of March, 1880, I pointed out how in one seal the Phœnician artist had turned a cuneiform character, meaning name or signature, into a *tree*, and worked it into the field of his tent. It is possible that we may have here a conventionalised representation which once was an inscription.

I must now conclude these notes, but if by them I have raised an interest in this valuable tablet, I shall be amply rewarded, and I hope that a careful photograph or a cast may be accessible to students, and that thus points now obscure may be cleared up. There are many matters I feel that students of Phœnician and Egyptian mythology can throw more light than I have been able to gather from the records of Assyria, on this—Story of Death.

W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

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### KADESH ON ORONTES.

THE report of Lieutenant Conder, R.E., on Kadesh, in the July *Quarterly Statement* (pp. 163 *et seq.*), is full of very interesting and valuable matter, for which all students of Hittite and Egyptian affairs owe him hearty thanks. But I cannot agree with him in identifying Tell Neby Mendeh (or Mindan, Mindoh, *Burton*; Mindow, *Porter*) as the site of the Hittite Kadesh, however the name may be found there. As Lieutenant Conder has mentioned, I took pains to collate all attainable Egyptian information for him before he left England, and I have since studied the matter again, and have given some results in a paper read November 1st, to the Society of Biblical Archaeology. Now I will try to put the question clearly in the light of the Egyptian records, which are remarkably concordant, both in narrative and picture.

The celebrated battle-scene described by the court poet Pentair is given twice on the walls of the Ramesseum. On the *second* pylon (Rosellini, M.R. cix, cx, Lepsius, "Denkm.," vol. iii, 164) the Orontes flows from the left into a lake which curves upwards, and at the top turns to the right, where the doubly-moated Kadesh stands on an island, with a bridge above and below, the *lower being south*, for the force of the Kheta, shewn there, crossed the *southern* moat to attack the brigade of Ra, as the narrative tells us. Below the river is a straight embanked canal, running right across the picture. The *first* pylon ("Denkm.," vol. iii, 157-160) agrees in these particulars, and we have to the left the important addition of the point where the canal flows out of the river on its *east side*, running north-east. In both Kadesh must be at the north-east end of the lake, which is at least five times as long as the island where the fortified Kadesh stands. In the enormous battle-piece of Abusimbel the Orontes flows similarly into the

lake (which, however, lies straighter in the line of the river-course); the island is at the lower end of the lake on its north-east side, and the river runs on, taking a decided curve, and then straightening its course once more. Here, likewise, are the Kheta troops across the *south* moat. But the parallel canal is only to be *inferred* from the movements of the Kheta and Egyptian troops, as I have shown in my paper.

Now all the precise statements of the records agree with the evidence afforded by the course of the canal in showing the position of the Egyptian tableau relatively to the points of the compass, and the inference is that the island-fortress stands at the north-east end of the lake, forming apparently (as I suggested to Lieutenant Conder) "a part of the great engineering works at the northern and lower end of the long lake, which included the great dyke, heading up the waters of the Orontes, by which the lake was artificially formed."

I cannot but identify this considerable lake, flowing north-easterly, with the present lake of Homs.

Lieutenant Conder would have it represent a mill-pool 50 yards across, to the south-east of the Tell, 400 yards long, but I think this quite a "disproportioned thought."

Nor will Tell Neby Mendeh suit in anywise the strategic conditions of the story. "The mound is remarkably conspicuous from all sides." We agree as to the route of the Pharaoh along the valley of the Eleutherus (Nahr el Kebir). "The Pharaoh crossed a ridge (400 or 500 feet above the lake) and descended into the plains north-west of (Lieutenant Conder's) Kadesh, near the southern shores of the Hittite lake," and consequently in *full view* of the great *ambuscade* of thousands of the allies posted (as we are told) to the north-west of Kadesh. This is precisely contrary to the Egyptian account, which makes the Pharaoh advance from the south, and fall heedless into the trap. On the other hand, if the great ambuscade were laid in the lower land to the north-west of the great dyke, where the chimney-tops of Saddeh are below the level of the lake (so much does the ground fall off), the Pharaoh might well have been lured by the spies into the most perilous security, while the Kheta king's chariots sped away on the other side of the lake, crossed the ford to the south-west of its higher end, and cut the Pharaoh from his supports, for their camp (we are told) was "on the heights to the *south* of Kadesh." Then the brigade of Ra, forming the south-eastward column, would be crushed on *that* side of the lake by the flank attack of the forces thrown across the southern moat of Kadesh; while Rameses with his body-guard was at bay, completely surrounded by the line of the Hittite chariots, on the opposite or north-west side of the lake. These are the details so well represented by the relief-pictures of the Egyptian walls.

I cannot but think them quite in accordance with the supposition which places Kadesh at the north-east outfall of the lake over its great dyke, and not reconcilable with the theory of Lieutenant Conder that Tell Neby Mendeh is the Hittite Kadesh. It seems to me that if any Tell now standing should be Kadesh, Tell Koteineh (Katani of Arrowsmith, Kattinieze of Rey), by

the south-east end of the great dyke is far more likely. Here, or from the dyke hard by, Lieutenant Conder tells us "the flat basaltic slopes on the right *concealed the path by which Rameses approached.*" Here, perhaps, the moated stronghold might have stood, and the moats may long since have been filled and dried. Here and in the lower levels "behind Kadesh the wicket," the deadly ambush may have been laid. All this would perfectly accord with the narratives and tableaux alike, and I venture to urge a very careful attention to this spot and to the dyke itself, for I think with Professor Porter that "the Hittites seem to have been the original founders of that great embankment."

One word more. I thought at first, in view of the Egyptian records, that Kadesh must have stood on the *western* side of the Orontes. But I now see that the expression "Pharaoh had placed himself to the north of the town of Kadesh, on the west side of the river Arunatha," must apply to the Pharaoh, not to the town, which is clearly shown to be on the east side of the river or its lake. The *name* "Kadesh" seems to have wandered like "Koteineh," shown in Lieutenant Conder's sketch-map some three miles from the *Tell Koteineh*.

If we can by combined effort of explorers and students clear up this matter, and put the pick-axe into the true spot, I am quite sure that no one will rejoice more heartily than that excellent and now celebrated officer of the splendid corps of Royal Engineers, Lieutenant Conder.

HENRY GEORGE TOMKINS.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE,

November 7th, 1881.

P.S.—I think it important to notice two points in the remarks of the Rev. W. Wright on my paper read before the Society of Biblical Archaeology.

I. Mr. Wright "had no doubt that in the poem of Pentaur two lakes were referred to—the little lake of Kadesh, around which the battle was fought, and 'the lake of the land of the Amorites,' namely, the Bahr el Hums, in the vicinity of which a part of the Egyptian army must have been when the battle began."

But it is really doubtful whether any *lake* is mentioned in the *text*; and in the battle-pieces there is manifestly only *one*, at the north-east end of which stands Kadesh.

II. Mr. Wright remarks: "It was easy to overcome distance on a map, but supposing the crossing place at each end of the lake to have been eight or ten miles apart, the Khita chariots must have gone careering round a circuit of forty or fifty miles or more during the battle."

This is a misapprehension. The tableaux show two *simultaneous* movements of Hittite chariotry in opposite directions to meet and form a circuit. The lake of Homs is 6 miles long, says Lieutenant Conder, and 2 miles broad.

Now the more extensive of these movements need not have covered more ground than 12 miles round the south-west end, and the other

movement 5 or 6 miles round the north-east end of the lake. An hour and a half would accomplish both together, the *aggregate* being 17 or 18 miles instead of "40 or 50 or more."

Moreover, these movements were *before*, and not "during the battle," and they were deliberately planned beforehand, with plenty of time for their accomplishment at leisure.

I believe that if Mr. Wright had studied the evidence of the monuments and maps his impressions would have been very different. My object is to have these brought fairly to bear upon a survey of the ground, especially taking account of the levels for 5 or 6 miles round the lake of Homs.

H. G. T.

### THE ROCK RIMMON.

It seems from the last *Quarterly Statement* that Lieutenant Conder recently went down in the harvest time to the Rock Rimmon, into the cave of the six hundred, and stumbled over some startling conclusions.

I do not wish, like the Philistines, to rob his threshing-floor in Lehi (Hebr. *belehi*), but I should like in the strength of a Samson to beat out his gleanings with the *inquisitorial* rod, and to winnow the wheat with the *critical* fan, so that the chaff may be driven away by the wind of *sound* opinion. I will not discuss the meaning of Rimmon, as I can afford to leave it untranslated in Judges xx; 1 Sam. xiv, 2 (where A. V. has "pomegranate") but will pass on to the following points given in *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 247, as the results of careful examination.

- (a.) The Rock Rimmon was at the present village of Rummôn.
- (b.) The site of the latter "could not be more correctly described than by the term *Sel'a*."
- (c.) "The Hebrew word (*sela*) has not the meaning of precipice."
- (d.) The surviving Benjamites did not take refuge among the precipices of Wâdy Suweîmât, east of Jeb'a, and so could not have hidden themselves in the cave called Mughâret el Jai.
- (e.) The cave "will not hold the number of fugitives mentioned in the story."
- (f.) "The name Rimmon no longer occurs in the vicinity."

The question of the true position of the Rock Rimmon has frequently been touched upon in these pages, viz. : 1879, pp. 103, 112-129, 170; 1880, pp. 106, 173, 236.

To sift the matter thoroughly, I will take the ears gleaned by Lieutenant Conder, one by one.

*Sela*.—This is a word against which several wrong identifications are dashed to pieces. I have stated (1879, p. 127) that "*sela* always means a precipitous rock, *i.e.*, a cliff . . . height alone does not entitle to the

name." On the other hand Lieutenant Conder urges and claims to show that *the word has not the meaning of precipice.*

He can hardly be unaware that such authorities as Dr. Stanley and Grove have rendered *sela* by cliff (another translates it crag), so that to remove this great obstruction, I must have recourse to a petard.

I take the following from a picturesque writer:—

"There is a great gorge called the 'Valley of Rocks,' a narrow but deep chasm, *impassable* except by a detour of many miles, so that Saul might have stood within sight of David, yet quite unable to overtake his enemy; and to this 'Cliff (*sela*) of Division' . . . . .; there is no other place near Maon where *cliffs*, such as are to be inferred from the word *Sela*, can be found." Again he writes: "The heat and glare were oppressive, and I was glad *at noon* to rest under a white, chalk *cliff*, and was able to realize the force of the poetic language of Isaiah, 'The shadow of a great rock (*sela*) in a weary land'" (Is. xxxii, 2). Again, referring to the Rock (*sela*) Etam, he gives "eagle's nest" as the meaning of Etam. See "Tent Work," 1880, pp. 142, 245, 246. Yet even this testimony seems hardly sufficient to move Lieutenant Conder, who says my quotations are "scarcely sufficient to prove that *sela* should be rendered precipice."

I must, therefore, next call a *myriad* of witnesses from the laud of Edom. "And other ten thousand left alive did the children of Judah carry away captive, and brought them unto the top of the rock (*sela*), and cast them down from the top of the rock (*sela*) that they were all broken in pieces" (11 Chron. xxv, 12). It is pleasant to observe that the LXX here translate *sela* by *κρημνός* (a precipice), and not by the indefinite word *πέτρα*. Five figures must be allowed to be sufficient to prove one point, so I conclude that *sela* does mean *a precipice*, here and also throughout the Bible, as I cannot find a single instance where such a meaning is out of place.

Lieutenant Conder urges, however, that in some passages *sela* can scarcely be understood as meaning a precipice, quoting two, viz., Ps. xviii, 2, "The Lord is my rock;" but as the next words are "and my fortress," it is clear that a rock with (rather than without) precipitous sides best suit the Psalmist's meaning. He also quotes Ps. xl, 2, "Set my feet upon a rock"—adding, "a position hardly to be considered as one of safety and comfort." It is almost unnecessary to reply that here "upon a rock" means *on the top*, not on the side of a precipice, just as the watchman in Jezreel (2 Kings ix, 17) stood *on* (the same Hebrew word as in Ps. xl, 2) the tower, *not on its side*, in perfect "safety and comfort."

By thus conclusively demonstrating that *sela* means *a precipice*, we have at once disposed of the points *a, b, c*. The Rock (*sela*) Rummôn, as we have seen, was undoubtedly a *precipitous* rock, and therefore is not to be placed at Rimmôn, which Lieutenant Conder assures us "could not be more correctly described than by a word which, he urges, has *not* the meaning of precipice."

It is superfluous to prove to him the correctness of this, his own statement, by pointing out that houses at Rummôn are built upon the sides of

the knoll, that on the Survey map tracks are marked as approaching it from the four sides, &c. Therefore it could not be a *sela*.

The rival site has thus so completely vanished, that I need not bring into action my reserve passages, viz. : Job. xxxix, 28 ; Prov. xxx, 26 ; Cant. ii, 14 ; Is. xxii, 16 ; xxxii, 2 ; Jer. v. 3 ; xxiii, 29 ; xlvi, 28 ; Amos vi, 12. Still the remaining points *d, e, f*, have to be considered.

I have already shown, 1880, p. 236, that from the battle-field near Gibeah the Benjamites fled eastwards towards the wilderness. The exact position of Gibeah is still unsettled, but it was not far from the great north road (*id.*, p. 237), and is, in my opinion, probably identical with Gibeah of Saul, and to be identified with Gibeath Ammah, *i.e.*, the hill of the metropolis (2 Sam. ii, 24), and this I place at Khurbet 'Adaseh, about two miles to the east of Gibeon. Be this as it may, the Benjamites fled from the battle-field somewhere south of the latitude of er Ram (Judges xx, 31), in an easterly direction towards Gibeah, *i.e.*, Jeb'a (Judges xx, 43), towards the wilderness, and this course would take them directly to the precipices of Wâdy Suweinît.

Here, on the southern side of the wâdy, we find Saul (1 Sam. xiv, 2) in the uttermost part of Gibeah, *i.e.*, Jeb'a, under *the Rimmon* (A. V. a pomegranate tree) which is in Migron (*i.e.*, the precipice) ; here, too, was "a sharp rock" (A. V., literally, tooth of a *sela*), facing over against Michmash. No better hiding place could be desired than some hidden cavern among the precipices of this wild mountain gorge ; and as the Hebrews hid themselves (1 Sam. xiv, 11) *in holes* from the Philistines, I cannot see that Biblical authority is needed for their having concealed themselves *in a cave* from enemies bent on waging a war of extermination after two disgraceful defeats.

Why in the world the 600 Benjamites should be made to parade themselves on Rummôn, like flies on a sugar loaf, instead of being hidden away in a safe place, I have never been able to understand ; and if to the English mind it still seems unsuitable for those who run to run to the nearest and best place of refuge, instead of crossing seven miles of "most difficult country," then, mindful of Cetewayo's fickle fortune, I appeal from Japheth to Ham to decide what Shem would do when outnumbered fourteen to one.

Meanwhile I claim to have disposed of objection *d*, if only the cave is large enough, and this brings me to *e*, which I shall treat as *chaff*, as it seems to be so intended.

The tradition clinging to Mughâret el Jai that "sixteen flocks of one hundred sheep have been folded at one time in its main chamber" is valuable on account of the *six* and the *one hundred* ; the *truth* of the statement is of no importance. Still it occurs to me that it is hardly fair to use the Negeb or *south-down* measurement for sheep in the highlands of Benjamin, for such seems to be forced upon us, "if more than three sheep could scarcely be packed into two square yards."

Again, in making a space of six feet by three feet a *sine quâ non* for men hiding for their lives, Lieutenant Conder appears to me to assume

that the survivors were respectable aldermen of the Eglon girth, and not young desperadoes of the Ehud cut.

Such palatial accommodation would not be needed for men scarcely more civilized than the modern Fellaheen. The total area of the cave is said not to exceed 970 square yards, while the main chamber is about 500 yards square.

Now the Education Department in Kirjath-Sepher fixes the space to be allowed for each street Arab at 8 square feet, while Lieutenant Conder will not allow a Benjamite, after all his valour, to escape for his life into a cave of which the large room allows eight feet per man, or 14 feet including the class-rooms. Better it seems for the six hundred to be slain by Israel, than to have to cross their legs, or for only part of the number to lie down at once.

It is fair, however, to point out that Lieutenant Conder is more dexterous than I am in packing, when he has in view the sinister object of fixing the battle of Gibeah at Jeb'a. He says (1877, 105; 1881, 89) that at the latter place, there was a *cave* large enough to contain the ambush (Judges xx, 33). How large then was the cave, and how large the ambush? Josephus says half the army, *i.e.*, about 160,000 men. *That* cave must have been close and hot indeed. Happily Josephus sometimes writes fiction, and the ambush clearly did not lie in wait in a cave but *round about* (Judges xx, 29) Gibeah.

Further, Lieutenant Conder finds it "difficult to understand why the advocates of a Rock Rimmon in Wady Suweinit should have pitched on this particular cave (Mughâret el Jai), seeing that there are many other caves along both sides of the valley," curiously adding, "though unfortunately they are for the most part inaccessible."

Surely the wish has never crossed his mind that we had pitched upon an *inaccessible* cave. The reasons, however, for fixing on Mughâret el Jai as the place of refuge for the Benjamites, are as follows:—

1. It is obviously the cavern mentioned to Mr. Finn, in 1852, as capable of containing several hundred men.

2. It is *accessible*, and from it it is easy to reach the concealed spring of Ain Suweinit.

3. It is the best known (1879, 112) and apparently the largest cave in the ravine.

4. It is well screened from view, and therefore a desirable hiding place.

It has been used time out of mind for refuge by the neighboring villagers, when prosecuted by the government; and the hiding place habitually used in modern times may well have been that resorted to in the days of Phinehas and even of Saul.

6. There must be some reason for the repeated mention of *six* in connection with *hundreds* in reference to Mughâret el Jai, and its occupation by the six hundred Benjamite survivors would be a likely and reasonable explanation.

It is not, however, necessary for all the fugitives ever to have been in

the cave at one time, still less for four months. After sunset they could doubtless come out like rabbits to get corn and water. The plain truth seems to be that the cave formed the *headquarters* of the Benjamite survivors, so that this stalk proves to be *altogether chaff*.

Mr. Rawnsley (1879, 126), among the names recovered in his expedition, gives the following, *Wâdy er Rumaman*, and *Wâdy er Rumman*, both obviously connected with Rimmon. Whether he was imposed upon in these names being given him, or Lieutenant Conder in their not being given, is a point on which no evidence is before us.

The present existence of the name Rimmon is, however, of no real importance, as there certainly was a Rimmon somewhere hereabouts in the time of Saul.

I think all objections recently and formerly made against this most interesting *cliff* and *cave* have now been fairly met and demolished, as I doubt not every future one will also be, for "magna est veritas et prævalebit."

The sound results may be stated thus :—

The Rock Rimmon was *not* at Rimmôn because—

1. It is not a *sela*.
2. It is not a suitable place of refuge for men fighting for their lives.
3. It is probably not in the tribe of Benjamin.
4. It was seven miles distant from the field of battle, and another hiding place which was far nearer, was also far better.

That the refuge of the six hundred Benjamites was the great cavern called Mughâret el Jai, among the cliffs of the passage of Michmash, seems to me to be conclusively proved by the following chain of circumstantial evidence :—

1. The Benjamites were pursued "unto over against Gibeah toward the sun rising." This certainly brings them *towards* Jeb'a.

2. "They fled toward the wilderness unto the rock (*sela*) Rimmon." This must first have brought them *past* Jeb'a, and a mile and a half or two miles more in the same direction—"toward the wilderness," would bring them to Wâdy Suweinât, where we find both *cliffs* and the name "*Rimmon* in the precipice" existing in the time of Saul. As these are the *first cliffs* they would come to, and the name Rimmon was once connected with them, it seems to me as clearly proved as any topographical point can be, that here was the Rock Rimmon.

3. Further, here is a great cavern—offering a most suitable hiding place, with a secret spring not far distant.

4. The Israelites often hid themselves in caves. This one has long been the recognised hiding place of the neighbourhood, and the Christians are said to have used it on one great occasion.

The Benjamites, unless different from other human beings, must be allowed to have hidden themselves in some cave or other, and it is most reasonable to suppose that they would do so in this.

6. Tradition says that this cave will hold six hundred men, just the



number of the Benjamite refugees, and that they did hide in it is the only reasonable explanation as to how six hundred is the number now named.

7. Modern measurement confirms the tradition that six hundred men could find shelter in this cave if pushed to extremities.

The Israelites, however, had probably gained too bitter an experience of the desperate valour of the slinging tribe, to dare to attack the wolf of Benjamin, when driven to bay in his *dernier ressort*. And most assuredly they would have caught a Tartar (as will probably every one who ventures to assail their famous stronghold\*) if they had attempted to harass the fugitives in Wady Suweinit, and so they discreetly let alone that little Benjamin who was destined afterwards to be their ruler. But still, why not make some excavations in the cave ?

W. F. BIRCH.

## THE VALLEY OF HINNOM AND ZION.

MORE than 200 books have been written on Palestine, about 50 treat specially of its geography ; thousands of intelligent travellers have visited the Holy City, and yet to this hour the Christian world is not agreed as to where Zion stood.

Four faults have led most writers astray :—

- (1.) They have made wrong assumptions, in a matter in which hardly anything can safely be assumed.
- (2.) They have grounded their arguments on statements of Josephus, who is most unreliable, and at times flatly contradicts the Bible.
- (3.) They have not always verified their references.
- (4.) They have interpreted their quotations in a way sometimes at variance with the context.

Hence there are *four* opinions as to what hill is described as *Mount Zion*, and *five different views* about the real position of Zion itself, viz. :—

- (1.) The *high* ; north of the Temple ; advocated by Messrs. Fergusson, Thrupp, and Lewin.
- (2.) The *low* ; south of the Temple, on Ophel so called, held by the writer.
- (3.) The *broad*, which places Zion simultaneously on two or more of the following 1, 2, 4, 5, originated by Josephus and adopted by Lewin and Lieutenant Conder.
- (4.) The *mediæval* ; the south-western hill or upper city of Josephus, approved of by almost all writers from Jerome to the present

\* The same may also be said of the stronghold of Zion, or the City of David which was situated on Ophel, so called, south of the Temple.

date, and defended by the discrimination of Robinson, the erudition of Williams, as well as by Professor Porter and Lieutenant Conder.

- (5.) That of the *Woolwich Brethren*, the district within the second wall west of the Temple and north of the upper city, gallantly held by Colonel Warren and Lieutenant Conder.

To a mind that delights in "showing of hard sentences and dissolving of doubts," the Jerusalem problem is irresistibly fascinating, and as four years have failed to show me any flaw or fallacy in the view which alone (so far as I can see) is reconcilable with and demanded by the Bible, I cheerfully descend from Scopus to join in the *bellum topographicum*, against the modern Simons, Johns, and Eleazars who between them have rent Jerusalem in pieces.

The "Nikon" argument that must make the first breach in the great wall of error, shall be "the true position of the Valley of Hinnom," the accidental discovery of which put an end to my gropings in the dark, led me out of the Josephean fog into bright daylight, and showed me the great outlines of Jerusalem in wonderful distinctness.

Modern discoveries allow us (without falling into *fault 1*) to assert that ancient Jerusalem stood somewhere on the often printed plan (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1879). The great question then is which was the valley of Hinnom?

A. Jerome says that Tophet, in the valley of the son of Hinnom, was irrigated by the waters of Siloam (Ain Silwân).

B. Colonel Warren identifies the brook (*Nachal*) Kedron, on the eastern side of Jerusalem, with the valley (*Ge*) of Hinnom.

C. Popular opinion takes the valley on the south-west and south of Jerusalem to be the valley of Hinnom.

While I was vainly seeking to reconcile these divergent if not opposite views, the thought occurred to me, "might not the Tyropœon, the valley passing through Jerusalem, be the Valley of Hinnom?" The novelty of the idea was charming. Immediately I set about trying how this identification would suit the various passages of the Bible in which the valley of Hinnom is mentioned.

Everything fitted in beautifully, but when I came to Jer. xxxi, 39, 40, which describes the environs of Jerusalem, I was struck with the fact not only that the valley of (*Ge*) Hinnom was not specifically mentioned, but also that "the whole *valley* of the dead bodies and of the ashes," generally taken to be south-west and south of the valley above named, was not described by the Hebrew word *Ge* but by quite a different word, *Emek*. Soon I perceived that the distinct Hebrew words, *Nachal*, *Ge*, and *Emek* were *never* interchanged, and delighted with this success I followed up the clue until it led me right into Zion.

But before passing on, the three views A, B, C, need a word. A is not disturbed by the Tyropœon being the valley of Hinnom, perhaps it even requires this line.

B cannot stand for a moment against the rigid use of Hebrew words.

It only rests on Arabic accounts\* ("Jerus. Rec.," p. 307) and the misleading "East gate" (Jer. xix, 2), and to speak from hearsay, possibly on the Talmud.

C. The Bible Dictionary (under "Tophet") observes, "Until comparatively modern times that southern valley is never so named. Hinnom, by old writers, Western and Eastern, is always placed *east* of the city, and corresponds to what we call 'the mouth of the Tyropæon,' along the southern bed and bank of the Kedron." I have not, however, verified the references given for this statement.

Lieutenant Conder ("Handbook," p. 330) adopts C, and puts forward two points as *conclusive arguments* in its favour. (1) "Not only does the line of the border of Judah, which followed this valley, and ran south of Jerusalem (Josh. xv, 8), presuppose such a position; but (2) the situation of Tophet in the valley of Hinnom points to the same conclusion. Tophet was the scene of the worship of Moloch, and the high place of that idol is mentioned (2 Kings, xxiii, 13) as on the south of the Har-ham-Mashekith, which is probably the same as Har-ham-Mesekhah, or Mount of Anointing, by which name the Rabbis denominate the Mount of Olives."

This is a good illustration of how a well-read writer may unconsciously go astray.'

Point (1) would be conclusive *if* it could be proved that "the Jebusite" or "stronghold of Zion" was situate on the hill of the Upper City. But here Lieutenant Conder falls into *fault 2*, as all the proof he has to allege (p. 336) is the *incorrect* statement of Josephus that "the upper hill was by David called the citadel." If this professes to be a paraphrase of the Bible it is a *misrepresentation*; if not, whence did Josephus get his knowledge of things that happened a thousand years before his time? (*Quarterly Statement*, 1880, p. 169.)

Point (2) is an instance of *fault 4*. The context (2 Kings, xxiii, 10, 13) shows that Tophet in *the valley of Hinnom* had nothing to do with "the high places that were before Jerusalem which were on the right hand of the Mount of Corruption, etc.," for verse 10 states that Josiah defiled Tophet, and verse 13 that he defiled those high places. The chapter gives an orderly account of Josiah's doings, and verse 13 is not an idle repetition of verse 10, but perfectly distinct from it.

The "Handbook," p. 330, has a remark about "*the valley (emek) of Dead Bodies* and of the ashes," viz., "no indication of the position of this place is given, and it has no topographical importance." (*Vide* note on Jerem. xxxi, 38-40.)

There was formerly *not much difficulty* about its position, as it was taken to be the west and south valley, *until* it was pointed out that an *emek* could not be a *ge*, and its topographical importance instead of being *nil*, seems

\* In *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 102, Mr. Beswick discusses Colonel Warren's view, and rejects it. I cannot altogether agree with his arguments, and should have been glad if he had endeavoured to show that the Tyropæon so called (1878, p. 180) was not the valley of Hinnom. He seems, however, to pass over the point without notice.

to me *greater* than that of any other topographical passage in the Bible, because it proves that the west and south valley was not the valley of Hinnom. Yet Mr. Fergusson's most praiseworthy identification of the *eastern hill* at Jerusalem with *Mount Zion* was years ago, is briefly disposed of by the reply that it did "not deserve the trouble of a serious refutation." Not thus will difficult questions be solved, though books may be multiplied to any extent.

The position that the central valley was the valley of Hinnom now seems to me to be fully proved and impregnable (*Quarterly Statement*, 1878, p. 180); but if any one thinks he can upset "Nikon" let him try.

As I believe that Colonel Warren, in the "Memoirs," and Lieutenant Conder in the "Encyclopedia," will shortly fully put forward their latest views on the topography of Jerusalem, I propose to defer the assault on the pseudo-Zions until the next number.

W. F. B.

#### NOTE ON JEREMIAH XXXI, 38-40.

This passage is the *key* to Jerusalem. It will hardly be disputed that the words "from the tower of Hananeel unto the gate of the corner," describe generally the breadth of the city from east to west, on its northern or weakest side.

Verses 39 and 40 seem to describe a circuit about the city going round from north to west, then to south and ending at the east. I think it safe to identify the hill (*gibeah*) of Gareb, outside the Jerusalem of the Kings, with the hill east of the Damascus gate; *Goath* seems to me to have been a place more to the west, and identical with the site of the *Assyrian camp* of Josephus; the name probably has reference to the destruction of the 185,000 men.

In verse 40 we come to the west and south valley (that wrongly called in our day the valley of Hinnom), and this is described as "the whole valley (*emek*) of the dead bodies and of the ashes." This brings us to "all the fields," *i.e.*, the level ground in the eastern valley (described as "all the fields"), which reach to near the Virgin's Spring, where the valley becomes narrow, or in other words "unto the brook (*nachal*) of Kidron, unto the corner of the horse gate towards the east," *i.e.*, to near some part of the Haram area.

The fact that we have the *fields*, the *brook*, the *horse gate* in proper order, seems to make it certain that the description is an orderly one throughout; while the west and south valley is the only one which can fill up the space (between "Goath" and "the fields") described as "the valley (*emek*)," etc. All the places thus named seemed to have been *defiled*: Gareb has been connected with *leprosy*; *Goath* with death; while the *dead bodies* would defile the *emek*. Even the fields and brook Kidron were defiled (2 Kings xxiii, 4, 6). The high places on the Mount of Olives had also been defiled (2 Kings xxiii, 13), but as no mention is here made of this part becoming holy, though in close proximity to Jerusalem, it is

inadmissible to apply the expression "the valley (*emek*) of the dead bodies," etc., to any part of the country beyond the west and south valley, and not adjoining Jerusalem.

Thus this valley being the only valley available must be that intended by the prophet, and as it is called (*emek*) it could not possibly be the valley (*ge*) of Hinnom.

The use therefore made above of this passage is fully justified.

W. F. BIRCH.

## VARIETIES.

It may be well to correct a few errors and misapprehensions.

*Emmaus*.—The anonymous paper on this place is incorrectly credited to me by Lieutenant Conder.

*The Siloam Inscription*.—In *Quarterly Statement*, 1881, page 141, the Pool of the Virgin (*Birket Sitti Maryam*) near St. Stephen's Gate is confused with the Virgin's Well, half a mile to the south. It is from the latter that the canal is cut to the Pool of Siloam.

*The Table land Rock*.—On page 327, this is given by the Rev. James Niel as one of the titles of Jerusalem. The allusion is obviously to Jer. xxi, 13, 14, "Behold I am against thee, O inhabitant of the valley, and rock of the plain, saith the Lord; which say, Who shall come down against us? or who shall enter into our habitations?"

There could hardly be a more beautiful illustration of the use of topographical research than this passage affords. Here the Hebrew word for valley is *emek*, and that for plain *mishor*; but the inhabitants of Jerusalem did not dwell in an *emek*; and the *mishor* is an expression only used of the upland downs east of the Jordan, so that this verse cannot be applied to Jerusalem, unless the utmost violence be done to Biblical usage.

The *topographical key*, however, turns this dead-lock with perfect ease. The inhabitants of Rabbath-Ammon boasted (Jer. xlix, 4) of their well watered valley (*emek*), while their citadel overlooked the surrounding country or *mishor*. Our *key* fits exactly, and makes it certain that the prophet refers to Rabbah. Besides, "Who shall come down to us?" is the very question asked in Jer. xlix, 4, "Who shall come unto me?" and the king of Babylon was advancing against both Rabbah and Jerusalem (Ezek. xxi, 20, 21), though he took the latter first. See *Quarterly Statement*, 1878, page 189.

*Gibeah*.—It seems to me that Kh. 'Adaseh, nearly two miles east of Gibeon, represents the long-lost site of *Gibeah* (Judg. xx), of *Gibeah of Saul*, and of the hill of *Ammah*, *lit.* the *Gibeah* or hill of the chief city. The arguments for this identification seem to me conclusive, but it will be

requisite to search for ancient tombs and a water supply close at hand, as such do not seem to be marked on the Survey Map.

*Nob*.—After placing Gibeah of Saul at Kh. 'Adaseh, I can no longer recognise Almon as representing Nob, which identification (*Quarterly Statement*, 1877, page 51) I have long regarded with increasing suspicion, and now abandon, for the following reasons :—

(1.) I find Josephus to be utterly untrustworthy on Old Testament topography.

(2.) A Levitical city in Benjamin would probably be described as a city of the children of Aaron the priest or of the sons of Aaron, and not simply as a *city of the priests*.

(3.) While many places mentioned in the Bible had different names, e.g., Jerusalem, Hebron, Debir, Bethel, etc., I cannot find a single clear instance in which some note of explanation is not added.

(4.) It is not certain that Ahimelech enquired of God for David (*see* "Speaker's Com."); so that there is no reason for thinking that David went out of his way to Nob, which he would have done if Nob had been at Almon (Almît).

(5.) If Is. x, 28, etc., describes (as I believe it does) the actual march of the Assyrian, then he ought to have advanced from Geba towards Jerusalem by the ordinary route near Tuleil el Fûl and not past Almît. For the same reason Aiath cannot apparently be identical with Ai, unless the latter be placed at Kh. Haiy. Lieutenant Conder, 1881, page 254, writes in favour of Ai having been at Kh. Haiyan, but unfortunately he does not offer any suggestion as to the position of the valley (*emek*) in Josh. viii, 13, nor as to the crossing and recrossing of the deep valley (*gai*) on the north; while "before the plain" (viii, 14) means, as Mr. Guest has pointed out, "in sight of the Jordan valley."

To find a position suiting both the advance of Sennacherib and the flight of David from near Kh. 'Adaseh, I am driven to look for traces of an old town in the neighbourhood of Shafat. The spot marked Kh. el Merâghib on the Survey Map seems to me the most likely, and near it Murray's "Handbook" (page 190) states there are some remarkable tombs, with the remains of a considerable town, called el-Musahny.

*Zeboim*.—The connection I endeavoured to establish (1879, page 102) between this name and Tell esh Sha'ib seems now to me to be but fanciful.

*The Dung Gate*.—Mr. Beswick (1880, 109) objects to this name being connected with "the place called Bethso" (Jos. "Wars," v. 4, 2), and suggests that the meaning of the latter word is the "Interdicted Place," and not the "dung place," as proposed by Dr. Robinson. A short visit, however, to the heaps of rubbish outside the Jaffa Gate would probably show that sanitary considerations are unsafe guides in questions of oriental topography. The further fact that the royal towers, etc., of *Herod*, at the north-west corner of Zion (so called), were separated from the dung gate of *Nehemiah* at the south-west corner by an interval of something like 1,000 cubits, and 400 years ought not, as a matter of scent, to make the identification *absurd*.

*Kirjath-jearim*.—There are some serious objections to the identification of this place with Khürbet 'Erma.

1. According to Josh. xv, 10, "the border compassed from Baalah (*i.e.*, Kirjath-jearim) *westward* unto Mount Seir, and passed along unto the side of Mount Jearim, which is Chesalon." The line, however, as drawn by Lieutenant Conder (1881, page 264) runs northward instead of *westward* from 'Erma to Kesla. I can find no authority for his rendering the Hebrew יָמָה (with verbs of motion) as equal to "looking west instead of *westward*."

2. Again, in Josh. xviii, 15, from the end of Kirjath-jearim the border (of Benjamin) "went out *on the west* (*i.e.*, *westward*), and went out to the well of the waters of Neptoah." The line from 'Erma is, however, by Lieutenant Conder drawn *entirely* eastward (and *not westward at all*), towards 'Ain Atân near Solomon's pools. These seem to me to be two fatal objections to Kh. 'Erma representing Kirjath-jearim.

3. Josephus, whose testimony is worth little, says that Kirjath-jearim was near Gibeon, which is an equipoise to his statement that it was near Beth-shemesh. On the principle "*medio tutissimus ibis*," I should say that no site seems to me more suitable than Soba, about half way between the two, especially as the border can be drawn *westward* along Wâdy Esh Shemmarin and then *eastward* up Wâdy es Sikkeh.

4. Kirjath-jearim, along with Chephirah and Beeroth, was a city dependent on Gibeon. Kh. 'Erma seems too far distant.

5. Lieutenant Conder does not seem to speak of any ancient Jewish tombs at 'Erma.

6. In Josh. xviii, 28, we read "Gibeath, *and* Kirjath; fourteen cities with their villages." A comparison of the Hebrew and LXX versions would rather lead one to suppose that the original reading was "Gibeath of (or which belongs to) Kirjath-jearim."

7. In this case Gibeath (or rather Gibeah) was a town of Benjamin at "the end of Kirjath-jearim," and is probably represented by Kh. el Jubeiah near Soba, while Kirjath was not a town of Benjamin at all, but only an imperfect reading for Kirjath-jearim.

8. If Zorah and Eshtaol are correctly identified with Sura'h and Eshû'a, it is difficult to see how the "Mahaneh Dan, in Judah behind Kirjath-jearim" (Judg. xviii, 12) can be identical with "the Mahaneh-Dan between Zorah and Eshtaol" (xiii, 25) as the Danites from these two towns went *up* and pitched in Kirjath-jearim, in Judah (xviii, 12).

Probably the name of the camp of Dan was given to two places: one the spot where they assembled and to which they carried out their stuff; the other at the end of their first day's journey, just west of Kirjath-jearim.

*Rabbah* (Josh. xv, 60) was apparently a city in the mountains of Judah, and cannot therefore be the present *Rabba* in the Shephelah. Kh. Rab'a, about a mile from 'Erma, seems a likely position and similar in name.

## THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION.

Queen's College, Oxford,  
November 14th, 1881.

THE printer has, after all, contrived to make mistakes in my transliteration of the Siloam inscription into square Hebrew characters. I should therefore be obliged by the following corrections of lines 5 and 6 being made: in line 5, the reading should be **הַמַּיִם**; and in line 6 **הַמַּיִם** instead of **בַּמַּיִם**.

I am inclined to return to my old views as to the antiquity of the inscription. The historical evidence, at all events, seems very clear. Apart from the argument urged by M. Derenbourg, who points out that, as Shiloah signifies "a conduit," the tunnel with the inscription in it must have existed before the time when Isaiah viii, 6, was written, and have given its name to the locality, the fact that the reservoir is called simply "the pool" in the inscription is one that I cannot easily get over. If other similar reservoirs existed at the time in Jerusalem, as we know they did in the age of Isaiah, it is difficult to understand how it could be called merely "the pool" and not "the pool of Siloah" or "the king's pool" as in Neh. iii, 15, and ii, 14. At all events, as Dr. Neubauer first pointed out, the words in Is. viii, 6, have no sense, unless they refer to the passage of waters through the tunnel which supplied the pool of Siloam. It must be remembered that the Virgin's spring is the only natural one in or near Jerusalem, and that consequently the reservoir of Siloam must have been filled either with rain-water or by means of the cutting in the rock which led from the Virgin's Pool.

Now that we know the exact forms of the characters used in the inscription, there is only one—the *aleph*—which stands in the way of assigning it to a very early date. Two characters, the *waw* and the *zayin*, have more archaic forms than have been found elsewhere, and to these I should also be disposed to add the *tsadé*. The *kheth* and *'ayin* are more archaic than those of the Moabite Stone, though this would prove no more than that the alphabet of Moab had in certain respects departed further from the primitive type than the more conservative alphabet of Judah. As for the *mem*, de Vogüé's canon on the subject seems to me untenable. According to this, the "wavy *mem*" would be older than the barred *mem* which we find in our inscription. But it is obvious that the difference of form in this case depends on a difference of writing materials. The wavy *mem* would be in use where papyrus or parchment was mostly employed, while the barred *mem* would be the natural form where stone and clay were largely used for writing purposes, as we know they were at Jerusalem (Is. viii, 1; "slab," not "roll," as in A.V.; Jer. xxxii, 11, 12). The Siloam letters can be compared only with those of the early Hebrew seals, not with those of the Aramaic docketts on the contract tablets of Nineveh or those of the inscriptions on the Assyrian lion-weights. The



latter are written in Aramaic not in Hebrew, and in an Aramaic alphabet, not a Jewish one. Nineveh, moreover, is geographically too far from Jerusalem to allow of a comparison being safely made, while the proper names occurring in the tablets seem to show that the contracting parties belonged to more than one nationality, and the characters, though of the same age, are not always of the same form. A good deal of misconception seems to exist on the subject of these Assyro-Aramaic inscriptions, some of which have been supposed to be as early as the 9th century B.C. This, however, is not the case, the oldest being not earlier than the reign of Tiglath-Pileser II, and all belong to the century between 740 and 640 B.C.

One of the chief lessons taught us by the discovery of the Siloam inscription is that similar inscriptions still exist in Palestine if they are looked for in the right place. This is underground. It is useless to expect to find remains of the præ-exilic period except by the help of systematic excavation. Not only in Jerusalem itself, but also in the south of Judah, ancient Jewish monuments still lie buried, waiting for the spade to uncover them. I was greatly struck, when riding from Beit-Jibrin to Gaza, by the number of ancient *tels* or mounds which I passed, each marking the site of an old city. To say nothing of Um Lakis, supposed to represent the site of Lachish, though the natives insisted upon calling it Um Latis to me, we have the great mound of Ajlân or Eglon, which must go back to the days of the Jewish monarchy, and is only exceeded in size by that of Zêta, a still unidentified site. But the whole plain abounds with *tels* of considerable size, and Gaza itself would be a fine field for digging.

A. H. SAYCE.

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### KIRJATH JEARIM.

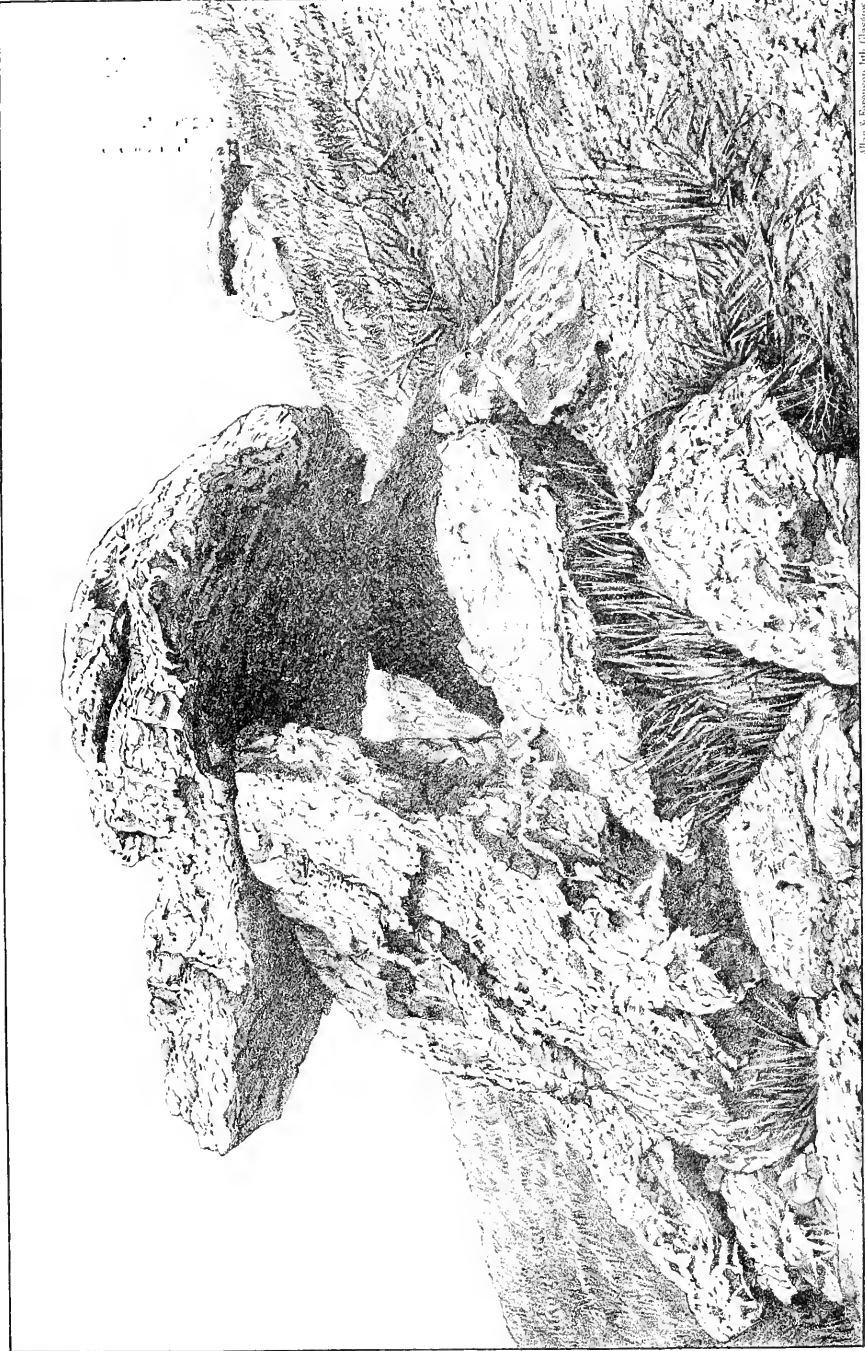
THE interesting account of Lieutenant Conder's visit to Khûrbet 'Erma, induces me to ask consideration for the further suggestion regarding that spot, that there stood "the nameless city" of I Sam. ix. The scene of Saul's anointing is nameless in the Scripture narrative, which gives no authority for the statement of Josephus that it was Ramah. Possibly he inferred it from the mention of "the seer's house" (ver. 18). Little stress can be put on the wording of Saul's question as a stranger to a stranger in the city gate. It is significant that throughout the chapter Samuel is never once spoken of as "dwelling" in that city. "He is in the city" (ver. 6). "He came to-day to the city, for the people have a great sacrifice on the high place" (ver. 11). The people are not accustomed to eat till he comes, for he blesses the sacrifice." . . . "Now therefore get you up for about this time ye shall find him" (13). Such are the terms employed, which not only do not say that he dwelt in the city, but suggest the opposite, even that he was there for the occasion of the sacrificial feast.

Although no name is given, the position of the city is pretty fully indicated; Saul and his servant had gone "through all the land of Benjamin" when they came to it; and they returned from it by Rachel's sepulchre. The narrative requires us to find a city set on the upper slope of a hill so that it had a higher and lower part; and to find a high place just outside its gate which was honoured as a "Bamah" and place of gathering to offer sacrifice. These requirements are all met in Khûrbet 'Erma, if we accept it as the site of Kirjath Jearim. Saul and his servant, after going through all the land of Benjamin, would find themselves in its south quarter at Kirjath Jearim (Joshua xviii, 15); outside of Kirjath Jearim on the "gibeah" or hill in the house of Abinadab stood the Ark for twenty years. It is close to, and up from Beth-Shemesh, whence the Ark was brought hither. An easy morning walk would bring Samuel and Saul to the spot near which they must have been when the prophet anointed the king, not far from Rachel's sepulchre (1 Sam. x, 1, 2), on his return to Gibeah of Saul.

The course of Saul and his servant is easily traced through Benjamin and over by Soba (Zuph) to the border of the Philistines, beyond which it was vain to follow strayed asses, even if prudent. A reason for the silence of Scripture as to the name of the city may be found possibly in its being assumed that the place of festival and gathering for sacrifice before the Lord would be recognised as the resting place of the Ark of the Covenant. Josephus says, "Now while the city of Kirjath Jearim had the Ark with them, the whole body of the people betook themselves all that time to offer prayers and sacrifices to God, and appeared greatly concerned and zealous about His worship." ("Ant." vi, 2, 1.) This statement seems based on 1 Sam. vii, 2. It certainly is hardly credible that Samuel would not frequent the place where stood the Ark of the Covenant, and have a house for his use on those occasions when there was, as on this occasion, "*a sacrifice of the people*" there.

ARCHIBALD HENDERSON.





CROMLECH N. W. OF AMMÂN

Alan & Ferguson Ltd. Glasgow

THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE reports and letters which are published in this number of the *Quarterly Statement*, show the very great value of Captain Conder's campaign of 1881. The singular prehistoric monuments, some of which had already been examined by Messrs. Irby and Mangles, Canon Tristram, and Herr Schick, have now been examined, sketched, and planned in detail. They are found to be grouped intentionally, not scattered about without regard to order. The four great centres of these rude stone monuments are proposed by Captain Conder to be identified with places of no less Biblical importance than Bamoth Baal, Baal Peor, the "top of Baal Peor which looked towards Jeshimon," and the sanctuary of Baal Peor, in the Jordan Valley. If these identifications are accepted we may, indeed, congratulate ourselves upon the first fruits of our expedition. The report on Arab Folk Lore is a contribution to a branch of the subject which we have as yet only touched. The importance and interest of the architectural discovery made by Captain Conder at Ammân may be gathered, not only from his own report, but from Professor Hayter Lewis's paper on the subject, reprinted by permission from the *Builder*.

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The examination of the tunnel at the Pool of Siloam, the plan and drawings, of the newly discovered church, and the note on the ancient monuments of Western Palestine, are the results of the winter residence of the party in Jerusalem.

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It was announced in the January *Quarterly Statement*, that further progress with the survey had been stopped by the Turkish authorities on account of informality in the Firmân. It was found necessary to apply to the Sultan for a new Firmân, and this has been done for the Committee by Lord Dufferin, Ambassador at the Porte, whose interest in the work of the Society is gratefully acknowledged by the Committee. Captain Conder also travelled to Constantinople in order to place himself at his Excellency's orders. The result has been a promise that a Firmân should be granted with permission to sketch, excavate, &c., within certain limits. Captain Conder has therefore returned to Jerusalem, in hopes that the Firmân may be signed at an early date, and so permit the resumption of field operations. In the meantime, the survey party is being usefully employed in plotting the survey on paper and in various minor inquiries into matters of Biblical and archæological interest.

As regards the publication of the various works in the Committee's hands, we take this opportunity of reporting that :—

1. The second volume of Memoirs will be sent out to subscribers in the second week in April.
2. Saunders' "Introduction to the Survey," is now ready.
3. The "Water Basin," edition of the reduced map, with the Sections, &c., is also ready.
4. The Old Testament map is already far advanced, and is expected in June.
5. The Index to the *Quarterly Statement* from the beginning is now ready, its price is 2s. 6d., including postage.

For those who have not yet had an opportunity of seeing the beautiful edition of the map called the "Water Basin" Edition, it may be well to explain that it differs from the former "Reduced Map" in having received certain additions. The most important of them is the marking out of the waterparting lines and the waterways, plains and highlands in colour, so as to show more clearly the conformation of the country, the lie of the hills, and the natural roads. This is done in colour. In addition, Mr. Saunders has drawn sections of the country, viz., one from east to west of Upper Galilee, and one of Lower Galilee, two from east to west of the Mountains of Judæa, and one from north to south. The map is like its predecessor, in six sheets and a portfolio.

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### TREASURER'S STATEMENT.

The amount of subscriptions for the year 1881 fell short by £200 of the amount spent on the Expedition East of the Jordan. At the same time there was an increase of £1,000 on the subscriptions of 1880. It is hoped that the increase will continue, and that the subscriptions of 1882 may reach the sum of £3,500, which is required for the carrying on of the Society's work. The unpaid accounts at the end of the year amounted to £778 5s. 11d., and the cash balance to £112 11s. 7d. ; but the latter should be increased by the sum of about £1,500 still owing to the Committee on account of the various editions of the Map and Memoirs.

The expenditure of £2,647 6s. 6d. on "Maps and Memoirs" account includes the first three volumes of the Memoirs, Saunders' "Introduction," and the engraving and editions of the reduced maps. It includes the sum of £100 for extra clerk's work. This, if transferred to "Management," would raise the expenditure under that heading to 13·28 per cent. of the whole.

The whole expenditure of £6,487 2s. 8d. may be thus classified :—

Exploration .. .. .	40·51 per cent.
Maps and Memoirs .. .. .	40·81 „
Returned to Subscribers in Quarterly	
Statements .. .. .	7·40 „
Management .. .. .	11·28 „

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# BALANCE SHEET, 1881.

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
1881.						
Jan. 1. Balance from 1880. . . . .	1,365	4	1			
Less unpaid account . . . . .	260	15	3			
				1,104	8	10
Subscriptions and Lectures . . . . .				2,430	5	10
Publications . . . . .				144	6	3
Photographs . . . . .				18	10	11
Map and Memoirs . . . . .				2,123	15	6
To unpaid accounts . . . . .				778	5	11
				6,549	13	3

	£	s.	d.
Expenditure on the Survey . . . . .	2,628	12	7
Map and Memoirs . . . . .	2,647	6	6
Rent . . . . .	128	11	0
Printing . . . . .	398	5	1
Advertising . . . . .	40	14	10
Salaries and wages . . . . .	436	2	8
Stationery, Office expenses, and Sundries. . . . .	70	18	0
Postage . . . . .	136	11	0
Balance . . . . .	112	11	7
	6,599	13	3

WALTER MORRISON,  
*Hon. Treasurer.*

The income of the Society from all sources from December 16th, 1881, to March 15th, 1882, was £998 6s. 6d. The amount in the Banks on Tuesday, March 21st, was £429 7s. 5d.

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It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

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The following numbers of the *Quarterly Statement* are out of print. The Committee would be very much obliged by the return of duplicates or of any copies which may not be wanted. They are 1871—January and July; 1872—January and April; 1871—April, July, and October; 1874—January and October; 1880—January; and 1881—April.

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Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to address the Secretary on the subject. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

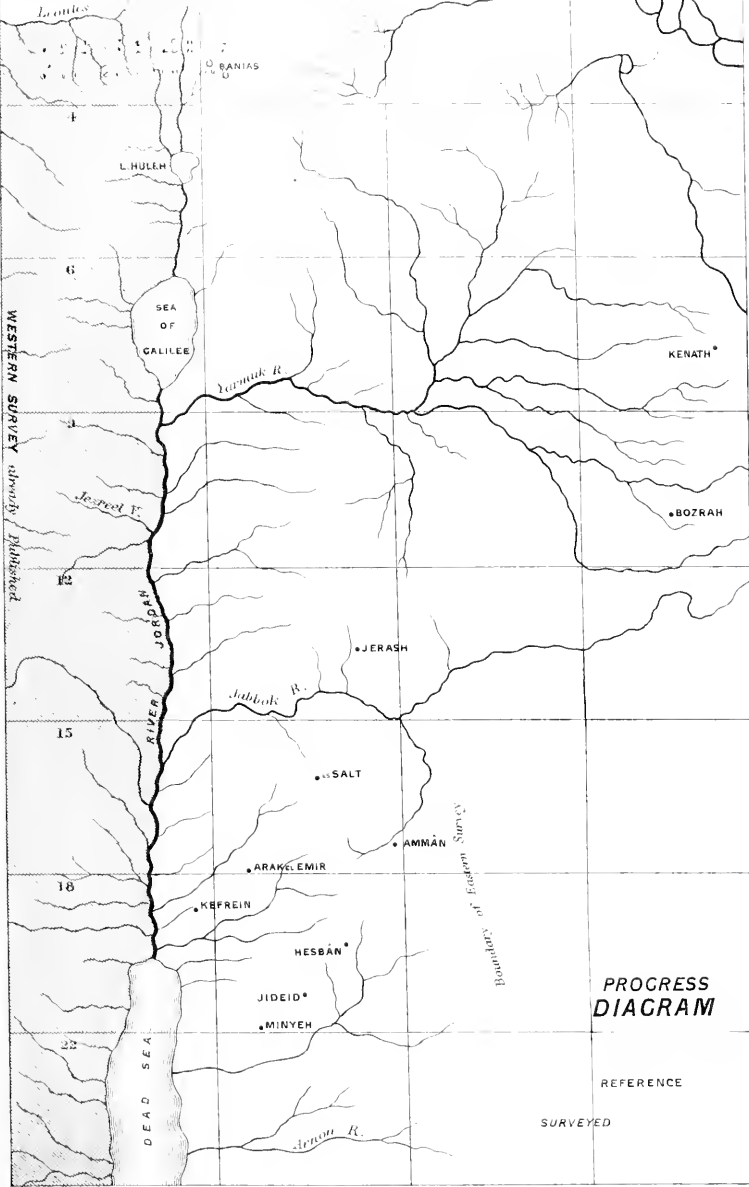
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While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

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WESTERN SURVEY already published

**PROGRESS  
DIAGRAM**

REFERENCE

SURVEYED

## CAPTAIN CONDER'S REPORTS.

## X.

## BAMOTH BAAL AND BAAL PEOR.

AIN YALO, 21st November, 1881.

IN a former report I described briefly some of the rude stone monuments which we examined at Hesbân, but as yet I have not given any account of the still more interesting groups which we discovered later, including structures of seven different kinds, viz.: 1. dolmens (or cromlechs); 2. Menhirs or standing stones; 3. cubical stones in circles or standing alone; 4. Circles of rude stones piled in a heap; 5. Rude pillars; 6. Cairns; 7. Disk stones.

Of these the cromlechs or dolmens (whichever be the correct title) are the most numerous. In Wâdy Hesbân there are about 50; round Wâdy Jideid there are groups which give together a total of about 150. On the north side of the Zerka M'aîn there is a large group, numbering some 150. At Mount Nebo there are only a very few in connection with a large stone circle and cairn. At 'Anmân we discovered 8 in all very much scattered. Near the Jabbok there is another group not yet visited, and in the Ghôr es Seisebân, for a distance of about two miles, between Wâdy Kefrein and Wâdy Hesbân, all the spurs are covered with dolmens, numbering between 200 and 300 in all, while north and south of these limits not a single specimen can be found for many miles. The total of 600 to 700 is thus divided into seven very distinct groups, each occurring in the vicinity of fine springs, and of hill-tops commanding an extensive view; and the impression which I noted in my former report is fully confirmed, for the dolmens are not scattered over the country without system, but are confined to localities at considerable distances apart, where they are crowded close together, generally appearing to group round a central point on a hill-top.

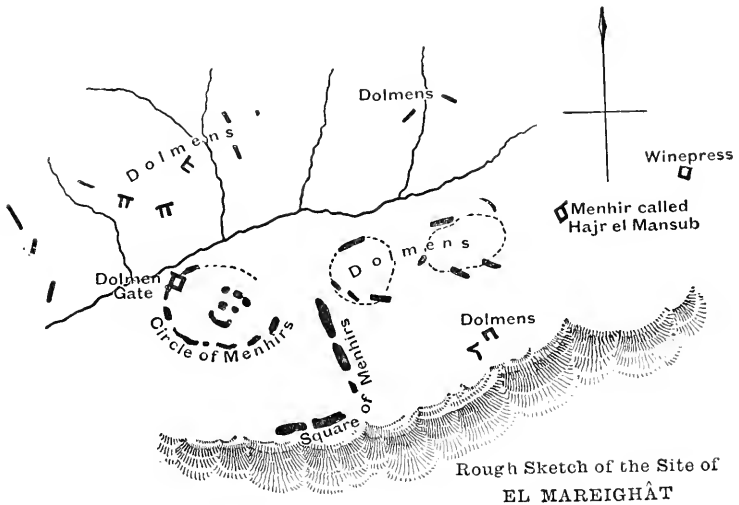
Although no previous traveller has been enabled to examine carefully all the groups mentioned, the discovery of such monuments dates back more than sixty years, to the time when Irby and Mangles made their adventurous journey to Moab and Gilead. At a later period the dolmens have been briefly described by Dr. Tristram; and some of the menhirs have been visited and measured by Herr Konrad Schick. The collection, however, of such a large number of examples, as are now noted, enables us to draw various conclusions which would not suggest themselves at first in studying these monuments.

The first distinct specimen of *menhirs* we found on the north bank of the Zerka M'aîn. A very remarkable stone, 8 feet high, 4 feet 6 inches

broad, and about 2 feet thick, here stands up alone on a flat plateau, while on the low surrounding hills are numbers of large dolmens, some of which are very carefully constructed. The standing stone is called *Hajr el Mansub*, a name signifying "the erected stone," and closely allied to the Hebrew *מַעֲבָד*, rendered generally "pillar" in the Old Testament.

About three quarters of a mile further west are still more remarkable remains. A flat knoll here rises within a sort of hill-theatre. On the south the plateau leads to the brink of a very steep slope, at the bottom of which the springs of the Zerka rise surrounded by oleander bushes. On the east, north, and west are spurs of hills which sink into the little plateau. The knoll is surrounded by remains of what was once a great circle of menhirs, varying in height from 3 feet to 6 feet, all of slightly rounded or pointed shape at the top, and from 2 feet to 3 feet broad at the base.

There appears to have been a second similar circle higher up the slope of the knoll, within that already described; and on the highest part are three very conspicuous stones, the loftiest being 6 feet high. There are three



rows of similar menhirs on the east side of the knoll; and the plateau seems at one time to have been converted into a square court, by similar *aippi*, of which one row exists on the south running east for 30 yards, and another on the east running north and south for a greater distance.

On the north-west, immediately outside and adjoining the large circle, is a single dolmen, which thus seems to form a door to the circle, like those smaller reproductions of this class of monument which I have already described as being still constructed, by the Arabs of the district, round sacred tombs.

The hill spurs which surround this remarkable circle are all covered

with dolmens, of which there are at least 150 in all. They occupy the slopes of the spurs, and are almost without exception in view of the menhir knoll which appears to form the centre. On the plateau, which measures about 400 yards either way, are several smaller stones, arranged within the square court and south of the knoll, which is surrounded by the circle. About twelve or more are scattered over this area without any special method being apparent in their grouping.

On the northern hill, close to the dolmens, are three of the curious recesses which I before mentioned in connection with the Hesbân cromlechs. These are cut in rock, and two are only 3 feet and 4 feet respectively in length, while the middle one measures 6 feet by 7 feet. East of the Hajr el Mansûb is a very fine winepress, with three chambers, and on the hill north of the circle is a large flat cairn. The place does not, however, command any special view, save that of the great Zerka valley, and of the fine springs just below the plateau. The whole of the site obtains the name *Umm ez Zueit'neh*, "mother of the little olive tree," and although there is no evidence that olives ever existed, the Arabs say that oil was once made here, and point to the great winepress as evidence—supposing it to be an oil-press, which is clearly impossible.

The real origin of the name may perhaps, however, be traced in the title *el Mareighât*, which is applied to the menhir circle. This signifies "the places smeared" with oil, blood, or any thick liquid, and this appellation seems to me, as I hope to show immediately, to be of the greatest value in determining the origin and character of the curious monuments above described.

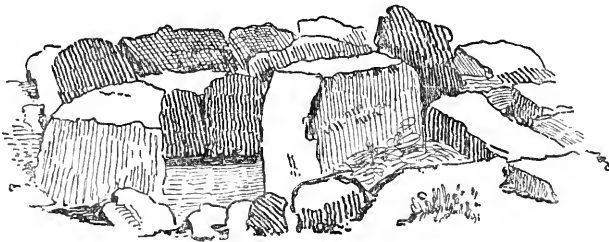
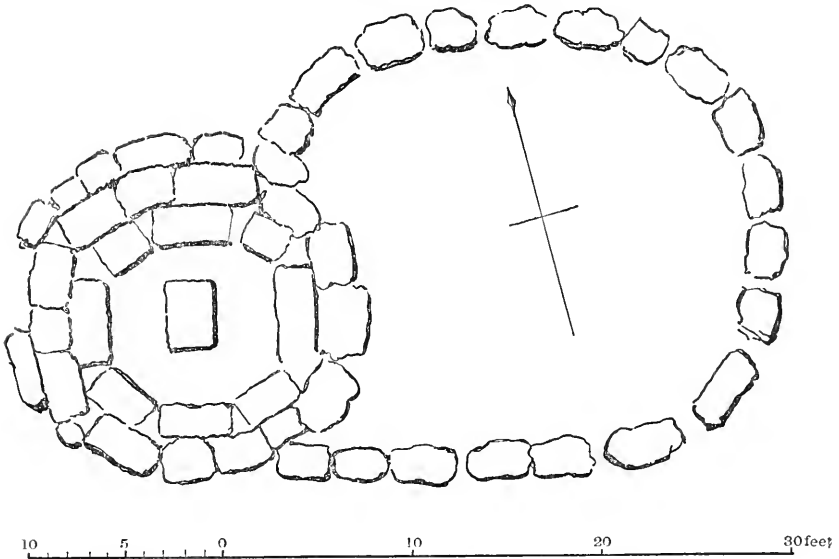
Before visiting this site, we had not come across any very distinct specimens of similar monuments, although remains of a circle of upright stones and one or two isolated stones were found among the dolmen of Hesbân. When, however, we reached 'Ammân we discovered three menhirs in different directions, one 12 ft. high (now fallen), one 8 ft. high (still standing), and a third only 4½ ft. high. The second mentioned had a hollow in one side measuring 9 inches by 5 inches, and 5 inches deep, the third had a cup-shaped hollow in the top, 6 inches in diameter and 4 inches deep. Another isolated stone, 11 ft. long and 5 ft. broad, was afterwards found by Lieutenant Mantell among the dolmens of Kefrein, having a recess in the side 18 inches by 8 inches and 6 inches deep. The object of these niches will be suggested immediately.

Three miles west of El Mareighât is the little plateau which forms the edge of the highlands, and whence a sharp descent leads to the lower plateau over the Dead Sea cliffs. Here 400 feet down the western slope is the spring called 'Ain Minyeh, and on the very edge of the plateau above occurs a row of seven stone monuments, differing in character from those already noticed. The best specimen is the most southern of the group, and this was photographed by Lieutenant Mantell; the rest, which are all within half a mile distance, are clearly of the same construction, though partly destroyed.

A stone, rudely squared, measuring 3 feet 4 inches by 2 feet 5 inches

and 3 feet 6 inches high, stands in the centre of a circle, or rather polygon, of similar rudely dressed stones; the diameter of the structure was about 6 feet, and the side walls, originally two courses in height, were more than 4 feet to the top. On the east a sort of little court, 30 feet across, is formed by a rude circle of rather small stones. By one of these monuments is a flat rock, in which a small trough, 18 inches long, 1 foot broad, and 3 inches deep, has been cut (evidently artificially).

Minyeh Rude Stone Monument.



The name *Mona* (from the same root with *Minyeh*) also applies to a single stone, 8 feet long 3 feet high, which is found further north, close to a group of rude pillars, to be described immediately. The word signifies

“desire” and the stone in question is considered to be a “wishing stone,” where the Arabs of the district (the 'Ajermeh) go to wish for anything they may desire. In the same way 'Ain Minyeh is called the “spring of desire,” because, according to a long legend hereafter to be related, Mâin 'Aly here fainted with thirst, and was instructed by Allah to strike the ground with his spear, when the fountain at once sprang out of the hillside. But while this interpretation of the words Mena and Minyeh is well known to the Arabs, they are not apparently aware of the origin or purpose of the seven stones at Minyeh, which they state to be very old, and call only Rujûm, or “cairns.” They do not appear to hold sacred either these or the other stones at El Mareighât; and they consider the dolmens, as noticed in a previous report, to be haunted by ghosts, and consequently erect stone pillars in their vicinity as a propitiation.

Another monument similar to those at Minyeh was measured by Lieutenant Mantell south of Kefrein. A circle, about 12 feet in diameter, here surrounded a stone, 2 feet 6 inches by 1 foot 6 inches, and 2 feet 6 inches high, the circle consisting of blocks of black limestone, 2 to 3 feet long, rudely squared. It should be noted that these monuments are perfectly distinct from the stone enclosures and platforms which mark the sites of Arab encampments, and which form the primitive Bedawin bedsteads. For those that have seen specimens of both these structures it is impossible to mistake one for the other.

In connection with the dolmens and menhirs stone circles also occur. The largest specimen found is the place called Hadânieh, just above 'Ain Jideid. It is 250 feet in diameter, with walls from 27 feet to 41 feet thick. The survey camp was pitched inside it, as a safeguard against horse thieves, by whom we were disturbed nearly every night. A little modern Arab circle, with its altar door on the west (as noted in my previous report) occurs just outside the great circle on the south-east; and the great ancestor with its diminutive descendant present an interesting and instructive contrast. On Mount Nebo is a similar stone circle of about the same size, with walls 12 feet thick. The stones in both cases are undressed, averaging about 2 feet in length; and appears to have been simply heaped up, and not built into a vertical wall. Two other stone circles were visited by Lieutenant Mantell east of 'Ammân, within a quarter of a mile of one another; they were about 60 feet in diameter, with walls about 18 inches high; approaching more nearly to the circles which the modern Arabs form round the tombs of distinguished chiefs. In one of these circles, and in that at Hadânieh, a central wall along the diameter divides the interior into two portions. The only use which the Arabs could suggest for these structures was that they were formerly “theatres.” They recognize, however, their similarity to the sacred enclosures where they now keep their property above the tomb of an ancestor, and liken the altar gates of their own structures to the cromlechs or *Biât el Ghâl*.

The pillars mentioned at the commencement of this report are called *Serâbît* by the Arabs. The first which we observed was apparently a menhir, 6 feet high, and 2 feet thick at the bottom, tapering slightly and

supported by a column stump on one side. It stands all alone south-east of the ruins of *el 'Al* (Elealah).

Another in the ruined village of *Kufeir Abi Sarbât* is more doubtful, as it may only be a column shaft much worn by time. It is 8 feet high and about 3 feet 9 inches in diameter. It stands at the east end of a sort of courtyard, and no remains of capital or base were found in connection with it. Two other groups west of Heshân are known as *Serâbit el Mushukker* and *Serâbit el Muhattah*. In the one case there are eleven or twelve pillars in a group, but without any particular arrangement; in the other there are about a couple of dozen. The shaft is about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  to 2 feet in diameter and 3 to 8 feet in height. A square base, about 2 feet to 2 feet 3 inches wide and  $1\frac{1}{2}$  foot high, is cut out of the same block with the column. No remains of any building occurs in either case, but the *Hajr el Menâ* above noticed is close by. The pillars might be taken for Roman milestones; but there is no road near them, and the situation is one not likely to have been chosen by Roman engineers for a line of communication. This connection with the "wishing stone" seems to suggest that they may have been monuments of the same class with the menhirs, but constructed by more civilized tribes.

The great cairns found in connection with the rude stone monuments are few in number. They are to be found generally on the tops of hills, round the sides of which the dolmens are grouped; they are of very various shapes, some high, some very flat, and are composed as a rule of stones from 1 foot to 2 feet across, not shaped, but merely gathered from the ground.

The disk-stones referred to in the first paragraph are three in number, and are much like millstones in appearance. Their great size and the absence of any remains of a foundation or other parts of a mill in their vicinity is, however, a reason for regarding them as having some other purpose. The first at *Kufeir Abu Bedd* ("little village of the millstone") is 9 feet 6 inches in diameter, and 1 foot 4 inches thick. It stands up in the middle of the ruins, having been sunk to a depth of 3 feet in the ground; it has no hole in the centre such as is found in ordinary millstones, which are from 2 feet to 4 feet in diameter. The second disk-stone at *el Kueijîyeh* is 6 feet in diameter, and has also no hole in the centre.

The third stone is yet more remarkable; it lies in the Ghor south of *Kefrein*, beside a thorn tree; it is  $10\frac{1}{2}$  feet in diameter, and 3 feet 6 inches thick, being far too large and heavy ever to have been used as a millstone. It is pierced by a cylindrical hole in the middle, 2 feet in diameter. The Arabs call it *Mensef Abu Zeid* "the dish of Abu Zeid," and relate that this mythical hero (one of the black champions of the time before the Prophet) here sacrificed a whole camel, which he gave as a feast to the local Arabs when he was about to leave the Ghôr. The rice was heaped over the camel on the stone in a pile, which must have been 10 feet high, while the *Semen* or melted butter ran down the hole in the middle—a royal feast on a round table, which calls to mind the legend of Arthur in a very suggestive manner.



A few words must now be devoted to the dolmens or cromlechs, which form by far the largest group of the rude stone monuments in Moab. At the Maslûbîyeh group I measured and examined every specimen I found, amounting to 146 in all. The measurements are reduced to a tabular form, and sketches were taken of every monument which remains standing uninjured. Our treatment of the Hesbân and Sûmia groups, and of those at 'Ammân was equally exhaustive; but time did not allow of our attempting excavations, and at el Mareighât and Kefrein we were only able to measure a few selected specimens. It would be most interesting to give further attention to the dolmens, especially to those which have floor stones, for the raising of these great slabs might reveal ancient sepulchres and lead to the recovery of prehistoric remains of a most important character.

The dolmens consist of three, four, five, or six stones; the simplest are those with a table-stone supported on two stone legs. They are in very many cases closed by a stone at one end, and in others they have a floor-stone in addition. One specimen which we found was a large and carefully constructed monument, a perfect chest with top, sides, ends, and floor stone. In size the dolmens vary extremely, from 2 to 6 feet in height, and from 4 feet to 14 feet in breadth of the table-stone. The finish of the work is also very different in the various groups; those at el Mareighât and Maslûbîyeh consist in many cases of stones which have evidently been rudely dressed; and very small stones are introduced between the side stones and end stone, so as to prop the former up more nearly vertical. At 'Ammân most of the dolmens are of flint-conglomerate; in the Jordan valley they are smaller and ruder, being made of dark metamorphic limestone, which is very hard and rough.

But although the gate-like or box-shaped monument is the most typical, it is by no means the only form which occurs in the large groups examined; there are many smaller specimens in which the table stone is supported not by two legs but by stones of smaller size irregularly piled up; in some cases one end rests on the ground, on the steep slope of a hill side, while on the lower side stones are built up high enough to make the top of the table-stone fairly horizontal. It is easy to distinguish these structures from the fallen dolmens of the larger class. Simpler still are the specimens which are to be found at Hesbân, 'Ammân, and el Maslûbîyeh, where a single stone, perhaps only 4 feet long, is propped up by one little stone 8 inches to a foot high. These small tables are nevertheless as distinctly made by human agency as are the great trilithons which occur close to them.

The floor-stones suggest the existence of a grave beneath the dolmen, but in two instances where, by lying down and peeping under, it was possible to see beneath the floor-stone, it was found to lie on hard rock, and no appearance of a trench was seen. The majority of the dolmens, in fact, stand on naked rock, and show no signs of a grave. Many are too small to have contained a human figure within the monument itself, unless it were the body of a child, while the table-stones without side stones are

clearly not intended as sepulchres. The occurrence of the dolmen-gate to the circle of el Mareighât, taken in conjunction with the Arab custom of making a small trilithon, a kind of gate and altar combined, on the west side of their sacred circle, are indications of great interest; but the use of cromlechs as tombs in Western Europe must not be forgotten, and it is possible that the larger monuments with floor-stones may yet prove to be sepulchres.

The cup-shaped hollows are also a most interesting feature of these monuments. We have already seen one case of a menhir with such a hollow. The greater number of dolmens have hollows in the top stone. In many cases these might be thought to be merely worn by the rain, but in others they are very carefully shaped. One example at Sûmieh has five cups varying from 10 inches to 2 inches in diameter. Near el Kueijiyeh is another large dolmen, the top stone measuring  $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet by  $5\frac{1}{2}$  feet, and having 40 holes in all, of which the largest was 10 inches in diameter. Some of these hollows were arranged round the edge of the top surface of this stone; others, near the centre, were connected together by little channels leading towards the outer row of hollows. At 'Ammân a still more instructive example was noted, where the top stone measured 11 feet by 13 feet, with four large shallow basins formed in it; these varied from 2 feet to 1 foot in length, and were about 12 inches deep; a complete network of shallow channels led from the upper edge of the table-stone (which is tilted considerably out of the horizontal) to one hollow in the centre of the table. Traces of other channels were observed, and it seemed clear that the cups were intended to receive some fluid, poured on the stone and allowed to run down from the higher edge. In connection with this detail it is necessary to note that the table-stone of the dolmens is more usually tilted at a slight inclination from the horizontal than arranged quite flat, and this can hardly be accidental, since the side stones are often as before noted propped up in truly vertical position, by small pebbles introduced between the stones. In cases where the table-stone has been held up on one side only by small stones, the other end resting against the hill side, it would seem to have been a simple matter to ensure the horizontal position, but in nearly every case the table is more or less tilted, and this is specially noticeable in the great 'Ammân specimen, the channels of which have just been described, and which has a table-stone resting at one end on the rock surface of the hill, and so tilted as to make any liquid run down the existing channel to the central cup or pool.

Another indication must also not be forgotten, namely, that Lieutenant Kitchener, in 1877, found the name *Hajr ed Dumm* ("stone of blood") applied to a fine cromlech in Upper Galilee.

The cup-shaped hollows are not exclusively found in the table-stones, they often occur in the flat rock surface beside the monument, and in one case the floor-stone had a very well formed cup cut near one end. The Arabs still form such hollows in the rock, and use them as mortars for grinding gunpowder; but their excavations are larger than those near the cromlechs, and are black inside from the powder. Cup-shaped hollows

are common in Palestine on bare rocks, often far away from villages, and have puzzled the Survey Party for many years. They were thought to be small presses for wine, or mortars for pounding the gleanings of wheat which are threshed separately by the women. It is possible, however, that they mark the sites of former groups of dolmens which have been destroyed by the later settled population.

There are no indications of the dolmens having ever been covered by mounds of earth, or cairns of stone. Such cairns would require to be at least 20 feet high in many cases, and the number of cairns of this size still existing in Moab is very small. At el Maslûbiyeh, moreover, there is a line of some twenty dolmens all close together, almost touching each other. The cairn or mound necessary to cover all these would have been of enormous size, and not a trace of such a structure exists. In some cases, however, a circle of stones surrounds the dolmen, and Lieutenant Mantell discovered a group in the Jordan valley, in which every specimen stood on a sort of platform made by a circle of stones sunk flush with the present surface. Heaps of small stones here lay on the ground near the monuments sometimes touching the sides, while, as I have previously reported, heaps of stones and little pillars (Kehâkîr) are still erected by the Arabs in the vicinity of a group of "ghouls' houses" as they call them, just as they are piled up on fallen pillar shafts in any ruined building when held sacred, notably in the little shrine of Jeriyet 'Aly, near the Lake of Homs. The reason for these stone piles we may be able to conjecture immediately.

A few general remarks may be added to the above notes on the dolmens. They have no orientation, but, as Lieutenant Mantell pointed out, they are arranged with the length of the side stone parallel to the contour of the hill side, a position which must have made their construction less difficult, as the table-stone was no doubt slid down hill and pushed over from the nearer side stone to the further. This may also account for the fact that the dolmens appear never to have been built on the *top*, but always on the slope of the hill.

They do not seem to have any specially chosen position, but were rather placed where material was found ready to hand. Thus at 'Ain Jideid there are 156 cromlechs south and east of the spring, but only one on the north; the reason being that the dip of the strata is such that loose rocks and broken cliffs occur on the one side, but a steep uniform slope without cliff on the other. Nevertheless, the group of cromlechs, taken as a whole, seems in every case to be referable to a centre. At 'Ain Jideid this centre is found in the great stone-circle of Hidânieh, already noticed, just above the spring, while on the south the hill top is occupied by a great cairn, and the slopes thickly strewn with cromlechs, and on the east the isolated hill-top of Kueijîyeh with the disk-stone on the very top is in like manner encircled with dolmens.

The cromlechs in the large majority of cases are within easy view of the centre, though this is not quite an invariable rule. The centres occur on high tops, commanding in almost every case a fine view over the Jordan valley, and in every case situate in the immediate vicinity of a

fine stream or spring. In districts where no springs occur, no cromlechs are found, although suitable material could often have been obtained. In the case of el Mareighât the centre is formed by the group of *menhirs* on the knoll above the Zerka springs, for an amphitheatre of hill spurs is here occupied by cromlechs, commanding as a rule a view of the valley; and in nearly every case within sight of the centre. The reason given by the Arabs for the erection of stone heaps near the cromlechs is that a view of Neby Mûsa, west of Jordan, is thence obtained; but we found such heaps occasionally in connection with examples which were not in view of that sanctuary, and the explanation is probably more modern than the custom, and naturally results from the position of the groups within view of the Ghôr. The more intelligent Arabs are ashamed to call the cromlechs "ghouls' houses," but they are no doubt not less free than the rest from a superstitious fear of these places, which may arise from traditions such as still cling to our English Druidic remains.

I have already referred to the curious chambers cut in detached blocks of rock near the dolmen. As a rule they are not more than 4 or 5 feet long: in some cases the door was like that of an ordinary rock-tomb, and seems to have been closed by a slab. In a few cases the chamber within was from 6 to 7 feet long, and presented all the appearance of a single grave or *Koka*. The Arab graves do not resemble either the rock-chambers in question or the dolmens. Women and thieves are interred by piling a cairn of stones over their bodies, or by throwing them into a cave or pit. Many of the survey cairns covered the decaying corpses of women, or of men slain in a fight, or shot while stealing. The men of good position repose in an ordinary grave, dug in earth and provided with a stone at either end. These graves are oriented, and the faithful lies on his right side, with his face to Mecca. On the two end stones *Munker* and *Nukr*, like *Isis* and *Nephtys* in Egypt, will sit in judgment on his soul. A holy man has his tomb surrounded by a circle, with an altar gate placed on the west (except among the *Zabi* tribe from *Haurân*, who place the entrance on the south or east). The great *Sheikhs* (like the late *Fendi el Fâiz*, who lies buried in the Ghôr, amid his old enemies the 'Adwân, at the place where he died while on a journey) are covered by a monument of stone 10 feet high, the top being an apparent imitation of a sarcophagus lid. On the sides of such tombs, strictly in contradiction to Moslem custom, are sculptures rudely representing a horseman, a bow, a coffee-mill, with cups, spoon, and jug, thus symbolising alike the prowess and liberality of the defunct. After examining many sites, both east and west of Jordan, where a tomb is made by carving a rock sarcophagus on the top of an isolated rock knoll, so as to make a conspicuous monument with very little trouble, I cannot but think that the white Arab tombs, on the tops of tells, are imitations of the sarcophagus of the Greek or Roman period on its rocky height.

It is clear, therefore, that the cromlechs and the accompanying rock chambers have no connection with ordinary Arab graves. To return to the former, the cromlechs or dolmens were not found to contain any

sculptures, names, or inscriptions. A few Arab tribe-marks were found on one or two of the menhirs, and copied—they belong to tribes in the immediate vicinity, but the cromlechs were apparently quite without any sculpture either within or without. In the Roman tombs of 'Ammân, on the other hand, the tribe marks (some apparently very old) are carved as thickly as possible. I shall have occasion in a future report to explain why the Arabs place tribe-marks on certain buildings. They appear to be signs of "good luck," and it is therefore not unnatural that they should be absent from the "ghouls' houses," which are supposed to be far from propitious places.

To sum up the results of this rapid analysis of the Moabite rude stone monuments, so far as they themselves indicate their own origin. We find stone *cippi* of two kinds, one upright, from 4 to 12 feet high, the other cubical, and generally surrounded by a stone circle. These are both rare, and the only places where they occur in numbers are at al Mareighât and 'Ain Minyeh respectively, or within three miles of one another. There are, however, a few others south of the Zerka M'ain, as yet not visited, including, I believe, a monument not unlike Stonehenge, in Wâdy Wâleh. The disk-stones, the groups of rude *tums* or *hermai*, and the single menhirs, are also not numerous, while the cairns and circles are found in greater numbers, according to Canon Tristram, south of the Zerka M'ain. The dolmens occur at certain sites by hundreds, and from their position and numbers and their floor-stones in some cases, together with the use (or re-use) of dolmens as tombs in Europe, may be regarded as representing prehistoric cemeteries, near sacred hills and springs. On the other hand, it is clear that many of them are merely tables or rude altar stones propped up for the offering of victims, and that the cup-shaped hollows with the channels are most probably intended for libations of wine, or of blood, poured over the slanting surface of the table-stone. The use of diminutive dolmens among the Arabs as gates to sacred circles, and the occurrence of such a gate at el Mareighât, must also be borne in mind; and the connection of the Galilean specimen with the idea of a bloody sacrifice.

It must, however, here be noted that the Moslem tombs in all Syria have in their roofs or flat tops two cup-shaped hollows, sometimes enlarged and filled with mould (in which roses or other flowers are grown), but generally small, and containing only a little dew or rain water, for thirsty birds or the sacred doves, whom the deceased is thus able to show charity towards even after his death. It is very remarkable that this custom is also still prevalent in Brittany among the Christian peasantry; or just in one of these districts where some of the finest specimens of European dolmens with cup-shaped hollows occur.

By glancing at the history of stone monuments in the East, we may, however, be able to understand better the origin of those found in Moab. The following notes are due to a study of the works of Sir William Muir, M. F. Lenormant, and other Oriental authorities; but I am unfortunately unable at the present moment to consult Mr. J. Fergusson's beautiful book

on rude stone monuments, having left the book in England. I hope to be able to correct and supplement this report at a future period, after reference to this great architectural authority.

It is a fact beyond dispute that the Arabs before the time of Mohammed consecrated stones as idols, or emblems of their divinities. To these monuments they gave the name *Nusb* (Pl. *Ansab*), which is the same title still applied to the great menhir called Hajr Mansub, and radically connected with the Hebrew **מַצֵּבָה** or "pillar," such as that which Jacob anointed with oil (Gen. xxxviii, 18), or the "great stone" which Joshua set up near Shechem under an oak (Josh. xxiv, 26), which is mentioned later as the "oak of the *pillar* that was in Shechem" (Judges ix, 6). The black stone of Venus at Mecca, and the red stone of her companion Hobal, the stones of Asáf and Nailah, and that of Khalasah, near the Kabah, are among the most famous Arab examples, and it is very remarkable that the red stone of Hobal is said to have been actually brought from the Belka, that is from Moab to Mecca.

Such stone worship was, moreover, of great antiquity in Arabia. The Nabatheans at Petra worshipped a square black stone before the Christian era, and Herodotus (iii, 8) speaks of seven stones which the Arabs swore by and sprinkled with blood. Antoninus Martyr (600 A.D.) was shown such a stone in Horeb, and the existing *Sakhrak* at Jerusalem must not be forgotten, for the Arabs consecrated both rocks and cubical stones alike to *Allât* or *Mena*.

Seven stones stood once in the valley of Mena, where three still form part of the objects of Haj ritual. Seven stones also surrounded the Kaabah, and Arab authorities state that they were smeared with the blood of sacrifices—a practice mentioned in early Arab poetry, while it is also alluded to by Herodotus. Bishop Porphyry, of Gaza, in the 5th century, says that the Arabs of Duma used annually to sacrifice a child and bury it at the foot of a *cippus*. It appears probable, therefore, that the human sacrifices which we read of in Moab at so late a period continued to be offered in Arabia almost as late as the time of Mohammed.

The worship of stones, especially *cippi*, can be carried back, however, much further. Pagan customs, which date back 3000 B.C., continued to be observed in Palestine until at least the 6th century A.D. Marna at Gaza (whose statue was lately found) was worshipped as late as 500 A.D., and we hear of the worship of Venus at Ascalon and Aceho (in the Talmud) down to the same period. Tammuz had a grove at Bethlehem in the fourth century A.D. The sacred fishes of Venus are still held sacred at Aere and at Tripoli, and human sacrifice is still said to exist among the Perso-Gnostic sects of Northern Syria, who have stone altars still existing in sacred groves, like those of the Druids of our own country. In the same way the Arab stone worship can be traced back to Assyria, for in the temple of Oruk, in Chaldea, seven black stones are noticed, in a cuneiform text, as having been worshipped. Among the Phœnicians the "stones with souls," called *Betulia*, formed an important religious feature, and appear to have been, like the Arab stone monuments, at once idol and altar. Two

“ambrosial” stones are mentioned on Phœnician coins, and were believed to exist under the sea near Tyre.

Greece adopted stone idols from Asia, as she adopted many other Asiatic emblems, and the stone of Hermes formed the original prototype of the beautiful statuary of Athens. At Seleucia, near Antioch, were found the “*lapides qui divi dicuntur*,” and at Emesa and Laodicea black stones were adored. The “stone which fell from Heaven” at Ephesus is mentioned in the New Testament.

The ancient Arabs worshipped only two deities in common—one male, one female—amid many others peculiar to various tribes. These two, *Allah* and *Allât*, representing Saturn and Jupiter on one side, Venus and the moon on the other, were symbolised by two different kinds of stone monuments. Those of the male deity were *cippi* or standing stones with a rounded summit, those of the female deity were cubical blocks. Thus at the Taif sanctuary a white cubical stone symbolised *Allât*, while in Greece the same distinction existed between the pillar of Hermes and the cubical stone of Cybele.

It appears, therefore, that the two kinds of monuments found near one another at al Mareighât and at Minyeh answer exactly to the two varieties of stones worshipped by the ancient Pagans. The cup-shaped hollow in the *cippus* at 'Ammân is a most interesting feature in connection with the libations of blood poured over such stones; and the name Mareighât, “smeared,” may refer to this practice, though the connection of the site with a tradition of an oil-press may rather suggest that they were smeared with oil, reminding us of Jacob's stone of Bethel, of the ambrosial stones of Tyre, and of similar “stones of unction” in India not less than in Jerusalem. But we see further that these monuments may have been erected long before the time of Arab history, and may quite well belong to the old idolatry of Moab; for the Arabs of the district, though belonging to one of the oldest of the Belka tribes, have apparently no tradition in connection with these monuments, and have no veneration for them.

The *cippus* was the proper emblem of the Moabite deity Baal Peor, who with the female Asherah answers in general character to the Arab Allah and Allât. The ritual of his worship, as described by Maimonides, has striking analogies with the worship of the stones Asaf and Nailah before the time of Islam, and although the name of Baal Peor no longer survives, it would appear most proper to assign him a sanctuary at the only site in Moab where the *cippi* occur in great numbers.

The name Minyeh, and the existence of seven cubical stones in circles at the spot, alike point to this locality—only three miles distant from the fomer—as being sacred to a female deity like the Asherah or “grove,”—the couple of Baal Peor. The name *Meni* is one of the titles of *Allât* or Venus among the early Arabs.

*Meni* and *Gad* appear as an idolatrous couple in the Bible (Is. lxxv, 11), answering to the two “fortunes” of ancient mythology, Jupiter and Venus. To them the Israelites “prepared a table” (perhaps a rude stone altar), and

“furnished a drink offering” (perhaps of blood), and it is striking to find the name Jideid, from the root *Jedd* (approaching the name Gad), applying to the next great group of rude stone monuments that occur north of Minyeh. The name Minai, or “Venus worshippers” (enchanters and fortune tellers), was applied by the Jews to various heretical sects, and to the Christians of Capernaum, as I have shown in “Tent Work in Palestine.” The moon was adored at a sacred rock near Medineh, under the name *Menât*, from the same root, and the sacred stone of Khalasah (“refuge”) near Mecca, stood in the valley of *Mena*. We have also seen that the stone of *Mena*, or “desire,” is of the kind symbolising the female deity *Allât*, and occurring in connection with *cippi* north of Minyeh. The recesses in the sides of these stones, described on an earlier page, seem to resemble the little niches in sacred caves in Palestine, where the peasants place figs, pomegranate blossoms, fragments of blue earthenware or glass, as offerings to the local divinity. It was the male deity to whom bloody sacrifices were offered, and we find no cup-shaped hollows in the cubical stones, though they occur sometimes on neighbouring rocks.

It may be thought that the *cippi* thus described are perhaps only boundary stones, but the connection between such stones and the old stone idols is very close. The *herme*, which formed the earliest mile-stones, were but emblems of Hermes (the nocturnal deity), and the stone of Ebenezer, even in the Bible, was at once a sacred monument, and a boundary of the country conquered from the Philistines.

It appears, therefore, probable from a study of existing names and monuments, that the sites of Mareighât and Minyeh represent two ancient centres of the worship of Baal and Ashtoreth, of Baal Peor and Asherah.

There is another curious name in this vicinity, viz., el Maslûbiyeh, the hill south of 'Ain Jideid, which is covered with dolmens. It signifies “crucifixion,” and is not understood by the Arabs, so far as we could ascertain. There is a good deal which is curious in connection with crosses east of Jordan. One Arab tribe of the Beni Sakhr clan, are said to have a cross for their tribe mark. At 'Ammân I found a slab with a large Byzantine cross in a circle carefully placed in the side of an Arab tomb as an ornament (which is quite contrary to ordinary Moslem ideas). At Hesbân, also, we found a head-stone to a modern grave, ornamented with a rude bust having a cross beneath, apparently Bedawin work. Considering, however, the early conversion of the Beni Ghassan Arabs of the Haurân to Christianity; the remains of so many Byzantine ruins in the Belka (although with most remarkably few churches); and the survival of a Greek congregation at Kerch, holding the most extraordinary views of their own, it seems probable that the name Maslûbiyeh is of Christian origin, and connected with the great lintel bearing a Greek cross, which lies in the valley to the north close to 'Ain Jideid.

The stone circles which have been noticed above resemble those found by Palgrave in Arabia, of which one in Jebel Shomer was connected with the astronomical cult of Dârim. A similar cromlech is said to exist on the



Eleusinian, viâ Sacra, and it is very curious that the term "gal-gal" is applied in Brittany to heaps of rolled stones near cromlechs. A learned authority in Edinburgh has lately written to point out to me the connection between the trilithon dolmens and the "sacred gates" of Eastern Asia, with the stones beneath or between which the superstitious still crawl in Germany, and thus with "wishing gates" (as in the Lake District), and with the pillars, in the Jerusalem Haram and elsewhere, between which the believer must squeeze in order to attain to Paradise. This is a very abstruse mythological question, the meaning of the ceremony being, however, made clear by students of Indian and Egyptian myths, but it is sufficient here to point out that the miniature cromlech is still used as the door of the sacred enclosure by the Arabs, and that a cromlech adjoins the circle at el Mareighât in a precisely similar manner.

The doors of the modern circles are, however, used as altars as well, and when we consider the structure of those monuments already described, with tilted table-stones and channels leading to cup-shaped hollows, it seems only natural to conclude that many, if not all, the rude stone monuments with a broad "table" or top stone were used—if not originally constructed—as altars. That human sacrifices were most probably offered on the dolmens, and that the "blood which is the life" of the victim was collected in the hollows, and perhaps served to sprinkle the congregation.

The use of great stones for the sacrifice of animals is mentioned in the Old Testament, when Saul commanded, "roll a great stone unto me this day" (1 Sam. xiv, 33), the people having transgressed in their hunger by eating "with the blood;" and it seems not impossible that this stone was the altar mentioned immediately after, as built by Saul to Jehovah.

The cup-shaped hollows are, however, found as before stated on modern tombs. In Finland, a great stone was believed to exist on some mythical hill, wherein were hollows into which the magician charmed the diseases of his patients. In the face of learned opinion, which is in favour of the theory that dolmens were originally used as tombs, and in face of the fact that they are actually found to have been used as such in Brittany, it may appear bold to revert to the idea that dolmens were altars, but we know that human sacrifices to the Manes were often offered on tombs—as is mentioned in the Iliad, and this may perhaps serve to reconcile the two views in a certain degree. The Moabite dolmens, however, do not seem to show much evidence of having been tombs, while in many cases—at all events, as regards the flat slabs, propped up on one side, they present exactly the appearance of such a "table" as was spread to Gad, or to the savage Chemosh of Dibon, pacified by the blood of human victims.

I have written fully on the question of these monuments, not only on account of the interest of the subject, but also in support of the view put forward in a previous report on Nebo, in which I suggested that the dolmens on Nebo might have some connection with the story of Balaam and Balak—an idea which might perhaps be thought to be a hasty

surmise. Considering how constantly the seven stones appear in Assyrian, Phœnician, and Arab Pagan ritual as seven altars (sometimes with an eighth of larger size), it is not unnatural to connect the seven altar-like structures which still remain on the high place of Minyeh, with the seven altars built on each of those heights in succession by Balak. They were constructed rapidly, and from materials on the spot, and they stood on the slopes apparently, and not on the tops of the hills. The seven cubical stones at Minyeh seem undoubtedly to have belonged to the worship of seven planets, and of the great goddess Allât, the chief of all. In the ceremonies of the Haj, the number (seven) in the same way continually recurs in every action of the pilgrim, and the seven stones are found in Assyria from the earliest times of planetary worship.

Another very curious question relates to the cairns and to the piles of stones found round some of the cromlechs, as well as beside many roads in Palestine and Syria, for it refers to one of the most curious, and perhaps inexplicable peculiarities of the Semitic idolatry and of Greek mythology.

St. Jerome, in translating the words "as he that bindeth a stone in a sling, so is he that giveth honour to a fool" (Prov. xxvi, 8), by the expression, "Like him who throws a stone on the back of Mercury," has shown an intimate acquaintance with Semitic idolatry—surviving in his own days at Bethlehem—and has supplied a very forcible parallel which is missed in the English text: for the worship of a deity by throwing stones at him seems a very senseless worship, but is nevertheless alluded to very often in the Talmud, and by Maimonides (on *Aboda Zarah*, &c.). The Rabbis use the expression *Marculim*—a corruption of Mercury—as the name of the deity thus worshipped. The Hebrew **בְּמַרְגְּמָה** rendered "in a sling," is more probably "on a heap;" and the name *Merjemeh*, in Palestine, still denotes a hill-top covered with a cairn. Maimonides says that *Markulim* was worshipped by "throwing little stones," and in Greece, a heap of stones by a wayside was called *Hermaion*, in memory of the stones thrown by the Gods at *Hermes* when he killed *Argus*. The throwing of stones was the last ceremony of the Eleusinian mysteries, and of other feasts, and the same practice is observed to the present day, for the Jews throw stones at the so-called tomb of *Absalom* near Jerusalem, and the Mecca pilgrims throw stones at the three surviving stone monuments in the valley of *Mena*—in memory, they say, of the stones thrown at *Eblis* by *Abraham*, or by *Adam*, in this same valley. It may be noted that it is always a nocturnal or infernal deity to whom this rite attaches. *Hermes* was the Vedic *Saramaya* (according to *Gubernatis*), the watch-dog of night and Hell—the messenger of the gods. *Eblis* is the Arab *satan*, and the stone heaps near *Horus* commemorate the grave of the black slave of *Imâm 'Aly*. To the old stone deity who swallowed stones, stones were a not inappropriate offering, and the Arabs still place small pieces of basalt, or coloured sandstone, as an offering on their small gate altars.

The *cippus* formed the nucleus round which these stone offerings

collected, and gradually a cairn was formed which covered the original stone.

It is instructive to notice, therefore, the enormous cairns which cover the summits of Jebel Neba and Jebel Attârûs, both apparently bearing the names of the Assyrian Mercury, while the small stone pillars near the cromlechs, and the heaps of small stones, sometimes surrounding these structures, and sometimes piled beside a road in their vicinity, may perhaps be attributed to the same origin. That they have been artificially collected at the spot there is no doubt, while at the same time it is tolerably certain that they never existed in sufficient numbers to form cairns covering the cromlechs.

A few words may, in conclusion, be said respecting the identification of the three great centres of rude stone monuments south of Hesbân, namely, at el Maslûbiyeh above Wâdy Jideid at el Mareighât, and at Mînyeh, and of that in the Ghôr near Kefrein. The first, I am inclined to suppose, represents the Bamoth Baal of the Old Testament; the second Baal Peor; the third, the "top of Baal Peor which looketh towards Jeshimon;" and the fourth, the sanctuary of Baal Peor in the Jordan valley, where the Israelites worshipped while in Shittim. Excluding the smaller centres belonging to Heshbon—which had naturally its own sacred places, there are just four centres in this part of Moab, and all four are mentioned in the Bible, which, moreover, does not appear to refer to any more centres of Baal worship in this district.

Nebo, Bamoth Baal, and the western top of Peor, were the three heights whence Balaam is related to have looked down on Israel. Of these Nebo is fortunately fixed by the survival of the names *Neba* and *Sufa* (for Zophim); but no satisfactory suggestion seems to have been yet made for the other two sites. Bamoth Baal has, indeed, been placed by one writer at Maîn; but this is an unfortunate suggestion, because the ridge west of that place entirely hides out the view even of the cis-Jordanic hills, and no view of the Ghôr can be obtained until the ridge has been followed westward about five miles. An impossible site has also been suggested for Baal Peor in the Speaker's Commentary at *Naur*, which is much too far north to suit the Biblical description.

The relative position of the three high places can be pretty clearly deduced from a comparison of the various passages in which they are mentioned. Bamoth Baal was one of those stations at which the Israelites halted on their way from Arnon to the vicinity of Mount Nebo. The distance is some twenty miles between these extreme points, and is divided into five marches, averaging only four miles each. This may appear a very short day's journey, but considering that it was an advance in an enemy's country which is described (Num. xxi, 13-20), encumbered by flocks and herds, women and children, tents and baggage, it appears a very probable rate of progress. It would have been controlled also by the question of water supply, and practically it represents just about the distance which an Arab tribe of the present day will march in changing their encampments according to the seasons. It may be remarked in

passing, that this rate of progress forms a striking comment on the theory of Dr. Brugsch, which would make the Israelites march no less than *forty* miles in one day when leaving Egypt.

The last but one of the five marches brought the Israelites to Bamoth ("the high place"), which is presumably the Bamoth Baal of the later episode. It is specially described as *Bamoth ha gûa*, "Bamoth of the ravine" (verse 20), and should be placed four or five miles south of the western extremity of the Nebo ridge, "the top of Pisgah which looketh towards Jeshimon." The identification of the remaining stations serves to confirm this conclusion, for, after leaving Arnon, the Israelites are said to have halted successively at Beer, Mattanah, Nahaliel ("the valley of God"), Beer ("the well") appears from another passage to have been Dibon (xxxiii, 45), between which and the position of Bamoth Baal there are two principal valleys to be crossed, each containing a fine perennial stream, namely, Wâdy Wâleh, which we may identify with Mattanah, and the Zerka Maîn, which would represent Nahaliel, "the valley of God." The route thus suggested is the main high road from Kerak northwards, which the Israelites only leave when diverting their steps to the main road leading down past Nebo to the plains of Shittim. The route would consequently be as follows:—

HEBREW.	ARABIC.	MILES.	WATER SUPPLY.
Arnon	.... <i>Wâdy Mojib</i>	.... 0	Stream in valley.
Beer	.... <i>Dhibân</i>	.... 3	A spring well (see Num. xxi, 18).
Mattanah	.... <i>Wâdy Wâleh</i>	.... 4	Stream in valley.
Nahaliel	.... <i>W. Zerka Maîn</i>	.... 5	" "
Bamoth Baal	<i>Wâdy Jideid</i>	... 5	" "
Pisgah	.... <i>Siâghah</i>	.... 4	Springs of 'Ayûn Musa.

The valley by the "high places" (Bamoth) would thus be Wâdy Jideid, which is a great ravine, answering well to the description *Gûa* in the Hebrew.

Baal Peor is not mentioned in connection with this route; it was therefore apparently not on the line of march, and, indeed, it seems clearly to have been further west, because in an enumeration of the towns of Moab, it occurs in the same group with AshdOTH, Pisgah ('Ayûn Mûsa), and Beth Jeshimoth (Sûlimeh in the Jordan valley). It is closely connected with Beth Jeshimoth in other passages, for Israel while approaching the Jordan valley is described as "in the valley over against Beth Peor, (בגיא מול בית פעור) and their camps extended, as we have from another passage (Num. xxxiii, 49), "from Beth Jeshimoth to Abel Shittim," by which latter the later Jewish commentators understand Kefrein to be intended. They spread, in fact, over all the fertile basin of the Ghôr es Seisebân opposite to the corresponding plains of Jericho. Whether the valley over against Beth Peor is the same as that valley in which Moses

was buried, to which the same description (with exactly the same Hebrew words) is applied (Deut. xxxiv, 6), is an interesting question.

In the account of Balaam's visit to Baal Peor there is another indication of importance. From the top of Pisgah he saw only a part of the Israelite encampments (Num. xxiii, 13-14), from Bamoth Baal he also saw only a part of the people (xxii, 41), but from Baal Peor we may infer that since setting his face towards the wilderness (Midbar), he "saw Israel abiding in his tents, according to his tribes," the whole of the encampments were in view (xxiv, 2). This point of view is, moreover, described as the "top of Peor that looketh towards Jeshimon" (xxiii, 28), and Jeshimon we know from the history of David, to have been the desert west of the Dead Sea. The place whence Moses is said to have viewed the Promised Land was "the top of Pisgah, over against Jericho" (Deut. xxxiv), and these careful descriptions appear to give the *latitudes* of the two ridges of Nebo and Peor. This western top of Peor is also called **הַנִּשְׁקָה**, "that which looks out" or "projects" towards (Desenim), which applies well to this prominent spur.

If this strict interpretation of the Biblical expressions be correct, we have the following data for fixing the site of the Peor ridge :—

1. It must extend far enough west to command a view of all the Ghôr es Seisebân, including the vicinity of Sulimeh (Beth Jeshimoth).

2. It must be south of the latitude of the Jericho plains, so as to be east of the Jeshimon or Western desert.

3. It must still be in the vicinity of the springs of Pisgah (Ashdath Pisgah), and of the valley where Israel encamped when debouching into the Ghôr from the Nebo ridge.

4. It must not be on the line of the Israelite march to Nebo from Arnon.

These requirements are all met by the site of Minyeh, where the seven stone altars occur. It is distant about 7 miles south-west of Nebo, and between the two is the lofty ridge of the Maslûbiyeh, rising immediately above 'Ain Jideid, and distant at its highest summit  $3\frac{1}{4}$  miles from Siâghah, the western end of the Nebo ridge. From Nebo or Siâghah, and from Maslûbiyeh, the greater part of the Ghôr es Seisebân (or plain of Shittim) is seen, but neither commands so extensive a view as does the Minyeh ridge, because the latter pushes out further west, and because a great shelf or lower plateau, which extends from the Dead Sea cliff eastwards to the foot of the higher ridges, hides out the vicinity of Beth Jeshimoth ('Ain Sulimeh) from the northern points of view. At Minyeh the traveller looks over this shelf, and the green patch surrounding 'Ain Sûlimeh is clearly seen. From Siâghah or Neba, and from Maslûbiyeh, therefore, only part of the Israelite host would be seen, while from Minyeh the whole host would be descried.

We are thus able by arguments quite independent of each other, to indicate the probable position of Nebo (where the name is preserved) of Bamoth Baal (the halting place immediately south of Nebo) and of Baal

Peor (from its latitude and its view), on the three successive ridges which may be seen running out one beyond the other on the south and south-east as one stands in the Ghôr at Kefreïn, namely, those spurs which are now known as Siâghah or Neba, Maslûbiyeh, and Minyeh.

As regards the modern names, Siâghah is identical with Seath, which the Targum of Onkelos substitutes for Nebo. Maslûbiyeh is a name probably of Christian origin, but the name Jideid applying to the valley on the north may indicate an old title, Baal Gad, applying to this high ridge. Minyeh we have seen to be derived from Meni, the name of a goddess, whose symbol was the Asherah, or grove, who was the proper couple of Baal-Peor, and was also connected in another aspect (that of "fortune" as contrasted with that of "desire") with Baal Gad. It is possible, also, that the specification of a particular *Rosh* or "top" in connection with Peor and with Nebo, may be due to the existence of two sites on either ridge which might be confused. Thus the top of Pisgah whence Moses viewed the land "over against Jericho" is distinct, as many writers have pointed out, from the actual summit of Nebo to the east, and is to be placed at Siâghah. In the same way we may take the "top of Peor over against Jeshimon" as distinct from Beth Peor itself, and we find, as has been pointed out earlier, two sites on this ridge, one at Minyeh, and the second further east, at the curious sacred place of el Mareighât, which was probably not visited by Balak for the simple reason that it has no view over the Jordan valley.

As regards the valley "over against Beth Peor" where Moses was buried, the Targum of Onkelos believed it to be near Seath or Siâghah, and these two indications, together with that given by the fact that the Israelites encamped in this ravine when marching towards the plains of Shittim, may perhaps be best reconciled by supposing Wâdy Jideid to be intended.

There appears to be a reason, moreover, why three places should have been successively visited by Balaam. The Canaanite mythology seems, like that of Phœnicia or Egypt, Assyria or India, to have recognized a triad of divinities, one the representative of Chronos or Ouranos, an ancient and wrathful deity (Moloch, Milcorn or Chemosh, Anu, Eliun, Brahma), appeased by human sacrifice and worshipped at cairns of stone; the second female (Astareth or Asherah, Ea, Istar, Astarte or Vishnu), whose shrines were circles with stones of cubical form; the third a younger deity, often identified with the Sun (Peor, Tammuz, Adonis, or Siva), to whom the menhir or *cippus* was specially consecrated. The shrine of each of these was visited in turn, Nebo being consecrated to Moloch, Bamoth Baal to Baal Gad or Baal Peor, and Minyeh on the western top of Peor to Ashtareth or Meni. At each of these places the seven planetary deities who, in the Chaldean system grouped beneath the great triad, were invoked, and at each place probably the form of altar or of idol would differ.

It cannot but be considered very striking, that the three sites thus indicated as representing the three high places of Balak and Balaam, should

prove to be the very places where stone altars, dolmens, and menhirs are now found. If the dolmens were altars, it is evident that the Moabites must have had the custom which we know to have prevailed among the Israelites in Saul's time, of building a fresh altar on every occasion of a great sacrifice on the spot, just as Balak built his altars at command of Balaam.

If some of these monuments must be regarded as tombs (although it seems impossible that all of the table stone structures can have had this purpose), it seems that the great men of the tribes must have been buried at sacred centres, just as the modern Arab graves are gathered round some venerated shrine, and that the table stones served as altars on which sacrifices to the Manes were offered, just as the modern altar gate serves for offerings at the modern Arab grave of a holy man. It is impossible to point out, perhaps, the very altars erected at the three "high places" by Balak among the countless monuments which are to be found at these places, but there appears good evidence to show that it is to rude stone monuments of this kind, and at these sites, that the Biblical narrative refers.

A few words must finally be devoted to the remaining group of rude stone monuments in the plains of Shittim. These also seem to be mentioned in the Bible. When Israel abode in Shittim they were tempted by the daughters of Moab to worship the Moabite gods (Num. xxv, 1-3). Baal Peor is explicitly mentioned, and the clear reference to the *hierodoulai* (Kodeshoth), who were specially consecrated in Phœnicia, in Assyria, and even among the earliest Accadians or Chaldeans to the goddess Ishtar, makes it evident that Asherah or Meni was one of the idols whom they were induced to worship.

We can, however, hardly imagine that they returned to the shrines of Peor or Meni on the mountain tops, and seek rather for some high place close to the plains of Shittim. This we find in the rude stone monuments which cover the lower spurs between Wādy Kefrein and Wādy Hesbān, where among the dolmens we have discovered a circle with a cubical stone altar such as was dedicated to Meni, and at least one, if not more, of the *cippi* which symbolized Peor.

Leaving these considerations for the judgment of the readers of this report, I will in conclusion only urge that there appears to be enough evidence to make this question of more than mere antiquarian interest.

In a future report I shall endeavour to collect and explain the numerous traditions and tales which we found current among the Arabs of Moab, with the origin and affinities of their tribe marks and of some of their customs.

I have also to give an account of our discoveries at 'Ammān and 'Arāk el Emīr, and of the results of two long visits paid to the Siloam tunnel since our return west of Jordan.

C. R. C.

## XI.

## ON SOME ARAB FOLK-LORE TALES.

JERUSALEM, 10th January, 1882.

AMONG the objects included in the original prospectus of the Fund, was the collection of native traditions in Palestine, together with the manners and customs of the peasantry. This was a subject to which Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake gave constant attention, and concerning which M. Clermont Ganneau has given many valuable indications. An attempt to give a general sketch of the subject is made in the last chapters of "Tent Work in Palestine," and in some of the special papers published in the *Memoirs of the Western Survey*. We were, however, always somewhat disappointed at the scarcity of traditions which we were able to collect, and at the uninteresting character of those related by the Fellahm. This may be due in part to the unwillingness of the peasantry to repeat stories which most of the Franks in the country treat with ridicule, or to the fact that the knowledge of such legends is confined to a few old men and women, and is gradually dying out; but the results of careful inquiry during the present year have convinced me that the main reason is that myths, legends, and folk-lore tales are not widely spread or popular among the Fellahin, and I hope to be able in the present report to show the reasons of this deficiency.

As soon as the 'Adwân and other Arabs east of Jordan, among whom we have been living for three months, became aware that we were interested in their traditions, and received their stories without laughing at them, they became very communicative, and related various tales to be mentioned immediately; but during the spring I attempted, by the same treatment, to induce the Fellahin to relate legends of their sacred places with signal want of success, for although the Sheiks and others thus interrogated were very well disposed, they seemed unable to give any more information than is found in the bare names of places such as "Noah's ark," "Samson's tomb," &c., while some stories which have been supposed genuine native myths turn out, on careful examination, to have been originally related to the peasantry by educated Christians, forming quite modern perversions of the Biblical narrative.

The first story related by the 'Adwân is connected with the spring called 'Ain Jideid, on the south side of Mount Nebo. Here in a deep valley surrounded by crumpled rocks, and with an enormous stone circle on the cliff above, is a clear brook flowing out from beneath a group of great boulders. Close to the source is a lintel stone with a Greek cross, perhaps brought down from the neighbouring church at the ruin of Siâghah. On a rock a little to the north is a rude Arabic inscription. The legend relates that a young beauty named Ghareiseh ("palm") loved a young man named Zeid ("increase"), who belonged to a tribe of



local Arabs which was in hereditary feud with her own. At the spring of 'Ain Jidead they used to meet, and here she arranged to fly with her lover, whom she concealed in a box placed on a camel. His relations, however, became suspicious, owing to some peculiarity or movement (I could not quite understand which) of the box, and on opening it and finding the concealed youth, they became furious and killed both the lovers on the spot; Ghareiseh before her death, however, managed to scrawl on the rock the existing writing (which the Arabs cannot read, and which appears only to be a rough enumeration of proper names barely legible in a few parts) while, as she fell her hand rested on the lintel stone, and imprinted on its hard surface the well-cut cross and circle which to the sceptic appear to have been the work of a Byzantine mason.\*

The impression of the hand on rock is an idea commonly found in Palestine, and not less in India: in the finger print of Gabriel on the sacred rock at Jerusalem, among Moslems, not less than in those sacred footprints in Jerusalem, and the numerous prints of hands, heads, and bodies, which are shown by the Latin monks at Nazareth or 'Ain Kârim.

The footprint of the Prophet on the Sakhrah is known to have been shown in the 12th century as that of Christ, but the idea is not exclusively Christian (or rather Monkish), for without considering the foot of Buddha in India, we have a sacred footprint in the mosque at Baalbek, and another in Moab, which has been previously noted by Colonel Warren.

This latter example can hardly owe its origin to the monks, and is of peculiar interest, occurring beside the main road from Heshbon to Kerak, not far from Nebo. It is not surrounded or covered by any buildings, and its position is only marked by two small piles of stones, one on each side. The flat piece of rock in which it is found gets constantly covered with earth, and it is considered a pious duty to brush away the dust and clean the print whenever passing the spot. The print is a natural erosion of the rock surface, measuring 20 inches long, and beside it on the stone is a smaller artificial replica, carved by the Arabs, though with what object we could not ascertain. The print is supposed to have been made by a prophetess known as the *Turkomanîyeh* or Turkoman woman, when she mounted her camel at this place on her journey to Mecca.

\* In this story there are several points which will interest mythologists. The lovers of two contending families remind us of Romeo and Juliet, whose history under an eastern garb is said to exist also in Western Palestine. The young man slain in the box has striking points of resemblance to Osiris cut in pieces in his coffin, and to many other solar heroes in arks, chests, and coffins. The lovers flying together resemble the pair (Phrixos and Helle) who fly on the ram or bull from the enemy, the tyrant or the monster, by whom they are persecuted—a story spread all over Asia, and found among the Slavs and the Calmucs in Russia.

I am informed that this prophetess is a well-known legendary character, but we have never heard of her before or since, and I was unable to discover her name, though one Arab appeared to believe that it was Ralil or Rachel.

The earliest possessor of a sacred foot appears to have been Vishnu (the Indian Neptune), of whom Buddha was the final incarnation according to the Brahmins, and of whom, according to some mythologists, the Pope is the Western representative—still distinguished by a sacred foot. Footprints are, however, constantly connected with female saints, Vishnu himself being essentially a feminine deity.

On proceeding southwards to Ain Minyeh, we made the acquaintance of Abu Wundi, chief of the 'Awâzim Arabs, a most jovial elder, who appeared to delight in relating long legends of the vicinity. Two stories of great importance were told to me by him, and I afterwards collected them more precisely from others. The first relates to the famous Aly Ibn Abu Taleb, the "lion of God," the son-in-law of the Prophet, and his true successor according to the Shi'ah or Persian sect of Moslems.

Aly, it appears, travelling westwards, was overcome with thirst as he stood on the edge of the descent to the Ghôr (or on the "top of Peor") at the place called Minyeh. He cried to God, and was instructed to strike the ground with his spear, when a fountain at once welled up, and has since been called 'Ain Minyeh, "the fountain of desire."

It may be remarked, in passing, that this legend is common in Syria, and a variation is found among the Samaritans, who relate that the "fountain of the Arron" sprang up at the point where Shobek king of the Canaanites was transfixed by Nabi the king of the two and a half tribes, when he crossed Jordan to assist Joshua, shut up in the iron walls of the city of Keimûn by the giant enchanters.

Immediately below 'Ain Minyeh is the great basaltic outbreak of Haumet Minyeh, a black mound strewn with boulders, and believed to mark the site of the city of Antaron, one of the most famous of the Arab legendary heroes, who had also a house in the corresponding desert west of the Dead Sea. Antar was a black man (as were also the great heroes Zir and Abu Zeid), and therefore naturally inhabited a black city on a black hill. The epic of Antar is well known, and is said to fill forty-five volumes. In Egypt it is recited by the class of public reciters called '*Antariyeh*. It is said, however, by Lane, Deutch, and others acquainted with the subject, that the poetry of Antar is a tedious and lugubrious repetition of complaints on the absence of the beloved heroine.

The legend related by the 'Awâzim Arabs is probably of independent origin. According to them Aly, refreshed by the waters of the "spring of desire," was instructed by God to present himself as a guest to Antar in his black city. He accordingly rode down on his famous horse Maimûn and, arriving at the mound, called for Antar. Fifteen hundred black men came out from the city, but Aly still asked for Antar. "We are all Antars," they answered, and the perplexed Aly was instructed again to ask for

Antar son of Shadid ("strong"), whose mother was Zebibeh ("sea foam," evidently a name of mythical value).

On being received as a guest by the real Antar, he entered his house, and found a woman suspended from a beam of the roof to which she was tied by her eyelashes. Long eyelashes are specially admired among the Arabs, and many of the Adwan beauties, for beauties do really still occur among their women, and may be seen driving the donkeys to the spring with unveiled faces, have remarkably long lashes, though, perhaps, not sufficiently thick to support them, if tied up like the legendary lady.

Aly being naturally somewhat astonished, demanded of Antar who this woman was, and why she was thus punished. Antar stated that she was his mother, who hated all guests that came to the house. At the request of Aly, however, she was untied, when she at once began to revile the Inâm through whose kindness she had been released.

"Tie her up again," said Aly, and this was accordingly done. A story which bears some resemblance to this may be found in Spense's "Fairy Queen," and the character of the witch-woman who reviles the hero is not uncommon in mythology.

Three days Aly remained Antar's honoured guest (according to the Koran law), and then mounting his horse he rode westwards to fight against the infidels. "And it was after this," said the old Sheikh, "that he destroyed the City of Brass."

This concluding remark was also very interesting. The legend of the City of Brass was related to us in 1873 by the Abu Nuseir Arabs of Jericho, and will be found in detail in the second volume of "Tent Work in Palestine." It presents in curious confusion the combination of two episodes of Bible history—the destruction of Jericho and the sun standing still on Gibeon—Aly taking the place of Joshua. Mounted on Maimûn, he rode seven times round the walls of the City of Brass, the site of which is shown at the tamarisk tree which stands on the probable position of Gilgal; the brazen walls were overthrown by Aly's breath, and the sun stood still on the Quarantania mountain, "the ridge of the turning back," until the faithful had destroyed their enemies, and were called to prayer by *Betâl* the Prophet's Muedhen.

The relations which the myth thus completed bears to the Biblical episodes—Aly's fountain having a strong family likeness to the spring of Kadesh, and the wonderful spear to Moses' rod or Joshua's spear—may be accounted for in two ways. In 1873 it appeared probable that the legend was a confused reminiscence of the teaching of the mediæval monks, a view supported by the fact that the mediæval "Mountain of the Temptation," is still called "the place of the ascent of Jesus," by the Arabs of the Jordan valley. It seems, however, less probable that the eastern Arabs should have been influenced by Christian teaching as they came into the Belka with the victorious Oma, driving the Christians before them; and although churches and convents of the Byzantine period exist beyond Jordan, there are no

traces in this district of a mediæval colonization, such as gave rise to the numerous monasteries in the Jericho plain.

It seems, therefore, more probable that the legends founded on Old Testament episodes were brought by the Arabs from Arabia, and were there originally imparted by the Jews. It is well known how strong was Jewish influence in Arabia at the time of the rise of Islam, and how much of the Prophet's teaching at one period was founded on Judaism. Even Christian incidents might in the same way be transferred into Arab legends, considering how much of the Koran is occupied by legends based on Gnostic Christianity. The Arabs, aware that the plains of Jericho were the scene of Joshua's miraculous exploits, naturally placed the City of Brass near the Jewish Jericho, and as naturally transferred the credit of such miracles to their great hero Aly. The magic fountain of Minyeh is but the spring of Kadesh transferred from the western to the eastern desert, and Joshua and Moses are thus rolled into one in the person of the great Imâm. There are, however, circumstances in the legend which appear to have another origin, and to belong to Persian mythology, as will be noted later.

The second story related to us at Minyeh is well known throughout Syria, and is of peculiar interest. The Sheikh told us that there was a plot of ground near M'ain called *Hâna wa Bâna*, and taking its name from the two wives of an ancient Sheikh. *Hâna* was young, *Bâna* was old. *Hâna* consequently carefully pulled out every white hair from her husband's beard, while *Bâna* assiduously eradicated all the black hairs. The Sheikh, therefore, in the end had no beard at all, one of the greatest disgraces which can befall an Arab elder.

The conduct of these ladies has given rise to a proverb which appears to be well known in the Lebanon—

Bein Hâna Wa Bâna  
Râh Lahâna

which means "between *Hâna* and *Bâna* our beard has gone," and is equivalent to "falling to the ground between two stools," or to the old idea of the redding strake—the blow received by the man who tries to reconcile those who contend together, and which is worse than any blow which they deal each other.

The reader will at once recognize in *Hâna* and *Bâna* the two wives of Æsop's fables, and it is, perhaps, at first sight astonishing to find this familiar story among the Arabs. Every one, however, knows that much which used to be supposed original in the Greek fables has a far older origin, and that the very stories of Æsop are to be found in the Buddhist Jataka tales of previous incarnations—the doings of animals with morals attached. It may be that the story in question is derived from Lokman, the Arab Æsop mentioned in the Koran, but there is also reason to suppose that the story (before its moral was attached) was a sun myth of great antiquity. The sun is very often provided with two wives, who contend for him, as Venus and Persephone for the possession of Adonis, and the sun's hair is one of his best known attributes. In Egypt

and Phœnicia this legend was no less known than in Greece, and probably it was widely spread over Asia. A moral has been tacked to the myth, and as such it comes down to us among the Arabs of the Belka, and among the Maronites of Lebanon.

Another curious legend belongs to the 'Ammân district, where is found an isolated hill called Dhâler Hâmar with a single bush on the top. As the name might mean either "red ridge" or "donkey's back," and as the hill is reddish in colour, I asked the Arabs why it was called so. The immediate answer was, "Oh, that was the donkey's back on which the faithful were saved at the flood (Tufân), it is the only mountain in the world which was not covered by the waters." This legend, if I remember right, was also in existence among the Phœnicians.

Two other stories of minor interest are attached to the hot-springs of the Zerka Maïn and to the spring of 'Ain Fadeily respectively. The first relates how Solomon's slave discovered these springs, as is mentioned by Canon Tristram; the second is to the effect that Belkis or Zenobia had a paradise at the spring. We were not, however, able to obtain further details on this point.

Another mythical story of great interest is that of the famous hero Zîr, whom we had occasionally heard of west of Jordan. The curious pits in the Ghôr, mentioned by Mr. Selah Merrill and other writers, are supposed by the Arabs to have been constructed when Zîr was fighting the infidels, as ambush places where the hero and his companions could wait, mounted on their horses but quite unseen, to rush out on the unwary. There are similar pits, with the same legend of Zîr, at Fasâil west of the river. Near Nazareth is the house and racecourse of Zîr, and here (as also in Wâdy es Sunt) there is a story that the acacia trees which still exist sprang from the tent pegs of Zîr's encampment. Zîr was of the Bein Helâl ("Sons of the Crescent"), and his brother was Jerro ("the whelp"). A long legend concerning this hero was related by our Maronite servants, and appears to be commonly known, though not often heard in its entirety.

Zîr was black like the other heroes of the Arabs, and in his youth he was despised as being foolish and lazy, because when his brother was slain he waited a long time and slept, instead of instantly going to avenge him. He was also an enormous drinker, and insatiably hungry. He swallowed great skins of wine, and remained sleeping in the black tents. His enemies, who seem to have been his brothers or other relations, finally cut him in many pieces and packed his body in a chest, which was borne by the waves to Beirût, and there cast on shore. The fishermen who found it imagined they had discovered a great treasure, and as they quarrelled over it they were brought before Hakmûn, the Jew, who was king of the country. The chest was then opened, and Zîr's body covered with wounds was found inside. He was, however, not dead, but recovered and became a groom in the stable of Hakmûn, who was then at war with the infidels. Left at home while Hakmûn was at war, he was seen by the king's daughter sitting on a wall, brandishing a pole, and spurring the stones as though the wall were a charger, until the blood ran down from his heels. This happened

three times, until finally the princess communicated the stable-boy's strange behaviour to her father, and Hakmûn asked Zir what it meant. Zir, who was still supposed to be a half-witted slave, asked to be allowed to go out to battle, and Hakmûn being (as his name seems to indicate) a wise man, told Zir to choose a horse.

When, however, he began to try the horses, not one was found which could support the hero's weight, until the heroic horse (who in such tales forms a most important feature) was discovered, when the hero went forth to battle as if drunk with wine, and slew on his right hand and on his left all the infidels who came near him.

When the warriors returned to feast at the Palace of Hakmûn in the evening they each began to boast of the numbers they had slain, and asked Zir what spoils he had to show. He led them out to a certain rock, and bade them lift it up—which they were unable to do. The hero then pushing away the rock showed them a hundred bridles of horses whose riders he had slain, and a hundred tongues torn from the riders' mouths. After this he was held in high esteem, and no doubt married the princess.

The interest of this story lies in its well marked mythical character. The younger brother who is despised and supposed foolish, but who eats and drinks more than any other man, and slowly gains strength, is a very well known member of the mythical family. He is supposed to be the sun in the third period (being generally third brother), when nature during winter prepares for the spring; and the incident of his delaying to revenge his brother recalls that of the Persian Khai Khosru, who bewails his brother Firûd a whole night before avenging him in the morning—belonging to a tale of acknowledged mythical meaning. The story of the chest carried by the waves to Beirût is a most interesting detail, recalling at once the coffin of Osiris carried from Egypt to Byblos—not far from Beyrouth, and thence to the palace of the Phœnician king. The sun in Aryan mythology constantly appears during his period of misfortune as a groom, or a cow-herd, and the heroic horse especially in Persian and Vedic myths is one of the great attributes of the solar hero, and his companion in all his adventures.

It is very remarkable that the Arab heroes are always black—a colour not at first sight very appropriate for a sun god. Yet the same peculiarity applies to Khrishna the Indian Apollo, and to the old Chaldean sun god of spring, and it has been supposed to arise from the fact that these myths trace back to the old dark Cushite and Dravidian races, who preceded the Aryans in Eastern Asia.

Among the stories which are related by the romance readers of Egypt, and of which an outline is given by Lane, there are many which seem, like the above legend, to be of mythical origin. Thus the hero who is born with distorted limbs is probably connected with the Egyptian Horus. Abu Zeid, the famous black champion, also called el Barakât, was another of the Beni Hilâl, and his great feast on the round stone in the Jordan

valley has been mentioned in the preceding report. Gundubah, "the locust," born of Rebâb, and having Hâris for his father, is another of the same family. His mother's dream that she brought forth a flame of fire is a myth which occurs in the classics, and the name Hâris is probably only one of the Hebrew names of the sun.

The name Zîr signifies apparently "love," but another origin may be suspected. Osiris is the Aryan Asura, "lord," and ez Zîr is sufficiently near to Osiris to make it possibly a corruption of the Sanskrit, derived either from Egypt or from the East. The legend of Zîr and that of Osiris have so much in common—the former being apparently imported from Cairo by the Syrian romance readers, that we may well suspect the Arab tale to be founded, like the Arab name, on the ancient Egyptian myth of the sun's periodical death.

The question which appeared at first puzzling seems thus to be easily solved, namely, why so many mythical tales are found among the Bedawin and so few among the Fellahin. The influence of Persia on the early Arabs is seen in their art, science, and architecture, not less than in their folk lore. The pre-Islamite Arabs were famous for their delight in poetry and romance, and in Persia they found a very rich mythology long since developed. In my next report I hope to give a few indications of the influence of Persian ideas on the early Arab architecture, concerning which we have made some interesting observations during our recent campaign, meantime a few notes may be added on the Arab tribe marks—which present features pointing to the same conclusion.

The *Wusâm* or tribe marks are found on camels, cows, and sheep, and are placed also on buildings where the Bedawin suppose treasure to be concealed. They have even been mistaken for inscriptions in a new character, and this is mistake very naturally to be made, because many of the signs are identical with Himyaritic characters.

It is curious, however, to remark that these signs are in many cases identical with those used by the Crusading masons in the churches of Palestine, and again with the same masons' marks found in the English and Scotch cathedrals of the 13th century. The same signs are also found on the walls of Sassanian buildings in Persia, in the sixth century, and again they can be traced back to the Indian cast marks, which have a well known symbolic meaning. This is a question which has engaged my attention for ten years, but it is not possible to work it out very much in detail in the present report. A few of the principal coincidences may, however, be noted.

The tribe mark is generally simple in character, and is modified by a *difference* (to use a heraldic term) for each sub-division of the tribe.

Thus the Adwan tribe mark is a single stroke called the *Mutluk*, but the Nimr division use two strokes, and the 'Abbâd three. The Sakhûr have a stroke with a circle at the top called the *Mihmasa*, or "coffee-spoon," and the Faiz division of the tribe have two marks on one side of the top stroke, giving it the appearance of a key. This modified form is called the

*Tuweikeh*, or "little necklace," and is cut on the tomb of the famous *Fendi el Faiz* in the Jordan valley.

Both the Mutluk and the Mihmasa appear to have been originally Himyaritic letters, the last being the *Koph* which the Himyaritic Slim, 'Ain, Kheth, and Gimel, are also used by other tribes.

A tribe mark occurs on the tombs at 'Ammân and on ruins of Masada, which is of great interest in this connection. It is noticed in the memoir notes, and is the same as the Egyptian crux ansata, the cross with a circle above, approaching very closely to the *Sakhur* tribe mark. This ancient symbol of life is found not only in the hand of almost every Egyptian deity, but also round the neck of Khishna, or of the Assyrian monarchs, just as it is still worn by Buddhist maidens in Thibet. A very similar mark is found also among the Sherârat Arabs east of Jordan.

Another mark of great interest is the Rijl el Gherâb, or "raven's foot" (crow's foot), a sort of rounded trident, which frequently occurs as a mason's mark in Syrian churches of the 12th century. It is the tribe-mark of the Jibbûr, a branch of the *Sakhûr*, and it closely resembles the Himyaritic Cheth. In India it is called the *Trisul*, and is the symbol of fire, and one of the emblems of the god Siva.

It is still uncertain whether the cross is used by the eastern Arabs as a tribe mark. I was informed that the Jibbûr, who use the crow's foot as above mentioned, also have a cross for one division of their tribe, but this is uncertain. The cross, as previously noticed in another report, is not held in any disfavour by the Arabs, who seem to place it on some of their tombs.

Other marks not yet found as tribe marks serve to connect the mediæval masons' marks with the Persian signs of the same kind. Thus the double triangle, which is a caste mark in India, and is used in Jerusalem as a sign of good luck to avert the evil eye, also occurs in the Crusading masonry. Although tribe and masons' marks may be chiefly useful to distinguish property, it seems pretty clear that they were originally regarded as talismans, which brought good luck to the buildings or animals on which they were placed; and this probably explains why they occur in such great numbers in places held more or less sacred by the Arabs. The *hand* is still cut on the doors of Jewish houses with the same intention. It is worthy of notice that while these marks are thus invariably employed by the Arabs, they do not seem to be ever used by the Fellahin, and that they seem in some cases to come to the Bedawin from Persia and India.\*

\* It seems worthy of notice that two kinds of sticks or wands, of interesting shape, are carried by the Sheikhs and Elders of the Arabs. One form is a short cane with a spiral head like a ram's horn. The other is a stick with a crutch head, which is often laid beside the tomb or placed on the lintel of the surrounding stone circle. Both these forms of sceptre are commonly represented in Egypt, the former in the hands of Osiris, the latter carried by Horus, Anubis,



This digression may perhaps be of interest to those who are engaged in the study of ancient marks and alphabets, but without drawing any deductions, it is sufficient here to remark that the tribe marks, like the legends, serve to distinguish the Arab from the Fellah, and to belong originally perhaps to an Aryan source. Copies of stones covered with these marks are often brought from Moab, and have sometimes been mistaken for inscriptions; but the absence of any kind of arrangement in lines, not less than the marks themselves, proves that they are the work of the shepherds of various tribes who thus employ their idle moments.

The sudden contrast between the absence of folk-lore in Western Palestine, and the abundance of tales on the East, appears from the above considerations to be very natural. Neither the Arab nor the Fellah can properly be called a Moslem, they have each a cultus founded on much older superstitions, and as distinct as are the origins of their races. Among the modern Canaanites of the villages of the west, the old Canaanite worship still flourishes: the sacred stone, the sacred tree, and the holy cave. Only one story of distinctly mythical origin seems yet to have been collected on this side, namely, that of the faithful dog who took the bones of Neby Duhý to a mountain top; but even in this tale, collected during the course of the survey, the scene is laid on the borderland between the peasants and the Sukr Arabs, and it may, perhaps, have originated among the tribe of Akil Agha, when he spread his tents all over the plain of Esdraelon.

On the east of Jordan, on the other hand, we find myths in existence which bear a close resemblance to the tales of Rustem and other Persian heroes, founded on the Aryan mythology, while from their home in the Nejel the Arabs seem to have brought with them confused versions of Bible episodes attributing the exploits to Imâm Aly and other heroes of the Conquest. A search among the romances of Arab literature would no doubt bring to light many tales purely mythical, for even in the Arabian Nights many of the stories are easily recognized as founded on Persian myths of the adventures of the sun.

C. R. C.

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## XII.

### 'AMMÂN AND 'ARAK EL EMIR.

JERUSALEM, 16th *January*, 1882.

I AM at length able to send you detailed reports as to the discoveries of the party at the two important sites above-mentioned. Our camp was pitched at 'Ammân for fifteen days, from the 5th to 20th October, and at 'Arâk el Emîr for the six days following. We took measurements of every building in 'Ammân, and made a special survey of the town to the and other male deities. Of the female sceptre with a lotus flower top, we have seen no other specimens.

scale of 8 chains to the inch. The plans, in addition to this survey, cover nine plates, and Lieutenant Mantell obtained fifteen successful photographs in the ruins of the city, some of which are likely to prove very valuable. At 'Arâk el Emîr we made plans of the Palace of Hyrcanus, with sketches of detail; and Lieutenant Mantell took measurements of all the cave chambers and cisterns, and three good photographs, one of which, just sent home, shows the Aramaic inscription in front of the chief cave, and is a specially successful plate.

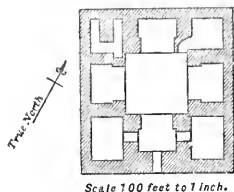
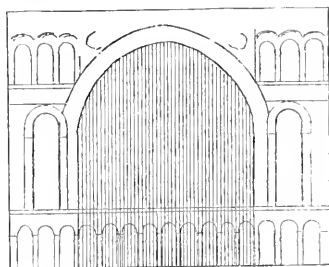
The most important point amid these various labours is the examination of a small building on the top of the citadel hill at 'Ammân. It has been visited and described by Consul Finn, Colonel Warren, and Canon Tristram, but as none of these explorers were able to remain very long at this site, it has not as yet been fully described. It has generally been supposed to be of Byzantine origin, and has been variously described as a church and a mosque. An inspection of the enclosed plan and details will, however perhaps serve to show that the building is equally unlike either the Byzantine churches, or the Arab mosques of Palestine, and that it has, indeed, an unique character, and is well worth minute study.

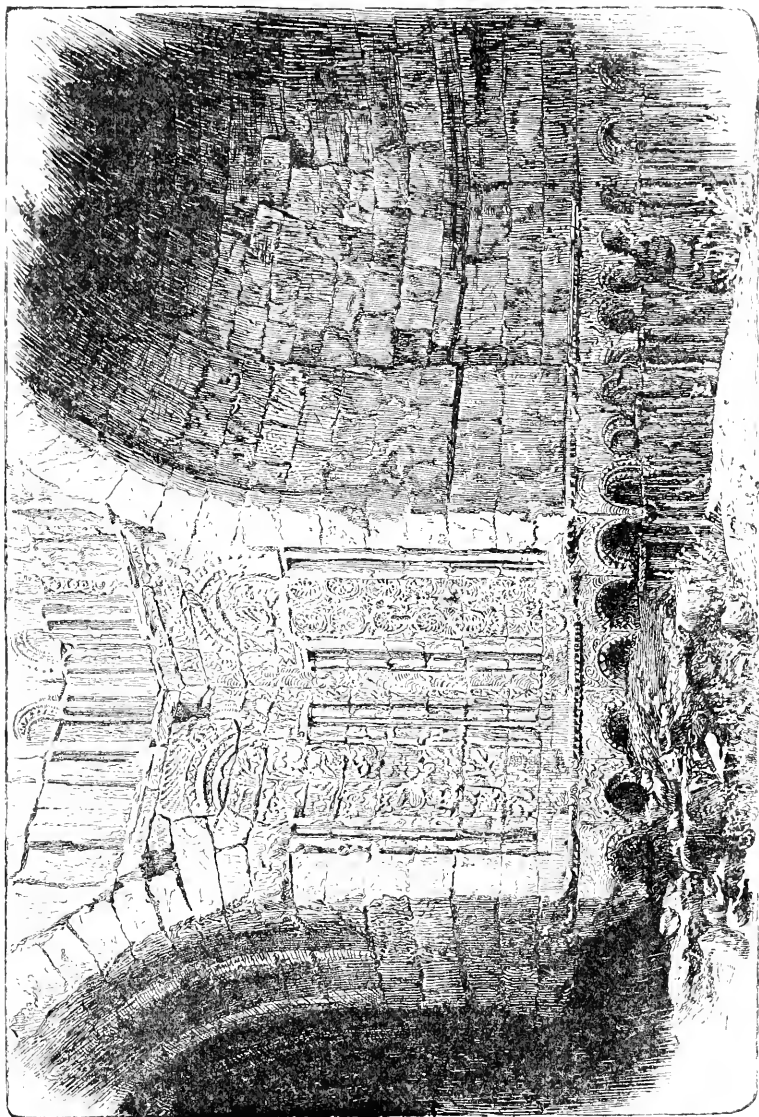
The building stands in the middle of a courtyard of the Temple, and is irregularly built, so that the west side measures 85 feet, the east 81, the south 80. It has a central open court 33 feet square, from which arched recesses open back, each measuring about 18 feet square. In the four corners are small vaulted chambers, and in the north-west angle are remains of a staircase which appears to have led up from the outside to the roof.

It does not seem that the central court was ever roofed over. The entrance to the building is from the south, and seems to be of the same date with the main part of the buildings, although traces of reconstruction may, perhaps, be suspected on the south wall. There was another entrance on the north, now blocked.

The main feature of the building is, however, the elaborately sculptured ornamentation of the inner walls. The accompanying drawings will serve to show the style of this

ornamentation, which, as a whole, is quite unlike any sculpture found in Western Palestine. The designs differ on the different walls, and the sculpture does not seem to have been finished, as some of the panels are left plain; and the tracery on the north wall seems to be incomplete. The sculpture is in low relief on stone of fair consistency, taken from the neighbouring limestone quarries.





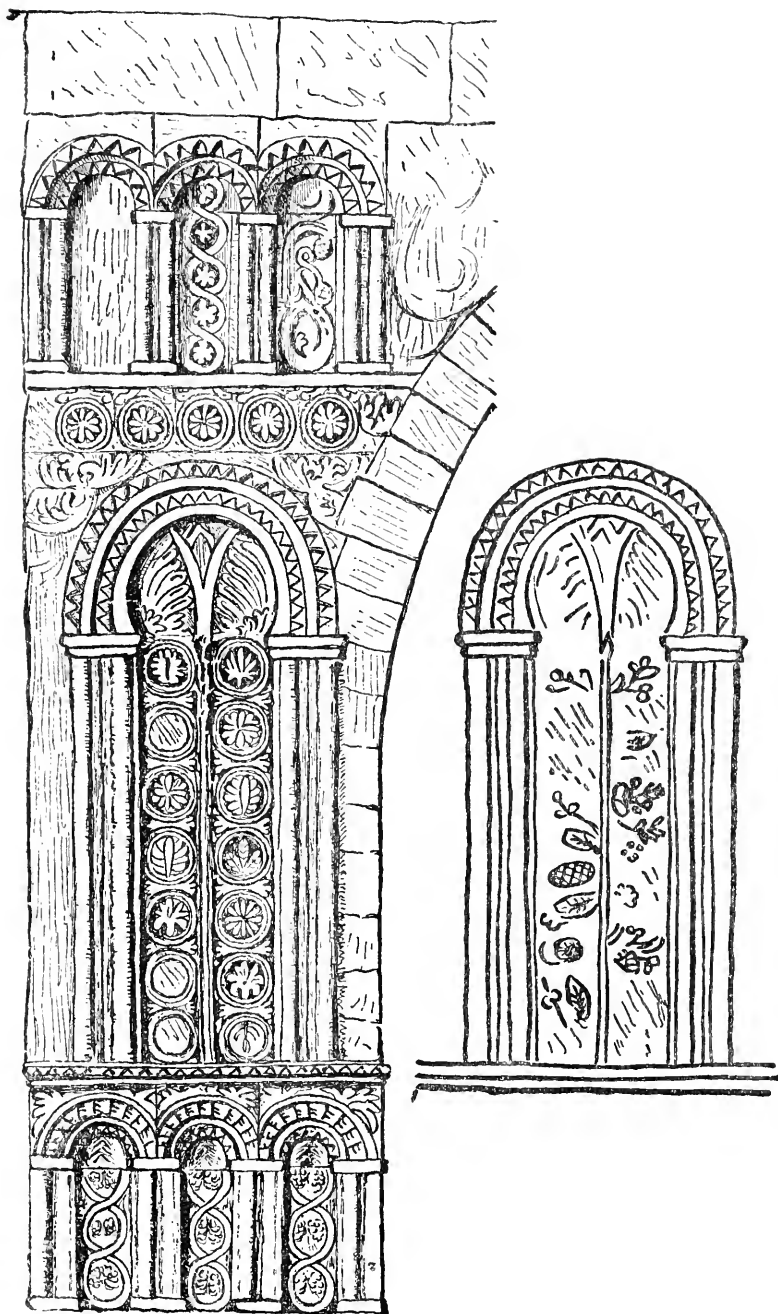
On either side of the bold central arch is a sculptured panel with an arched head, standing on a string course with three smaller arch-headed panels beneath, and three others again above. The bas-reliefs in the larger panels differ in each case, one as shown representing two rows of circles enclosing geometrical designs, while another gives a stiff conventional tree pattern not unlike the sacred conventional tree of Asshur which is found on Assyrian bas-reliefs. There is an entire absence of any figures of birds or animals, and in this respect the sculpture differs from that of the famous Sassanian Palace at Maschita, discovered by Canon Tristram, not far from the present site, although in other respects there is a similarity between the two buildings in detail.

Among the details will be observed a flat dog-tooth moulding, which somewhat resembles the ornament applied by the Crusaders to arches in their early churches of the 12th century,—as, for instance, in the beautiful west window of the Muristân at Jerusalem, of which a photograph was taken by Lieutenant Kitchener, R.E. The vine-bunches which occur in the interior of some of the lower panels are also interesting; similar conventional vine-patterns occur not only on the later Jewish tombs of the period when Greek art influenced the native sculptors, but also in Byzantine tombs and chapels of the 5th and 6th century in Western Palestine.

The most valuable features are, however, the arches and the pilasters of the panels. It is very curious to note that in this small structure, the round arch, the pointed arch, and the Moorish arch all occur together, the two later forms being in an embryonic condition which architects will probably consider very interesting. The great central arches, which form the face of the tunnel-vaults of the four recessed chambers, appear to have a very slight and almost imperceptible point of which the attached photograph will give a fair idea. The shape is, indeed, almost exactly the same as that of the arches supporting the drum in the Jerusalem dome of the rock. It has long been a subject of debate whether the arches in the latter building were round or pointed. Those in the outer arcade, which are covered with ancient glass mosaic, are round, those in the inner arcade under the drum have a very slight and almost imperceptible point, as can be seen in the photograph taken in 1874 at my request by Lieutenant Kitchener, where three arches are shown directly facing the spectator. These arches are now, however, covered with marble casing, so that it is not quite certain whether the structure beneath may not be a round arch; but the new example from 'Ammân serves to throw some light on this question.

The feature of the slender coupled columns with very simple capitals is also worthy of special attention, as will be noticed immediately. The Moorish form of the interior of the arches above the larger panels will be noticed on the elevation.

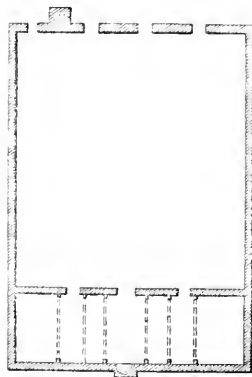
In studying the building under consideration, it is also interesting to compare the ruined mosque at the foot of the hill at 'Ammân, of which a plan is enclosed, with a sketch traced from a damaged photograph. The



sketch shows the north wall of the building, and the minaret. The building measures 183 feet north and south, by 129 feet east and west, and is divided into two parts, the northern being an open court, the southern a rectangular building once covered with a roof supported on arched ribs of ashlar, and having a Mihrab or prayer niche in the south wall. The building is, indeed, a typical mosque properly constructed for Moslem worship, and resembling in plan the fine example of the White Mosque at Ramleh.

The masonry in the two buildings described at 'Ammân is very similar. It is a fairly dressed ashlar of moderate dimensions, none of the stones being drafted. In this respect it differs from many buildings of the later Moslem period (the 14th and 15th centuries), in which a feeble imitation of the bold rustic drafting of the Crusaders is attempted.

The minaret of the 'Ammân mosque is of somewhat stunted proportions. It is nearly perfect, and the winding stair to the Muedhen's balcony is intact. The total height is about 44 feet, and the dome remains, although the outer wall which enclosed it is partially broken. The upper part is octagonal, the balcony supported on stone cantalivers, and probably con-



True North

Scale 100 feet to 1 inch.

sisting of a wooden floor with rails, has now disappeared, leaving only the cantalivers. The main part of the tower is 10 feet square outside, lighted by four round-headed windows, partly filled up by marble screens. The entrance is from the east, where is a rudely-cut Arab inscription on the lintel of the door—unfortunately giving no date or other information beyond the usual formula, “No God but God ; Mohammed, the Messenger of God.”

The north wall of the mosque has three gates and four windows. All the arches are round, except the central one, which is a flat arch resembling the ordinary form used in brickwork. It is very interesting to observe that two of the entrances have stone lintels under the arches, as will be seen in the sketch. The left-hand or west door has an arch 7 feet 6 inches in span, the lintel stone being 9 feet long. The central door has a lintel 16 feet long under the flat arch, and a second lintel lower down. The stones appear to have been cut for their present purpose.

This feature approaches to the lintel-stones which occur in Byzantine buildings of 5th and 6th centuries, in various parts of Palestine, having relieving arches above them. In the Byzantine examples, however, so far as I have seen, the arch is never more than a flat arc, whereas in the 'Ammân mosque the stone is placed beneath a bold semicircular arch, and appears to have very little structural use. It resembles, in fact, the wooden beams which run from arch to arch in many Arab mosques, both in Palestine and in Egypt. These occur in the mosque of Amru (642 A.D.), and in the Aksa mosque at Jerusalem, as well as in the outer arcade of the Dome of the Rock. We have, however, never found an example of an Arab mosque in Palestine having what may be called “stone beams,” as in the present instance at 'Ammân, and should this latter building prove to be an early example of Arab work (as seems not improbable), the transition between the heavier Byzantine lintel and the wooden beam may, perhaps, be traced in the lintels thus described.

It may be hoped that the preceding description, with the accompanying drawings, will enable architects in England to form an opinion on the date and value of these buildings. Meantime I may, perhaps, venture to add a few observations, which suggest themselves after comparing the 'Ammân structures with other buildings.

In his valuable critique on the Palace of Mashita, Mr. Fergusson compares that building with the Sassanian architecture of Persia, instancing the great buildings of Tak Kesra and Taki Gero ; and he also draws attention to the connection between Persian and Byzantine architecture. The elevation of Tak Kesra presents several features of remarkable similarity to the details of the building on the hill at 'Ammân. The great central archway : the walls panelled with arches divided by coupled columns having a simple cap : the use of round, pointed, and stilted arches in one structure, are common to the two buildings, and the inference is natural that the 'Ammân example may prove to be of Sassanian origin—an inference supported by the existence of the Mashita Palace in the same district, since Mr. Fergusson has decided that this latter must be referred to the time of Chosroes II.

There is, however, one great difference remarked between the 'Ammân building and the Mashita palace, namely, that no figures of birds or beasts occur in the former. This suggests that the 'Ammân building may probably be the work of a Moslem people, and thus, perhaps, one of the earliest Arab structures subsequent to the conquest by Omar.

The early Khalifs, including 'Abd el Melek, employed Greek architects in Syria, and Coptic Christians in Egypt, to build their early mosques; but it is not less certain that the influence of Persian art was strongly felt by the half-civilized Arabs. The historian Ibn Khaldûn, as quoted by Lane, writes thus: "When they ceased to observe the strict precepts of their religion, and the disposition for dominion and luxurious living overcame them, the Arabs employed the Persian nation to serve them, and acquired from them the arts and architecture, and then they made lofty buildings." Mr. Poole has, moreover, pointed out, in commenting on this passage, that probably the Persian influence had affected the Greeks of the Eastern Empire before it reached the Arabs, and that some of the peculiarities of Byzantine art may, perhaps, be best explained by comparison with Sassanian buildings.

If the conclusion be considered correct that the building on the hill at 'Ammân is an early specimen of Moslem work under Sassanian influence, the comparison with the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem is instructive and interesting.

In addition to the peculiarities of the arches common to the two buildings, it may be noted that at Jerusalem in the outer wall of the Dome of the Rock, we have the same feature of large round-headed panels (pierced in some instances with windows) having above them a second tier of smaller panels, with simple coupled columns between. Probably also some resemblance may be recognized between the details of the ornamentation, as, for instance, the conventional vine-pattern which occurs also (in bronze) on the wooden architrave which spans the round arches of the arcade in the Dome of the Rock.

The Dome of the Rock, which, according to the ancient Cufic inscription in the interior, was built by Moslems in 688 A.D., is a building recognized as presenting features of very Byzantine appearance. The comparison with the Moslem building at 'Ammân may, perhaps, be considered to throw some light on the explanation which may finally be expected of the peculiarities of its architecture.

There are, unfortunately, no traces of any inscription on either the mosque or the upper building at 'Ammân, beyond a rudely carved religious formula above noticed, which seems to have been cut at a late period by an unskilled hand.

It should be noted, finally, that the Moorish arch (a segment of a circle greater than half) not only occurs in the upper building, but seems also to have been used in the arched ribs supporting the mosque roof. The arches have fallen, but the haunch stones in some cases remain, and are corbelled out so as to present a reverse curve, which is rather ornamental than really structural.



It is to be hoped that the notes thus given may assist architects to form a more definite and instructive conclusion as to the date and value of the buildings in question than I am capable of reaching. Leaving the question for the present, I will briefly enumerate the chief observations of interest which we made in other parts of 'Ammán.

The pre-historic monuments of the vicinity have been noticed in another report. They include half a dozen cromlechs, one of which, with a table-stone measuring 13 feet by 11 feet, is perhaps the finest example which we have yet discovered. There are also two very large menhirs on the north-east, one 12 feet by 6½ feet, the second 9 feet by 8 feet, and 1½ feet thick, the latter still standing erect.

As regards ancient Hebrew or Ammonite remains, we found as usual little which could be ascribed to that period, whereas Greeks, Romans, Byzantines, Arabs, and Circassians have each in turn left indications of their presence. We were fortunate, however, in discovering a number of ancient tombs, which, so far as I have been able to find out, have not been noticed by former travellers. On the south slope of the hill, west of the ruins, are about fifteen caves very rudely cut in soft rock, a chalk stratum between two layers of flint having been chosen as easy to excavate and presenting an impervious roof and floor. In nearly all these caves we found *kokim* (pigeon-hole loculi) rudely cut, as in the Jewish and Phœnician tombs, and this was the more remarkable as such tombs are extremely rare in that part of Moab at present surveyed.

There are also a great many caves north of the citadel, which may have been either tombs or early Horite habitations. I examined all those which were accessible, but they line the cliffs for more than a mile, sometimes in positions not easily reached. In most cases the chamber within was a mere cave, but one group near the citadel presents *kokim* tombs like those in the western cemetery. The impression conveyed by the rude character of the tombs is that of a very rude condition of civilization among the Ammonites, as compared with the Jews or the Phœnicians.

As regards the citadel itself, of which we have now a good plan and description, we found nothing to indicate that its buildings are of great antiquity. The masonry is not of great size, and it resembles the early Christian work of Western Palestine in dressing and in proportions. It may, perhaps, be as old as the temple, which appears to belong to the later Roman period. The remains of the peristyle show that this building must have been of large size. Its pillars are 5½ feet in diameter, and the breadth of the peristyle is 52 feet. Only the foundation and bases remain *in situ*, and it is possible that the building was never finished, as no traces of the main body of the temple now exist. There are several fragments of very large epistylia, and these have Greek letters upon them showing that an inscription in two lines once ran along the face of the temple. The letters were copied, but no consecutive reading seems possible. It is remarkable that many of the pillar shafts have the following inscription cut on the flat surfaces.

ΔΩCΕΟC

The letters could, of course, not have been visible when the pillar was standing, and they were perhaps intended as a talisman. In the church at Ascalon I found, in 1875, shafts which seemed to have been taken from an older building, and which had Phœnician letters cut on the flat surfaces in the same manner. These are mentioned in the *Memoirs of the Western Survey*.

The temple stood in a great court which had an entrance from the east. On the north and north-east are remains of alcoves, with sculptured canopies and scollop shell roofs, resembling the Baalbek courtyard on a smaller scale. It seems probable that the Kal'ah at 'Ammân, with its temple, may be ascribed to the same period as the Baalbek Temple, about the time of Antoninus Pius, in the third century of our era.

The cemetery of the Roman period was principally confined to the southern hill, although a few fine structural tombs occur on the west, north, and north-east. We visited and examined every tomb of which we could find any traces, and have obtained plans and photographs of all that admitted of measurement. The rich settlers seem to have been fond of constructing elaborate family sepulchres, in the form of square towers profusely ornamented with Corinthian pillars, sculptured cornices, and carved domes. We found six fine examples of this kind of tomb in the vicinity, all containing sarcophagi placed on benches round the walls, sometimes in two tiers. Some of the photographs of these buildings have been sent home.

A very effective but economical monument was in other cases formed by placing a rock-cut sarcophagus on a conspicuous spur of rock, sometimes rudely scarped. Specimens of this kind of sepulchre also occur in Western Palestine. In other cases the sarcophagi were placed in caves or rock tombs. Generally they are plain or with simple mouldings, but one with a fragment of Greek inscription was found, and in another case two sarcophagi in one cave had carved lids, one with a vine pattern, the other with two rude lions much defaced.

The theatre, the Odeum and other public buildings of 'Ammân, are already well known. We have now made plans and taken photographs of them all. There is also a large church, and two smaller chapels, a khan apparently of late date, and a bath house with pointed arches. The following inscription is a new discovery. The stone appears to have belonged to the church, but was re-used in a later wall, and a second stone placed over it. One or two letters were seen, and the top stone removed; the mortar which formed the bedding of the top stone was then carefully scraped off, and two squeezes taken of the inscription, which may, perhaps serve to date the church.

ΟΡΙΚΤΩ  
 ΝΟΝΑ . . . ΕΓ  
 ΔΕΚΑΤΗΣ ΦΙ  
 ΓΟΡΔΙΑΝΗΣ  
 ΑΥΡΟΥ ΙΚΤΩ.

The inscription consists only of these five lines, and cannot have contained many more letters than those shown. It is unfortunately damaged in the middle. It appears to belong to the Byzantine period, judging by the shape of the letters.

Another inscription was found by Lieutenant Mantell on a Roman milestone east of 'Ammân. Like the milestone on the Nablus road north of Jerusalem, it appears to record merely the names and titles of Roman emperors.

IMP CAES MARCI . .  
 AVRELIUS SEY  
 ANTONINVS I . . . .  
 FELIX AVG PI . . .  
 VS MAXIMV . . . . .  
 . . T A N I C U S M R . . . . .  
 . . I N T M R . . . . .

Finally a remarkable tank occurs at 'Ammân, which appears not to have been previously visited. The mouth is about 50 paces north of a tower in the north wall of the citadel, and is level with the roof of the tank. A very steep descent, with a few rude steps, leads down 20 or 30 feet, and a sort of shoot at the side appears to have conducted the surface water into the reservoir. The length is 90 feet, the breadth 20 feet, with three large recesses. Close to the door a gallery leads away in the side of the tank, and curves round southwards on to a level not far beneath the surface. This gallery I followed for 40 feet, when it was choked and too small to allow me to go further. I believe it to have been possibly a secret passage in the rock, to a subterranean postern in the citadel tower, allowing entrance to the temple court from an unsuspected direction—the interior of the great reservoir.

South of 'Ammân we visited the ruins of *Sâk* and *Kahf*, already described by Colonel Warren. At the latter site, however, I found a second tomb apparently not seen before, with a finely carved façade having two defaced female busts. Of this fine specimen, which is superior to any of the well-known sculptured tombs near Jerusalem, Lieutenant Mantell made a plan, section, and photograph. The sculptured tomb seen by Colonel Warren appears to be of Christian origin, having a cross in the cornice over the entrance. The details of the capitals have a Byzantine character.

On our way to 'Arâk el Emir we visited the curious site called *ed Deir*, which was also seen by one of Colonel Warren's party. It is a rock-cut house in three storeys, with windows cut in imitation of masonry. We made a plan of this excavation, which is perched in a cliff looking out above the oak trees which fill the valley. The walls are full of niches, which seem to have been intended either for urns or skulls. There are about 740 of these niches in the ground storey, and probably an equal number in each of the others; but as the floors have given way I was only

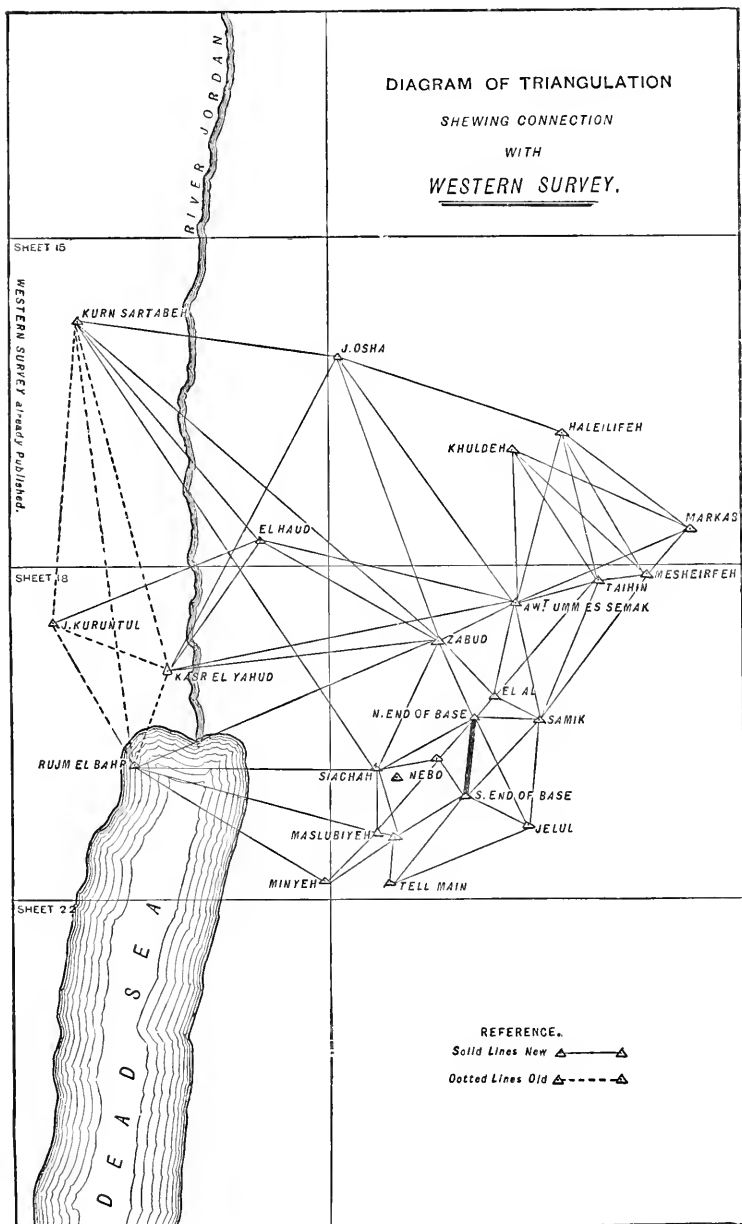
able, by scrambling up a pole, to visit the second story, and could not see the interior of the third. I have had occasion to describe similar niches in Western Palestine, notably at Masada. They are larger than those usually found in Columbaria, and the explanation I then offered, that they were intended for the skulls of the deceased monks, met with acceptance. At Masada they occur in connection with an early Christian chapel, and a cave with a Greek Christian inscription. The names of the rock-house under consideration (*ed Deir*, "the monastery") seems also to indicate a Christian origin for these curious structures. At 'Arâk el Emîr there is a detached rock with rows of niches in one side, but the niches in this latter cave are too small to have contained anything but urns, or perhaps, more probably, lamps. They occur on the *east* side, which would be that most sheltered from the summer winds. It seems not improbable that the face of the cliff might thus have been illuminated by the light of some 26 lamps at the time when Hyrcanus used to feast in its rocky chambers.

The ruins at 'Arâk el Emîr are too well known to need description in a report like the present. The palace built by the priest Hyrcanus is described by Josephus as decorated with sculptured lions, and there seems no good reason for supposing that the ruined building still existing is of older origin than that indicated by the Jewish historian. The peculiar character of the capitals and fragments of cornice is just that mongrel style which, as shown by the rock-tombs near Jerusalem or in the synagogues of Galilee (dating from the second century, A.D.), resulted from the imitation by Jewish architects of Grecian classic art. We took careful measurements and sketches of detail, and it was interesting to note that the lions, four of which remain *in situ* as a frieze, were carved after the great stones had been placed in their present position, as is shown by the projections on the same plane of relief which occur above the animals' bodies.

There is a curious raised causeway leading from the palace of Hyrcanus in the direction of the great cliff, with its double tier of caverns, which is situated about half a mile to the north east. Along this mound occur pairs of *cippi*, about 4 feet high and 2 feet broad, partly sunk in the ground. Each *cippus* is pierced with a hole 7 inches in diameter, in most cases countersunk for about half the thickness of the stone (averaging  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet near the top) as if for a bar or pole passed through or butting inside the stone. The width between the pairs of *cippi* is 3 feet, and this is so small that it seems impossible to accept the general theory that these stones mark the sides of a Viâ Sacra or other roadway leading from the festal chambers in the cliff to the palace.

It is noticeable that there is a gradual descent to the palace from the cliff, the foot of the latter, by aneroid measurement, being 170 feet above the platform on which the palace stands. There are 27 pairs of stones along this line, and it seems pretty certain that many others are buried or lost.

The size of the blocks in the palace wall is enormous, the stones being twice the dimensions of those in the Temple walls at Jerusalem. One



was measured as 17 feet long and 8 feet high. A second 20 feet long and 10 feet high, and there are many others as large. It is, however, a peculiar feature of the building that the thickness of the stones is comparatively very small, averaging only about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet.

This consideration led me to suppose that the pierced *cippi* might have belonged to a sort of wooden staging or "ways" intended for moving the great stones. Poles placed in the holes might have formed sleepers on which this staging was constructed, and each stone would thus have been slid down hill to the palace with great ease. It is noticeable that one great stone still lies on the hill close to the causeway, as if abandoned half-way between the quarry and the palace. It should, however, be noted that the existing pairs of *cippi* are never less than 20 paces from one another, which would seem too great a distance to be spanned by such poles as would be attainable in Palestine. Possibly the better explanation would be that they were used for fixing ropes with pulleys, which served to drag the stone along. It is, however, clear that the stones might, by either means, have been easily moved, and that they were narrow enough to pass between the *cippi*. Considering, therefore, how little is yet known of the methods employed in moving the great blocks used by the Roman and late Jewish builders, it seems very interesting to find this stone scaffolding, if the expression may be permitted, still remaining *in situ* at Tyrus.

The curious Aramaic inscription on the cliff is so well shown in Lieutenant Mantell's photograph that it does not seem necessary to send a further representation. It remains, however, to be read, as the interpretations hitherto given appear to be all equally unsatisfactory so far as I have been able to learn.

It should be noticed that the name Tyrus given to this spot by Josephus is probably the Aramaic Tsur or Tsir. There is a ruin called Sûr not far west of 'Arâk el Emir, and the name of the great valley beneath the cliff is Wâdy Sir: further up the valley are the ruins and spring of Sîreh, and on the edge of the plateau above is the ruined town of Sar.

The three last reports have thus given a *résumé* of the most interesting results of the recent campaign in Moab. The notes and plans which we may hope to form some day into a memoir are more numerous and important than those collected in any equal area west of the river; and the Survey of the East as a whole ought, in my opinion, to form a work more generally interesting, and scarcely less important from a Biblical point of view, than the Western Survey.

C. R. C.

## AMMAN.

[Reprinted by permission from the *Builder*.]

THE building at Ammân has also been visited by Canon Tristram and Colonel Warren, the latter of whom was enabled to take a good photograph of it, and to take a general plan of the remains of the city, which plan was published in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1872, p. 66, accompanied by a short description by the Rev. A. E. Northey.

Canon Tristram has also described the building in "The Land of Israel," p. 588. He states that "the interior architecture of the church, if not in the purest taste, is marvellously elaborate. It is faced with 120 small round-topped niches, each shallow, and the panels filled with carvings of endless variety. No two are alike, either in the sculpture of the arch-heads or of the panels. Flowers, leaves, and fruits are the predominant designs, forming quite a pattern-book for Gothic decoration. The upper story is filled with niches of similar plan, but much larger, extending to the roof. Eight panels of leaves and pines, all in different patterns, occupy the faces towards the centre, and many others the limbs of the cross. The whole reminded us somewhat of the ancient church at Athens, though that is much poorer and on a smaller scale. The state of preservation of this building is truly marvellous."

But the curious architectural details were not, unfortunately, drawn by him.

Captain Conder has now supplied these, together with a photograph taken by the second officer in charge, Lieutenant Mantell. The plan externally of the building is, roughly speaking, quadrangular, 85 feet by 80 feet. But internally, it is that of a Greek cross, the centre part being occupied by an open court, 33 feet square, in each side of which is a recess, 18 feet wide, and 18 feet deep, arched over, but open to the court in front.

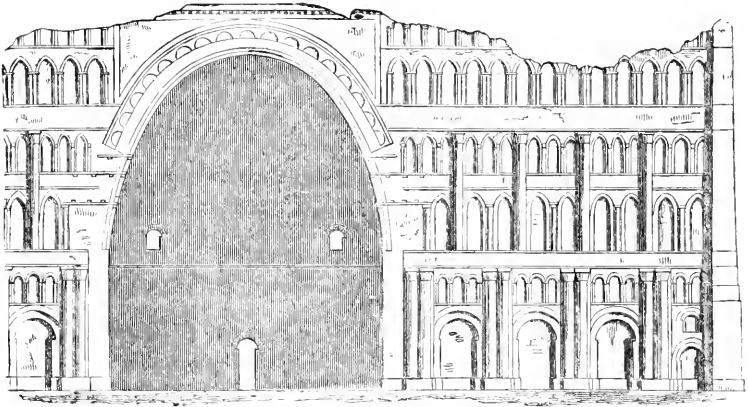
The arches appear to be pointed.

Three of the spaces completing the square are occupied by vaulted chambers, and in the fourth (north-west angle) are the remains of a staircase.

The large recesses are 33 feet high to the apex. There are no remains of dome or other roof over the crux. The building has been variously described as having been a church or a mosque. The plan bears some resemblance to that of a Greek church, but differs from it in some essential particulars, and more resembles that of such buildings as the Mosque of Hassan at Cairo, or the Mosque at Broussa, whose date is known to be of the 14th century, or the new Mosque at Algiers, built in the 16th century, both of which were designed by Christian architects for Mohammedan worship.

There are special features in the building at Ammân which render it very interesting.

In the first place the great arches over the recesses, and the wall spaces on each side, are designed in almost exactly the same way as those of the Tak Kesra at Ctesiphon, as shown in Mr. Fergusson's "History" (here reproduced by Mr. Murray's permission) and to a large scale in Flandin and Coste's "Persia."



This is assigned by him to the Sassanian period, 550, and the Ammân building, though very much smaller, is so like to it, that no one, whether architect or not, can fail to be struck by the resemblance. But the details at Ammân much exceed those of Ctesiphon in richness.

To quote Captain Conder's words, "The main feature is the elaborately sculptured ornamentation of the inner walls, the style of which, as a whole, is quite unlike any sculpture found in Western Palestine."

The ornament to which he refers consists, mainly, of panelling, as at Ctesiphon. But instead of being plain, as there, the semi-circular arches are much enriched, and the larger ones enclose others of distinctly a horse-shoe form, the panel having a centre mullion.

The narrow lights thus formed are filled in with roundlets, each having a rose or other ornament in the centre. Captain Conder notices that "there is an entire absence of any figures of animals." As to "the vine branches which occur in the interior of some of the panels, similar conventional vine patterns occur not only in the later Jewish tombs when Greek art influenced the native sculptors, but also in Byzantine tombs and chapels of the 5th and 6th centuries in Western Palestine. Among the details are a flat tooth moulding, which somewhat resembles the ornament applied by the Crusaders to arches in their early churches of the 12th century,—as in the beautiful west end of the Muristan, Jerusalem."

The architectural peculiarities to be noted from the forgoing statements are the general design—the horseshoe and (probably) pointed arches—the ornamental filling in to the narrow lights—and the tooth ornament.



The design appears clearly to have been derived from Sassanian sources.

The origin of the horseshoe arch is not so clear, but we have several well dated examples of it in the 6th and 7th centuries, as at Dana on the Euphrates, and at Edessa, as described in Pullan's "Byzantine Architecture."

Another well dated example has been kindly pointed out to me by Mr. Fergusson, viz., a Syrian MS., finished in 586, a copy of which is given in the splendid work of Garucci, and which shows horseshoe arches within semi-circular ones.

The filling in to the panels at Ammân is very similar to that of the windows in many of the small Greek churches, *e.g.*, the cathedral at Athens, the date of which is supposed by Couclaud (*Eglises Byzantines*) to be the 6th century, whilst Mr. Fergusson considers the date to be of the 11th, 12th, and 13th centuries.

From careful examination of these and other old Greek churches on the spot many years since, and again, quite recently, I am in accordance with Mr. Fergusson, to whom I have given the reasons for my opinion.

The part of the Muristan at Jerusalem to which Captain Conder refers, which I know well, and of which we have a fine photograph, taken by Lieutenant Kitchener, is of the 12th century.

The result as to the Ammân building would appear thus to be that it was designed at a late period in the traditional style of the Sassanians, with the horseshoe arches of the East (whatever their origin), the Byzantine fillings in of the windows, and peculiar ornament used by the Western nations in their 12th century work. As singular a medley as is, I believe, to be found anywhere.

Near to the above are the ruins of a mosque, the greater part of whose walls and minaret remain, and of which we have photographs taken by Colonel Warren and by Lieutenant Mantell.

Captain Conder describes it thus—"It is a typical mosque resembling in plan the white mosque at Ramleh, and measuring 183 by 129 feet, built of finely dressed stonework. The minaret is nearly perfect, and the staircase intact. Two of the entrances have stone lintels under the arches. One arch is 7 feet 6 inches span, the lintel stone 9 feet long. Another has two lintels, each 16 feet long. The stones appear to have been cut for their present purpose, and to have little structural use. There are no traces of any inscriptions beyond a rudely carved Moslem religious formula over the door, which appears to have been cut at a late period by an unskilful hand."

The architectural interest attached to this is that these peculiar lintels were used in the early centuries A.D., in and about the Hauran, as may be seen in Count Vogué's book on Central Syria, *e.g.*, at Bozra.

To show still further what architectural interest attaches to these countries east and south of the Dead Sea, and east of the Jordan, I may mention that Professor Palmer describes in his report (to the Palestine Exploration Committee) of his journey through the rarely visited country through Petra to Beersheba, the finding of grand remains of the ruined city of Sebaita, supposed to be the Zephath of the Old Testament.

The ruins are 500 yards long, and 300 wide—the streets still to be traced ; and there are large remains of three churches, many of the walls being 20 to 25 feet high. “The houses are built of stone, and the want of timber beams has been most skilfully supplied, all the lower stories being built with arches about 3 feet apart, and 2 feet wide, long thick beams of stone being placed across them.”

No one who has visited the Lebanon district, or read Count Vogüé's book on Central Syria, can fail to perceive that the style of building which characterizes these northern districts, was the style used also in Moab and south of the Dead Sea, and that there are several chapters yet to be written on the art history of the past when these wild districts have been carefully explored.

T. HAYTER LEWIS.

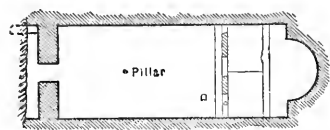
## JERUSALEM.

### NEWLY DISCOVERED CHURCH.

I.

18th January, 1881.

THE church of which I sent a plan by last mail has been further excavated, and an interesting piece of painting brought to light. A slab of fine limestone 20 inches by 4 feet 5 inches has on it a simple cornice,



Scale 50 feet to 1 inch.



once apparently gilt, and beneath this are the figures of the twelve Apostles, each surrounded by a sort of canopy ; they stand six each side of a central figure of the throned Christ. The figures are rather stiffly drawn, and

have long robe, the feet (remining one of the early Italian pictures of Giotto) are never visible—so far as I have as yet been able to ascertain. The slab has on the top surface the diagonal dressing used by the Crusaders.

Only a few courses of the walls of the church are standing, they have been plastered inside, and the plaster was painted. I found a mason's mark on one stone, and others have the diagonal dressing. North of the church are found vaults with pointed rubble arches. The whole is evidently of the crusading period. We are going to-day to take a tracing of the painted tablet, which will be sent home as soon as possible. The position of the church precludes the idea that it is that of St. Stephen, built in the 5th century. It seems to have been rather a chapel adjoining the Asnerie or Templars' Stable, which I was able to identify in 1873 with certain ruins close to the newly found church on the south.

C. R. C.

II.

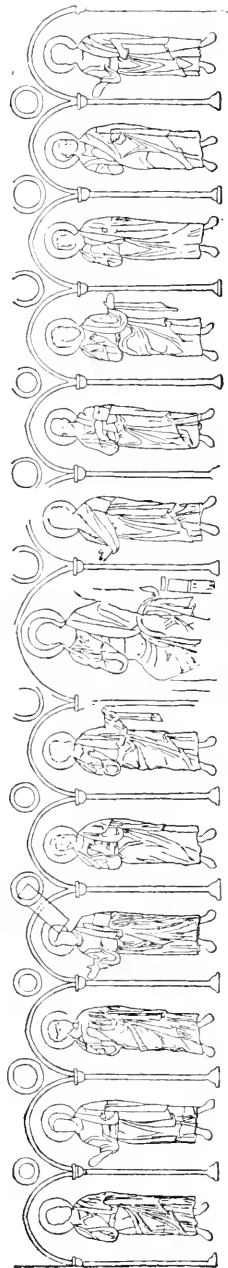
JERUSALEM, 15th February, 1882.

THE excavations at the newly discovered church outside the Damascus Gate are still in progress, but have been greatly impeded by the recent rain and falls of snow. The work has been done principally at the ends of the church, that is to say, towards the east and towards the west of the building. The outer surface of the east wall of the church—that in which the apse is built—has been laid bare. Parallel to this has been discovered one wall of a second building, perhaps a convent in connection with the church. The passage left between the two buildings is only 3 ft. 4 in. in breadth, and the stones of the convent have a remarkably clean and new appearance, as if the wall had only been recently constructed. This is no doubt due to the protection which it received from the church immediately in front of it. Moreover, the passage between the two may very possibly have been covered in, and an additional protection thus afforded to the surface of the stone.

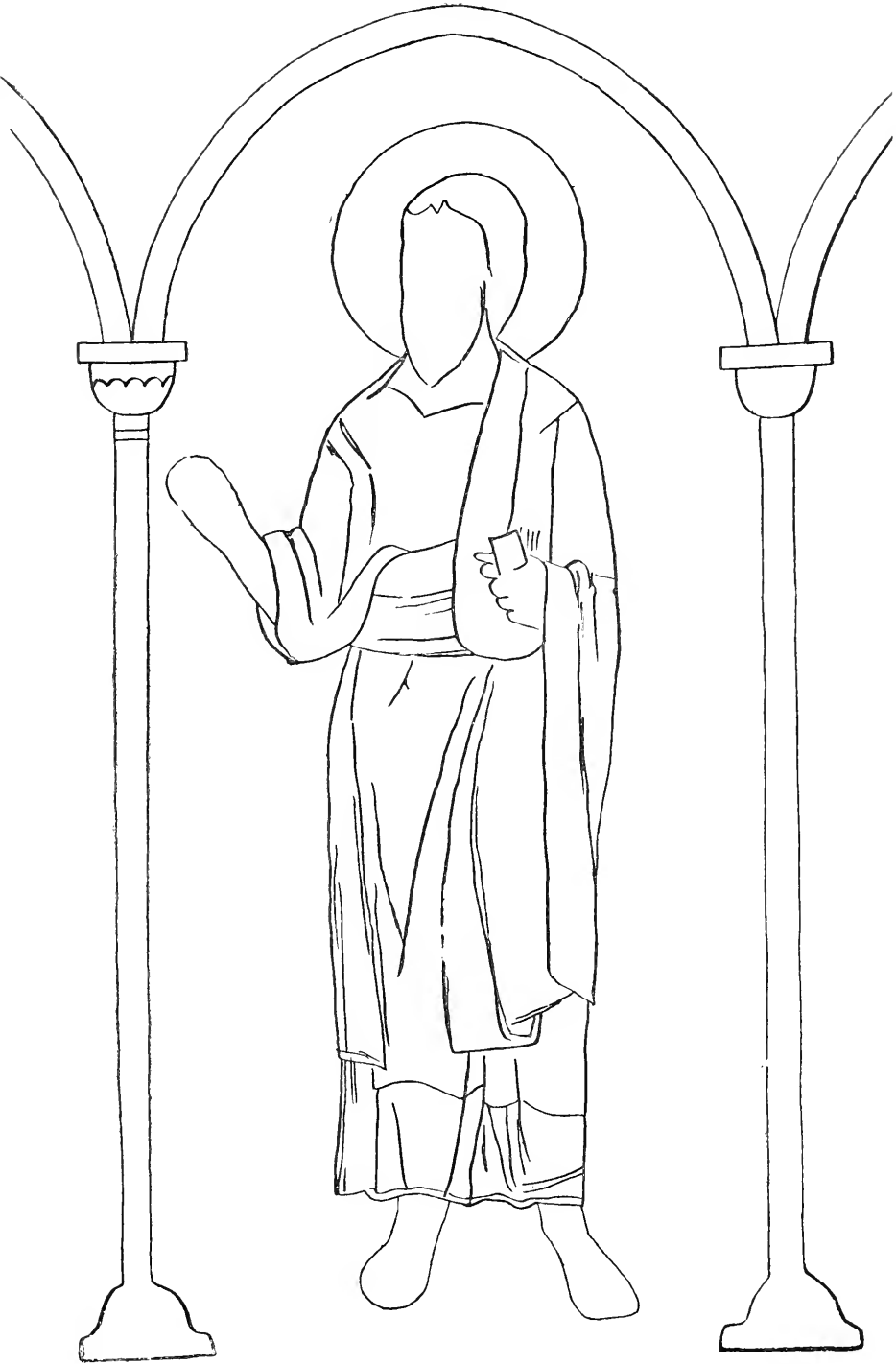
The north wall of the convent has also been laid bare for a distance of some 30 feet, but the eastern extremity has not yet been reached. It is built of larger blocks of stone and more solidly, being no doubt an outer wall, and appears to have been exposed to the weather before having been covered in by the earth which has just been removed.

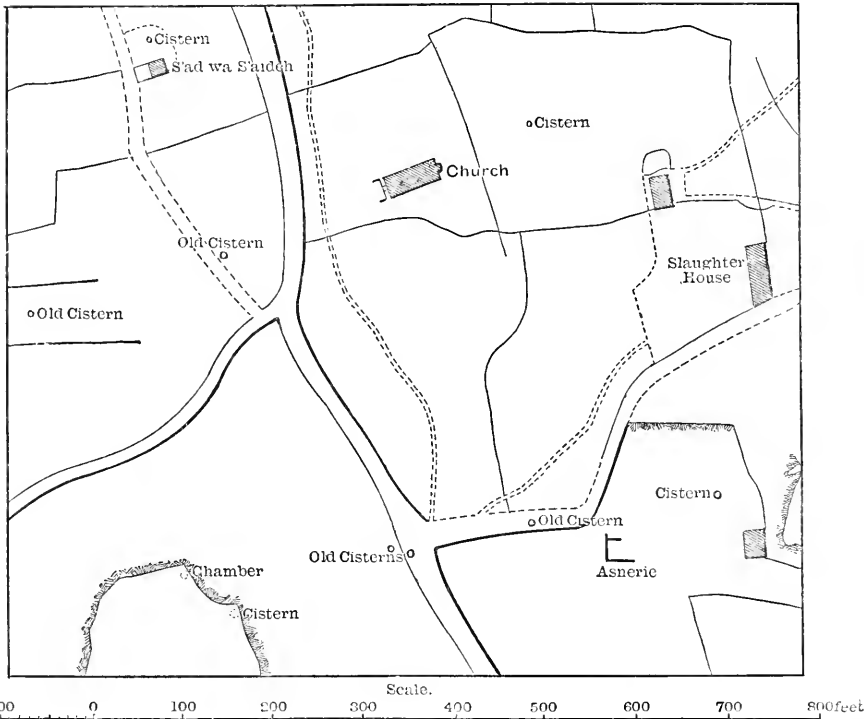
The workmen say that they have discovered a cistern in the passage between the church and the convent. It may, perhaps, exist, but yesterday while examining the place by ourselves we were unable to find the mouth.

A new door has also been discovered at the south-east corner of the church. It opens out towards the east, and is situated between the apse and the south wall. There is a fresco inside under the door-



JERUSALEM  
MEDIEVAL FRESCO at newly found Church





step, but to see this and the door properly further excavation is necessary.

At the west end of the church the ground outside the main entrance proves to have been paved with flag stones to a distance of eight or nine feet from the wall. To the left on entering the paving extends to the entrance to a tomb mentioned in Captain Conder's previous report, and at this point an inscription has recently been discovered.

Further again to the west, at a distance of 31 feet from the church, a wall has been found running north and south. The extremities of this wall have not yet been laid bare, and its connection with the main building is not clear.

The point which has excited most interest is the inscription referred to above. It is cut in one of the flag stones (measuring 23 inches by 16 inches) over the tomb. The letters are of the well-known late Greek form, and in some instances are well cut. The surface of the stone is, however, much worn, so that in places it is very difficult to distinguish artificial and time-worn grooves. I send a copy of the inscription traced from a squeeze, and have shown as far as possible the distinction between marks certainly intentional and others which are doubtful.

As yet no one has been able to suggest a translation. In the first line the word  $\Phi\epsilon\rho\omega\gamma$  is very distinct. Dr. Chaplin thinks that the marks shown in outline adjoining the letter  $\Phi$  may be a contraction for  $\chi\rho\iota\tau\omicron\phi$ , making the whole word  $\chi\rho\iota\tau\omicron\phi\epsilon\rho\omega\gamma$  or Christopher. In the second line the only doubtful letter is the  $\Delta$  which has been read  $\Lambda$ . However, it seems to me that a horizontal stroke is visible, although not nearly so plain as the rest of the letter. As regards the third and fourth line there is little difference of opinion, but below the word **OCTA** are a number of marks in which it is almost impossible to distinguish those which are time-worn from those which are artificial.

It has been suggested that we have only recovered a part of the inscription, the stone on which it is cut having formed portion of a block employed previously for some other purpose, and that we have lost the right half or the left half of each line. An examination on the spot shows however, that this is improbable. The flag-stone is *in situ*, above a tomb—a very natural position for a tomb-stone. It is close to the door of the church, and the workmen would not be likely to disfigure the floor in such a place with a previously used stone, when a new one might be so easily obtained. Moreover, the tracing of the squeeze shows that the present inscription could nowhere be cut through at right angles to the lines without dividing some of the letters. If the inscription had been originally longer it is unlikely that it could have been cut in two without thus dividing the letters, but along each side of the stone as it now stands there is

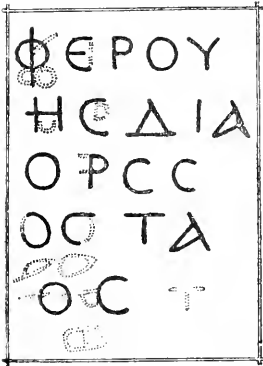
no trace of any such prolongation of the lines. In all probability we have before us the whole inscription, and it only remains to decipher the contractions which it no doubt contains.

The enterprising owner of the church intends to continue his excavations. Unfortunately the ground outside the south wall does not belong to him, otherwise he might have found chambers and tombs similar to those on the north. He intends, however, to work in an east and west direction, and to uncover the walls as far as he is allowed to do so by his neighbours.

A. M. MANTELL, *Lieut., R.E.*

JERUSALEM.

Inscription  
at newly discovered church  
outside the Damascus Gate



## NOTE ON PRE-HISTORIC REMAINS IN WESTERN PALESTINE.

THE reason which I have suggested in a former report for the absence of dolmens in Judæa, was the reiterated injunctions to the Jews to overthrow the pagan altars and pillars. Since the discovery of so many splendid specimens, most of which have not been previously seen (especially at Heshbon), we have been anxious to re-examine Western Palestine with a view to ascertain whether some hidden examples might not exist of dolmens or menhirs. Visits to likely spots have, however, as yet produced no results.

My attention has now been called to a site immediately north of Kastal and of the Jaffa-Jerusalem road, where a small monument has been found much resembling a dolmen. It is a flat stone measuring 6 feet by 3 feet, supported on one side by a block 3 feet by 6 feet and 3 feet high, and on the other by small stones. On the other side of the hill are two smaller monuments with stones 3 feet long. The site is one not unlike those places where dolmens are found beyond Jordan, namely, a hill looking down on an open valley with springs (Ain Dilbeh); and there are traces of a large enclosure on the flat hill top. I am not, however, able to satisfy myself that the stones in question have been really piled up as dolmens: their upper surfaces are rough, and there are no channels or cup-shaped hollows; they are, in fact, of the same tantalising character as some of the similar structures which Mr. Drake and I used to examine, without ever feeling satisfied that they were more than accidental or natural productions.

In addition, however, to the "stone of blood" and other interesting dolmens found by Lieutenant Kitchener in Galilee, there are one or two others mentioned in the Memoirs. The monument occurring east of the plain of Esdraelon (of Deir Ghazâleh, Sheet viii, Sect. B, "Memoirs of West Palestine Survey") appears to me clearly to be cognate to the Minyeh enclosures (see Report X). It has a dolmen altar, and traces of an oval with a central cippus—although not of great size. The dolmen itself is fully equal to the average size of those beyond Jordan.

In surveying the site of Gezer I also found a monument which seems probably to be a dolmen. It has two Hebrew letters (or what appear to be such) cut on the top stone. I obtained a sketch and measurements in 1875, and the structure is briefly described in the Memoirs.

The cup-shaped hollows in flat rocks, which are found beyond Jordan close to dolmens, are also often found in Palestine. They may, perhaps, mark the sites of former dolmen altars which have been purposely destroyed by the Jews. Three such hollows, each about six inches in diameter, were noticed by Lieutenant Mantell on the hill at Kastal about 250 yards north of the doubtful cromlech.

## THE SILOAM TUNNEL.

JERUSALEM, 1st December, 1881.

THE details recorded in the Siloam inscription concerning the great conduit, seemed to render it expedient to revisit the channel, in order to search for the point of junction between the two working parties, as well as to ascertain whether any other inscribed tablets might exist in other parts of the tunnel, or whether any marks connected with original measurements might remain.

Lieutenant Mantell, Mr. Armstrong, and I therefore visited the tunnel on 10th November, and spent nearly five hours in it, crawling from one end to the other, and measuring carefully, with a chain and a prismatic compass, the whole length between the Pool of Siloam and the upper spring (en Rogel, Gihon in the Valley, Bethesda, 'Ain Umm ed Deraj, or the Virgin's Fountain, as it is variously called).

We found less difficulty than Captain Warren experienced, because the level of the water has been lowered, and the overflow of the upper spring does not occur often in autumn. We were nevertheless very anxious while employed in the central section of the tunnel, where the height is only about 19 inches for some 20 yards, the breadth being only about 2 feet : for if the waters were to rise here (when the overflow occurs) to a height of little over a foot, it would be almost impossible to escape drowning. We were unable to ascertain when the water was expected to rise, or the height to which it attains ; but fortunately no overflow took place during the five hours which we spent in the tunnel, and we suffered only from the discomforts of mud and leeches and wet clothing, with the fatigue due to crawling so long in a cramped position, occasionally over stones or sharp fragments of broken pottery.

The measurement which we obtained with a chain (afterwards corrected by the standard) gives a total length of 1,706·8 feet between the Siloam end of the tunnel and the place where it enters the cross passage to the Virgin's pool, thus agreeing within 2 feet with Colonel Warren's total of 1,708 feet, and proving that his conjecture as to Robinson's measurement must be correct, and that the latter authority includes in his total of 1,758 feet that portion of the cross passage which leads from the Siloam tunnel to the back of the Virgin's pool, and which measures 50·8 feet by the chain.

The accompanying plan will be found to agree with that of Colonel Warren. The section is made from measurement of the height of the channel in different places, taken by us at frequent intervals where a marked alteration occurs. The surface is shown in accordance with the intersections along the canal of the contours shown on the Ordnance Survey ; and the supposed rock surface agrees with Colonel Warren's "Rock Contours on Ophel," checked in one place by an actual measurement of the rock surface, which we have now taken in the vertical shaft leading up from the roof of the tunnel.







We were, however, not completely satisfied with the results of our first visit, and accordingly, on the 22nd November, Lieutenant Mantell and I revisited the tunnel with a view of ascertaining the point of junction between the two working parties, and of searching for measurement marks on the walls.

We entered from the northern end, and had just commenced operations, when a shout from our servant warned us that the waters were rising.

When we first entered there was not much more than a foot depth of water in the pool, but the rush of water was now very rapid, and the depth increased just after we had reached the foot of the steps which lead down to the pool, to 4 feet 7 inches. The sound of the current pouring down the tunnel was distinct, and the depth of water in the channel, as we found afterwards, was somewhat over 9 inches, so that before the level had been lowered at the Siloam end the passage of the tunnel must always have been a very dangerous undertaking; and, indeed, might still prove so to an explorer caught by the overflow in the lowest part of the passage near the centre.

On our second visit we remained four hours in the tunnel, and inspected both walls very carefully, from the northern entrance to the place where we now suppose the junction of the two working parties to have occurred. I think we may state with confidence, that there is no tablet similar to that now famous, to be found in any other part of the tunnel, and that there is no other inscription. There is, indeed, no place fitted like that where the existing tablet has been found, because the tunnel is quite dark except at the mouth, and is for the greater part of its length so low that it would be extremely difficult, and often impossible, to carve an inscription.

As regards the existing tablet, I may remark that I have examined it again very closely, and feel convinced that the inscription has not been in any way damaged by the application of hydrochloric acid to remove the lime deposit which had filled in the letters. I have made the same remark in the previous *Quarterly Statement* (p. 278), but Professor Sayce appears (p. 282) to adopt the opinion of Mr. Pilter, that the acid has damaged the inscription, and he remarks that my report "makes the fact quite plain." We have, however, copies by Dr. Guthe, taken both before and after the cleaning of the inscription, which served to show that no bad effect resulted from the repeated washings; and the rock surface is still quite firm and hard, showing no signs of rottenness or chipping. I cannot but think that the letters which Professor Sayce put down, and which cannot now be discovered on any of the squeezes or casts, were not actually existent in the rock, but were merely marks formed by the lime deposit, and thus removed by the acid. Having seen the tablet before the acid was applied, I can add my testimony to that of others as to the entirely different aspect which the inscription presented before and after cleaning.

Before cleaning it resembled a rude scrawl of uncertain shapes, while it is now seen to have been carved with great care, in regular lines, and with constant forms for every letter. The copy published in the *Quarterly*

*Statement* for April, p. 70, contrasted with that given in October, p. 286, gives in fact a very fair idea of the difference which was made by cleaning the tablet.

The cast which has now reached England is fortunately so good that but little room for dispute can be left. It appears that the text must originally have consisted of about 190 letters, of which 171 are recoverable. This number exceeds that which was first given in Professor Sayce's copy, the total of which was 169 letters. It seems, therefore, clear that no letters have been lost in the process of cleaning.

The cast and squeeze will be found to agree with Professor Sayce's copy in 151 out of 169 letters. It is therefore clear that, practically, Professor Sayce was able, in spite of the great difficulties which he encountered, to transcribe correctly the great bulk of the inscription, and thus was the first to give the reading which in the main has been accepted. In his latest copy he has corrected 13 letters out of 18, in which he differed from the squeeze and the cast, and has added one of the two missing letters. The points of dispute, so far as the letters are concerned, are thus reduced to five letters which are doubtful, and two letters which appear on the cast but were not sent home on the squeeze, or noticed in the accompanying report.

I have also compared the cast and my own squeeze with Dr. Guthe's copy, which is the best which has been made, with exception of the cast. Dr. Guthe's copy agrees with ours in every respect. He has, however, shown six more letters than we were able to recover, and all six are correct according to the cast. Indeed, Dr. Guthe's copy appears to be perfect, with exception of the omission of two letters in the first line, which will be discovered on the cast.

The important details which will be elucidated by the cast are as follows:—In the first line Professor Sayce and Professor Socin read הנקבה בעוד. It seems, however, from the cast, that the second word is perhaps בעונו. In the fourth line Professor Sayce reads אל המים, but Professor Socin על המים. It will be seen from the cast that Professor Socin is right. There are, of course many other minor points on which the cast throws much light, confirming the squeeze in a very satisfactory manner. In the fifth line there is no doubt room for the disputed letters in the reading במאתים ואלף, but I have not been able to find any traces of the ם ך on either squeeze, cast, or stone; and it seems highly probable that a fissure in the rock here existed at the time when the inscription was cut.

The two letters הן at the beginning of the inscription, which Professor Sayce adopted from Mr. Pilter, I have never been able to find on the stone, although the original surface is preserved, nor have I been able to find the letters ז(ה) at the end of the inscription, which are also absent from Dr. Guthe's copy. Possibly these, and the disputed ף in the second line, may have been marks due to the lime incrustation, and not actual letters at all.

I may now proceed to describe the reasons which induce us to suppose that we have been able to fix the exact point of junction of the two working parties, in a position which exactly agrees with the inscription, according to Professor Sayce's latest translation (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1881, p. 284). For this purpose we have prepared an enlarged plan and section of the central part of the tunnel, where a remarkable S shaped contortion occurs.

At the points *a*, *b*, *c*, *e*, *f*, *g*, *h*, and *i*, certain *set backs* will be observed in the walls of the passage, which indicate a sudden change in direction on the part of the excavator. They are, indeed, false heads, abandoned apparently from the conviction that the passage was not going in the right direction. In the case of *h* and *i*, however, which are out of the general direction, and continued further, these recesses may have served as sidings, allowing two excavators to pass one another, which would be impossible without them.

The important point, however, to observe is that some of these headings point up channel, and some point down, and this not without a system, for while *a*, *b*, *c*, *e*, point down, *g*, *h*, *i* point up. Similar headings occur in other parts of the tunnel, but they always agree with the rule thus observed, those which are between the Virgin's Fountain and the point *a*, pointing down stream, and those between *i* and Siloam pointing up stream.

Each of these headings has a rounded top, such as would result from the excavation of the rock with a pick, by a man working with his face to the front. It shows that on turning aside from the heading he left the roof unfinished, in just the form which would result from the swinging of a pick in a curve, which,—as a moment's reflection will convince the reader,—is the shape natural to an unfinished excavation. Looking at the plan then, we see that an excavator facing *down stream* was working at the headings *a*, *b*, *c*, and was three times induced to work away further to his right. Looking at *f*, we see an excavator working up stream and induced to turn to his right. We see, moreover, that the point *e* might have been the actual point where the channels met, as there is a slight set back down stream within 2 feet of the set back *f*, up-stream.

Now on looking at the section and cross-section, it will be seen that there is a sudden difference of level in the roof of the channel at this point.

Within a distance of 2 feet 6 inches it falls from 4 feet 8 inches to 3 feet 7 inches, and a sort of ruin occurs where the lower channel (up-stream) joins the more lofty down-stream excavation.

In fact, the general appearance of this part of the tunnel, looking up-stream from *f*, is that of a smaller drain opening into a main drain, and would of itself suggest that this is the point of junction, without considering the testimony of the headings. It may, therefore, I think, be considered certain that the place of junction was at the point *e*, or 944 feet from the mouth of the tunnel, and consequently 813.6 feet from the back of the Virgin's Fountain.

This discovery agrees in a remarkable manner with the wording of the

inscription. In the directions which are indicated by the headings at *a* and *f* the two parties were working nearly parallel to one another, and might have passed each other without joining, having a thickness of seven feet of rock between ; those in the up-stream channel being to the right or east of those in the down-stream tunnel. Each, therefore, began to turn to his right ; and those in the up-stream channel did so most rapidly. The shape of the cutting at the point *d* gives evidence of a very complete change of axis. This is not, as might be supposed from the plan, an up-stream heading, conflicting with what has been said before ; for the roof of the tunnel at *d* is curved on the *side* and not at the *end* of this set back, showing that the workman, after leaving the false headings *a, b, c*, began to widen the channel on his right, facing for a short time to the side instead of to his front. The little buttress thus left was never cleared away, but remains to give its evidence of the method of excavation of the tunnel.

The inscription (line 2) tells us that *three cubits* remained to be broken through, when it was discovered that there was an "excess in the rock to the right." Now if we consider the down-stream party to have worked to *e*, it will be seen that the party at *d* were just three cubits of 16 inches from them, when they discovered their excess, and began to cut away the rock on the right. It was this which was done according to the text (line 3), for they "struck on the west" that is, facing west, just as we have seen the excavator at *d* must have faced. The party at *e*, in the meanwhile, seem to have stopped working, which they would naturally do, to avoid injuring, or being injured by, the others when the pick struck through the last dividing partition of rock. Again, in the last line, we read that "three-fourths [?] of a cubit was the height of the rock over the head of the excavation." If this be the correct reading, it is remarkable that the difference of height of the two channels at the point of junction is just 13 inches or close upon three-fourths of a cubit of 16 inches.

Unfortunately, however, the text is deficient just in the place where the number occurs, and it appears, according to Professor Sayce, that the word המש is used as a plural : it may, therefore, be found that the measurement recorded in the inscription refers to something else. The words "height of the rock over the head of the excavation," strictly interpreted, would seem to infer that the excavators were aware of the thickness of the rock above them, that is, of the depth of the channel below the surface of the hill. This they could only ascertain either by measurement at the mouths of the channel, or by running contours over the hill,—just as the accompanying section is constructed from the contours—unless they made a shaft to the surface. This is just what they did, for at a distance of 470 feet from the south end a shaft still exists reaching up to the rock surface. It is covered in above with large fallen blocks, but was no doubt once open and served as a well mouth. The rock surface is 14 feet above the floor of the tunnel, the height of which is 3 feet 8 inches at this point. The thickness of rock is, therefore, about 10 feet "above the head of the excavation" at the shaft. This is

the minimum thickness, as is shown by the section, for towards the north the rock surface is 170 feet above the roof of the tunnel. Perhaps in the end the doubtful word may prove to be **מאת** "an hundred," of which the first and last letters certainly occur, though the **ס** has not been discerned; and the inscription in such a case would refer, in general terms, to the average thickness of the rock above the aqueduct.

Still more interesting is the question whether the length of "a thousand cubits" can have any connection with the measured length of the canal. It is remarkable that 1,700 feet is very close upon 1,000 cubits of 21 inches, and is also very nearly 1,200 cubits of 17 inches, so that the two readings adopted by Professor Sayce and Mr. Shapira respectively might both be supported on the assumption of a different length for the cubit. It would, however, be a very astonishing coincidence if a tunnel so irregularly excavated should in the end have proved to be exactly a thousand cubits long, and it seems far more probable that the writer of the inscription gives an estimated or approximate length, in round numbers, in which case the inscription has no value as fixing the length of the cubit. I have given, in the *Quarterly Statement* of 1880, a *résumé* of the measurements of the Jerusalem Haram and the Galilean Synagogues, which appear to indicate a length of about 16 inches as that of the Jewish cubit, which was not of necessity the same as the Egyptian cubit.

The average measurement of the human hand, as compared with the length of the Zereth or breadth of four fingers, and of the *sit* or span; and the digit of Maimonides as compared with the contents of an average egg, all agree with this shorter measurement. The "cubit" (or fore-arm) "of a man" cannot be measured so as to give 21 inches, nor could 48 barleycorns be made to measure more than about 16 inches (cf. "Handbook to Bible," pp. 57, 79).

Unfortunately, Mr. Beswick's calculations, which reduces the length of the tunnel to 1,478 feet, is founded on a misconception (*Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 295), as the length of the branch from the Virgin's Fountain is not included in the total of 1,708 feet.

We have, however, paid special attention to the question whether any marks of measurement could be found on the walls or roof of the channel, and we obtained measurements of certain distances between marks on the wall, of which a digest is given below. The marks in question are evidently artificial, being square or triangular notches measuring about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  inches wide. In one place two of them occur 8 inches apart (half a cubit of 16 inches), which, if it had any weight, would seem to indicate that the measurements were not very carefully taken. It seems impossible, however, to deduce any result of value from the measurements tabulated.

There are marks in other places where iron cramps seem to have been driven some 3 inches into the rock, but these also have no regular interval of occurrence, and a very careful examination of both walls, four times repeated, has failed to show us any other marks or signs than those above-mentioned.

The general impression resulting from an examination of the conduit is that it was the work of a people whose knowledge of engineering was rudimentary. It is well known that in mining it is very difficult to induce the excavator to keep in a truly straight line, the tendency being to diverge very rapidly to one side. It is possible that this is the real reason of the crooked run of the canal; but another reason may have been the comparative hardness of the strata met in mining at an uniform level through a hill, with beds having a considerable dip. It will, however, be observed that, after passing the shaft, the direction of the tunnel changes to a line more truly directed on the Virgin's Fountain. The excavators from the Siloam end became aware, probably, by the impossibility of seeing a light at the head of the mine, when standing at the mouth of the channel, that they were not going straight, and the only means they had of correcting the error, consisted in making a shaft up to the surface to see where they had got to. After ascertaining this, they went straight for about 140 feet, and then diverged gradually to the left; but their general direction, nevertheless, agrees roughly with that of the rock contour, which may be due to following a particular seam of rock.

The northern party were yet more hopelessly in the dark, and the great divergence to the west can only be explained by supposing that they did not know where they were going. They seem to have been guided, at length, by the sound of the picks in the other tunnel, which would be heard at a considerable distance through the soft rock, but even then their course indicates great uncertainty.

It is also apparent that a rivalry must have existed between the two parties, working as the inscription tells us "eagerly;" for the two narrowest parts of the tunnel occur, one on either side of the point of junction. In fact, the excavators must be accused of scamping their work, with the object of showing a greater total length than their rivals, and for this purpose they reduced the size of the excavation to a minimum in which it seems almost impossible that a man could have worked. It is clear, anyhow, that the excavators were not giants, and probable that they were under the average size of the modern peasantry in Palestine.

Another interesting question is the increase of height in the tunnel near the point of junction. This may have been due to the intention of concealing their previous proceedings, but it seems more probable that the reason is to be found in the difference of level between the two channels where they meet. The height of the channel does not appear—according to the section—to bear any relation to the thickness of the rock above, but there must evidently have been some cause for the difference of height in various parts of the aqueduct. There is a fall of a foot in the whole length of the tunnel, but the bottom is coated with very hard mud, so that it is quite impossible to ascertain whether the floor is properly levelled or no. At one point (*h* on enlarged plan) a sudden fall of 4 inches appears to occur in the floor level, and the water becomes deeper within a few steps. From this point, also, the roof begins to rise, and gets gradually higher. In 49 feet from *h* to the point of junction *e*, the tunnel increases from



2 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 8 inches in height. It seems probable, therefore, that the southern, or up-stream tunnel, struck higher by about 2 feet than the floor of the down stream shaft, and that the floor was subsequently lowered as far as *h*, when it was found that the water would flow for the rest of the way to the pool without further alteration. This inference could only be drawn from the fact of the *southern* channel being the highest—which is the case. If the northern channel had been the highest we should probably have found a kind of shoot, instead of a gradual levelling off of the floor. The observation serves, however, to give an independent confirmation of the determination of the point of junction before indicated from consideration of the plan alone.

With all allowances, it is nevertheless remarkable that there should have been so little difference of level between the two tunnels. It would have been easy from the flow of the torrent in the Kedron, to make sure that the Pool of Siloam was lower than the spring; and it would not have been difficult by means of a plummet or of a rude water level of some kind, to preserve the level of the channel floor; but it is extraordinary that the two extreme ends of the channel should differ by only a foot in level, considering that the two ends were started independently.

The two ends of the channel are more lofty than any other part, and near the mouth the tunnel is 12 to 16 feet high. Perhaps this may also be connected with the question of the water level, for the intermittent flow of the Virgin's Pool must have caused considerable difficulties. It is true that at the time of the excavation of the tunnel, the overflow of the spring appears to have been carried off by the "brook that ran through the midst of the land" (2 Chron., xxxii, 4), but some of the water would, nevertheless, run down the channel. If, however, the floor of the tunnel at its upper end had been kept about a foot above the high-water mark until the end of the work, this would have been sufficient to prevent any flow down the tunnel. The height of the aqueduct at the upper end is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet, and it increases rapidly to 6 feet in 20 feet distance, after which it decreases gradually to about 3 feet. This might be explained by supposing that the tunnel was purposely at first run up-hill for a short distance to prevent the water entering, and was afterwards enlarged by sinking the floor so as to admit the overflow when the natural outflow of the Virgin's Pool down the Kedron valley was stopped.

The enlargement at the southern end may also be due to the sinking of the floor after the junction had been effected. It may have been found that the water stood in the tunnel and could not flow into the pool. The excavators would then cut away the rock floor until the water ran through, and the roof would consequently be higher above the water than near the centre where the water was standing. In this case, it seems to have been merely accidental that the levels of the tunnels near the point of junction were so nearly the same, and the differences of height in various parts are seen to be easily explained, on the theory that the aqueduct required considerable alteration after the junction had been effected, and the water

admitted into the upper part of the channel in order to obtain an outflow at the pool of Siloam.

I have thus enumerated all the points which seem to me of importance, as bearing on the method of construction of the canal, and its relation to the wording of the inscription. The number of small bends and irregularities in the course of the tunnel shows, not less than do the larger irregularities, that it was the work of primitive engineers, unacquainted with any very accurate instruments or methods of measurement. Such rock-cut channels are found in other parts of Palestine (as at 'Askar, near Shechem, Sheet XI; at 'Anîn, Sheet VIII; or at Lejjûn, Sheet VIII), but the Siloam tunnel is the most important work of the kind yet discovered. The sides are covered up to a height of about 3 feet with a thin red cement, very hard, and full of pounded pottery, being exactly similar in constitution to that now used in Palestine for lining cisterns. The cracks in the rock are in many places filled in with similar cement above the 3-foot level. In other places the rock has been cut away so as to form a little drain, by which a small land-spring could be led into the channel.

The lower part of the channel has been widened slightly in the parts where the tunnel is highest, the walls being scooped out some 3 inches on either side to a height of about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet. There is also a shaft or standing place at 700 feet from the south end. It is 7 feet high from the floor, and the roof is of rock. Possibly it was made by the excavator to rest himself in by standing upright after working for a long time in a recumbent position, for it is near the lowest part of the tunnel. It may also have been constructed for safety when the sudden overflow of the spring filled the tunnel, for his head would be high above the water if he sat or stood under this shaft.

We did not observe any side entrance into the channel at any point, and the walls and roof are of solid rock throughout. The initials J. A. S. H. M., and date 1835, are burnt with the smoke of a candle on the roof of the tunnel at 240 feet from the southern end.

In connection with this tunnel I may add a few words as to the new aqueduct recently discovered by the Fellahin. It was not apparently examined by Dr. Guthe, and only a small part of it is at present visible. The level of the top of the covering stones is about 2,091 feet at the point observed. The stones are 1 foot thick, and the channel beneath is at least 2 feet deep, and probably more, as it is filled up with rubbish. This gives a level 2,088 feet, which is a foot above the level of the bottom of the pool of Siloam, from which this aqueduct appears to have led. The channel is rock-cut,  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, and roofed with slabs of stone. In some of these there are slits about 3 inches wide and 20 inches long, but the object of these openings is not clear, unless they served for air holes to relieve the pressure. The aqueduct appears to follow the contour of the hill, westwards from Siloam, and the Fellahin, who have not discovered the end of it, suggested that it went to the Bir Eyûb, where it will be remembered Colonel Warren found an unfinished subterranean channel. The difference of level is,

however, too great to allow of the two being probably connected. It would be very interesting to follow up the aqueduct from both ends, especially as it may furnish the real explanation of the expression that Hezekiah "Stopped the watercourse of the upper spring and brought it straight down to the west side of the City of David" (2 Chron. xxxii, 30), thus throwing some light on the vexed question of the position of this part of Jerusalem. It is quite possible that subterranean reservoirs, as yet unknown, may exist in connection with this aqueduct, for the Bir Eyûb itself was long quite unknown, and was recovered in the middle ages by excavation.

C. R. C.

## TABLE OF DISTANCES.

## SILOAM TUNNEL.

*The Zero marks the commencement of a series of measurements between two or more notches.*

	Feet.	16-inch cubit.	17·72-inch cubit.	18-inch cubit.	21-inch cubit.
Notch A	0	0	0	0	0
" B	$8\frac{1}{2}$	5	45	44	38
" C	$57\frac{6}{12}$	43·12	38·43	38·33	32·86
" D	0	0	0	0	0
" E	$41\frac{10}{12}$	31·37	28·33	27·87	23·90
" F	0	0	0	0	0
" G	$12\frac{1}{12}$	9·5	8·57	8·44	7·24
" H	0	0	0	0	0
" I	$15\frac{2}{12}$	11·37	10·27	10·11	8·69
" J	0	0	0	0	0
" K	$25\frac{6}{12}$	19·12	17·27	17·	14·57
" L	$24\frac{6}{12}$	18·37	16·59	15·93	13·52
" M	$9\frac{6}{12}$	7·12	6·43	6·33	5·13

## KADESH ON THE ORONTES.

ARROS HOUSE, CENTRAL HILL, UPPER NORWOOD,  
*March 20th, 1882.*

It was scarcely worth Mr. Tomkins' while to carry our different opinions from the Society of Biblical Archaeology, where we had his maps and diagrams, and ample opportunity for discussion, to your "*Quarterly*." As he has done so, however, I beg to re-state my reasons for agreeing with Lieutenant Conder, and disagreeing with him:—

1. Forty years ago the Rev. Dr. Thomson found the name Kadesh clinging to the place. In the "Land and the Book," page 110, he says, "At Kedes, an old city near the head of the Lake of Hums, I found the peasants breaking up beautiful marble columns with sledge-hammers," &c.
2. In 1872 I visited Tell Neby Mendeh, in company with Mr. Kirby Green, H.B. Majesty's Consul. We spent a night and part of two days in the place, and found the name still known to the people.
3. Mr. Tomkins' own maps and plans, showing the combatants in action all round the lake, practically disposed of Mr. Tomkins' theory.
4. The complaint of Rameses II, as he stumbled into the Khita ambushcade, that his army being at the Lake of the Amorites, had left him in the lurch. Had the Egyptian army been at the sheet of water at the city Kadesh, they would have been in the proper place to have supported their king, and they could not have been considered absent.

Regretting my inability to agree with Mr. Tomkins on this point, I gladly acknowledge the good service he has done in drawing attention to the subject.

WILLIAM WRIGHT.

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 ASSYRIAN DISCOVERIES NEAR BAGDAD.

DURING a discussion which recently took place on a paper read at the Victoria Institute by the Rev. H. G. Tomkins, on Biblical Proper Names, Mr. Rassam, the well-known discoverer of Assyrian relics, made the following statement in reference to his recent researches in the neighbourhood of Bagdad. "Mr. Tomkins has alluded to the discoveries I have been enabled to make among the ancient cities of the East. I am sorry I

cannot at present say much about what I have recently been doing, or I should have given the account elsewhere. Indeed, with one exception, I have not very much to tell you since the lecture I delivered here two years ago. I will, however, offer you a brief statement of what I have lately discovered. In March last I went out again to the East, as you know I am always doing, for the purpose of finding out the old cities which lie buried there. As I was journeying on one occasion in pursuit of this object, I met with an Arab who told me that he knew of an old ruined city, the remains of which were to be found within five hours of Bagdad—that is to say, taking the computation at three miles an hour, the place he knew of was fifteen miles from Bagdad. As I am one who never refuses to act on any information likely to lead to some practical result, I said I would go with him to the place indicated. I therefore accompanied him; and as we were travelling along the route pointed out by the Arab, we came at a distance of four hours' journeying upon an old ruin that I had never seen before—a ruin of great magnitude—so large, indeed, that it must be about three miles in circumference. I at first thought that this was the place of which my guide had spoken, and I said to him, "Oh! this is the place?" He replied, "No; that is not the place I told you of, it is further on." Then I said, "What is this place?" He answered, "I do not know." However, I made up my mind that I would certainly explore it when I came back. We consequently went onwards, and at last the Arab showed me a most wonderful ruin. I set to work and excavated there, but I found nothing of any antiquarian value. I afterwards went back to the place I had first seen, and commenced a thorough search there. The result was, that after digging for four days we came upon the top of some walls. This induced us to persevere with increased ardour, and we soon found that we had come upon an enormous building, in which we began to find inscriptions. I may here say that I am not an Assyrian reader. I am only a discoverer of Assyrian relics, which I send to the British Museum, where those who have made Assyriology a study interpret the inscriptions I find. We first of all discovered four rooms, and then came upon a fifth. They were what I should call generally of the Assyrian or Babylonian order, and paved with bricks or stones; but the fifth room was paved with asphalt, the discovery of which brought to my mind Solomon's saying—"There is nothing new under the sun." Previous to this I had always thought that asphalt was a modern invention. Singular as this discovery was, we dug through the asphalt, and in a short time we were rewarded by coming upon a coffer on which we found inscriptions. From this coffer we took two cylinders. These were covered with inscriptions, which are supposed to be the most important records of the oldest city in the world, founded, as historians tell us, by Noah after the Deluge, and where, according to tradition, Noah buried the antediluvian records. Well, I had to come home; but I left some workmen continuing the operations at the spot, and I have ascertained that they have found, after a few days' more digging, that in one of the rooms there was a channel, and

inside that channel there were records inscribed on nearly ten thousand tablets. These tablets are all coming to England, but we cannot of course as yet say what they contain. They may contain something of even greater value than anything that has hitherto been discovered in the course of our Eastern researches. It may be, indeed, that we shall really find on them the antediluvian records of which I have spoken. After I have been out there again I shall be happy to give you further information as to this interesting discovery on my return. I hope to be going out in another month, and then I trust I shall be able to make still further advances on what we have already discovered."

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### CROMLECHS ON THE EAST OF JORDAN.

CAPTAIN CONDER, in his interesting account of survey work done by him and his companions East of Jordan, speaks of having found some 400 cromlechs. This agrees with the statements made to my husband by his Arab escort when he visited that country in 1855, "our guides told us that they abound all over the hills." In his "Byways in Palestine," 1st Edition, p. 64, he gives a drawing of one of several which he saw after leaving Sûf, going northwards through Bashan. They were constructed of four huge slabs of brown flinty looking stone forming a chamber; two for sides, one for back, and a cover over all which measured eleven feet by six and about four feet high. Mr. Finn considered them to be of Pagan origin, and that they were altars.\* This view has been adopted by Captain Conder, who finds that they are connected with sacred centres and with stone circles, and he shows how, in placing an offering on the top slab or lintel, the offerer must face east, as most of the cromlechs occur on the west of the circle. Some have supposed the last half of the word cromlech to be identical with the Hebrew לִיָּח *l'wach*, "tablet" or "slab." It is interesting to observe that the cromlechs found by Captain Conder are mostly placed on the live rock. He also finds holes often excavated in the live rock close to the cromlechs, as also a similar hole in the top slab, probably to receive the live embers (charcoal) for kindling the sacrifice. Various passages of Holy Scripture come to mind in reading these things, and first in importance are the numerous references to the rock צוּר as an emblem of God (see Deut. xxxii, 4; and xxx, xxxi; and 1 Cor. x, 1 and many other passages).

Moses speaks of the heathen gods: "Their rock is not as our rock." Deut. xxxii, 31. Again, God forbade hewn blocks or slabs to be used in building His altar, Ex. xx, 25. The very altars were to be different. It is interesting to notice that Manoah placed his altar upon a rock, Judges, xiii, 19. And the connection of the great rock on Moriah with the temple and the altar is very interesting. The rugged simplicity

\* See also "Byways," p. 283, for the account of a remarkable rude stone monument between Tyre and Sidon.

that venerable rock still bears testimony to the obedience of the Hebrew people to the law of Moses. It was left unhewn, though, but the base foundation of the temple and altar. The Bedaween told Captain Conder that the cromlechs are called "Beit el Ghul," "ghouls' house," *i.e.*, demons. Compare this with the statement of Moses in the chapter above quoted, Deut. xxxii, where the rock of Israel is contrasted with the heathen "no-gods" in verse 17. They sacrificed unto devils, that is, demons. St. Paul, in 1 Cor. x, evidently has these passages in his mind, when he speaks of the rock, v. 1, and in v. 20, "the Gentiles sacrifice to devils (*δαμόνια*), not to God." The word used here is the same as used in the Septuagint, Deut. xxx, 11-17, and signifies, like the Arabic "ghoul," a malignant demon. The Arab tradition has preserved for us the allusion to ancient customs older than the days when Deuteronomy was written by Moses on the eastern side of Jordan, where these altars not "*overthrown*" by Israel still exist.

E. A. FINN.

## THE MOUNTAIN OF THE SCAPE GOAT.

JERUSALEM, *January*, 18, 1882.

Having visited to-day, under the guidance of Sheikh Rashid, El Muntâr, I am able to confirm what is said by Captain Conder in the *Quarterly Statement*, p. 206.

The distance from Jerusalem, the grand view of Jerusalem, the expanse of country spread out before one, the strange character of the mountain (on the one side rolling in rich folds of pasture grounds tenanted by numberless flocks, on the other, bleak, bare, chill, and precipitous), the accordance of the nomenclature, all these things make one believe that this *must* be the "mountain of the scape goat."

I do not know whether Captain Conder has called attention to the large cistern on the top of the mountain, to the fragmentary pieces of mosaic pavement, or to the traces of walls and other buildings.

One thinks generally that not much may be done on a winter day. But this morning—with its heavy clouds massing over and then drifting away from Jerusalem, and the many bursts of sunshine bringing out every detail,—Bethlehem, Beit Jâla, the Hill of Evil Counsel, Zion, Moriah, the Mount of Olives, &c., were lighted up in a marvellous manner.

The view to the north-east was very cloudy, but the view of the Dead Sea and the desert country of Judah was magnificent!

C. PICKERING CLARKE.





THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

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NOTES AND NEWS.

THE Firman promised has not yet been signed, and early in June Captain Conder brought home his party, and the materials which he has accumulated during the fourteen months' campaign. He estimates that it will take him five months of steady work to get these materials in order for publication.

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They consist of the Map of 500 square miles, the field books, note-books, rough drawings, photographs, special plans, descriptions, and observations. All these things were laid before the General Committee at their meeting on June 27th.

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The Map is drawn on the same scale as the great Map of Western Palestine, namely, one inch to the mile, and the "Memoirs" are even more full and detailed than those made for the other side. It is in contemplation to proceed at once with the reduction and engraving of the work for the small Map.

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Captain Conder was invited to accompany the Princes on their tour through the Holy Land. They were enabled to visit the Mosque of Hebron, of which Captain Conder drew a plan. The Princes visited the East of the Jordan, and travelled through the whole length of the country to Beyrout. Captain Conder is engaged upon a Report of this journey for the Prince of Wales.

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As regards the future work, it must be understood that the exploration of Eastern Palestine is not abandoned, but only postponed. The maintenance of the party proved, as was anticipated, a very severe strain on the resources of the Society, and the Committee earnestly entreat their supporters to continue their subscriptions, in order that funds may be accumulated. In the present excited state of the East, it is as well that the party should be withdrawn.

Political significance, which it is desirable to avoid, might be attached to the presence of two English officers.

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The second volume of "Memoirs" has been placed in the hands of the subscribers. The proofs of the third volume are with Captain Conder, and the illustrations are nearly ready: this volume will be ready in the autumn. It will be closely followed by Canon Tristram's work.

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There are a few copies left, which the Committee are very desirous of placing in public libraries. They would be very much obliged if readers of the *Quarterly Statement* would send them names of libraries. A circular has been prepared giving full particulars of the work and its cost, which can be forwarded to any one on application.

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Mr. Saunders's beautiful sections of the country, viz.: one from north to south, and four from east to west, have been laid down on two sheets, so that they can be had separately if desired. They are also laid down on his "Water-Basin" Map. The price of the sheets is 1s. 6d. each. The Jerusalem sheet of the great Map can also be had separately, at half-a-crown.

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The income of the Society from all sources, from March to June, 1882, was £554 19s. 7d. The amount in the Banks on June 27th, the day of the meeting of General Committee, was £224 16s. 9d.

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It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a Bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

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Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

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While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

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## RUDE STONE MONUMENTS OF THE BIBLE.

It has already been suggested by Sepp that many of the monuments mentioned in the Old Testament resembled the rude stone monuments which have lately been attracting attention in Palestine. The following note is merely offered as a suggestion subject to criticism.

Genesis xxviii, 11. Jacob comes to a certain Makom or "place" called Bethel ("the house of God"), probably known to him in the morning by the remains of Abraham's altar (xiii, 4), and here he erects a pillar (מעבדה) and anoints it. It consisted of a single stone set up, and seems clearly to have been a menhir. The custom of anointing such stones was common to the Phœnicians, and the recent discovery of cup-hollows in the menhirs beyond Jordan is very interesting in this connection (cf. xxxv, 14). After renewed visits to Bethel I have, however, been unable to find any remains of menhirs or cromlechs at the site.

Genesis xxxiii, 20. Jacob erects an altar in the patch of ground near the well which he dug in Shechem. There was apparently near the same spot an oak under which Jacob buried the Teraphim (xxxv, 4). This is afterwards mentioned as the oak of the pillar erected by Joshua (Josh. xxiv, 26) by the Holy Place of Jehovah (cf. Judges ix, 37, "the enchanter's oak"). According to Jerome the site should be placed at Balâta, the spring near Jacob's Well, but no remains of any rude stone monument have as yet been found (cf. Judges ix, 6).

Genesis xxxi, 45. Jacob sets up a pillar at Mizpeh of Gilead, and this is surrounded with a great heap (Galeed) of stones. Similar cairns have been described in my report on the rude stone monuments of Moab, where the custom of throwing stones at a menhir is noticed. The site of Mizpeh is not yet known, but the cairn may very probably remain. The heap was called "witness," which connects it with other monuments to be mentioned later.

Genesis xxxv, 20. Jacob erects a pillar over Rachel's Tomb. The practice of placing a menhir at a tomb-head is ancient in India, and survives probably in the head-stones of Christian and Moslem tombs alike.

Exodus xxiv, 4. Moses builds under Sinai an altar, and erects twelve pillars, apparently as a cromlech or circle of menhirs. No traces of this appear to have been as yet found in Sinai.

Numbers xxiii. The altars erected by Balaam have been fully noticed in a former paper.

Deuteronomy xii, 3. The Israelites are commanded to "overthrow" the altars, to break the pillars of the Canaanites. This would apply exactly to the destruction of dolmens and menhirs which appears to have occurred in Western Palestine.

Deuteronomy xxvii, 6, and Exodus xx, 25. The altars of Jehovah were to be built of whole stones unhewn, or of earth. It seems not improbable that the earlier altars may have been similar to the dolmens and tells still existing; but according to the Talmud, the Jerusalem altar was formed of a sort of concrete of pebbles in mortar.

Deuteronomy xxvi, 14, and Psalm cvi, 28. "The offerings to the dead" here referred to were often made in Egyptian tombs. The small offerings, on the lintels of tombs east of Jordan, have been mentioned in former reports, and such offerings are found throughout Palestine on sacred tombs. The connection with the worship of Baal Peor in the Psalm agrees with the close connection which is observed in the rude stone monuments between tombs and altars. In some cases it is apparently clear that the dolmens were not tombs, but in India similar monuments have been discovered which are certainly sepulchres. The sacredness of the tombs of venerated ancestors probably explains the connection.

Deuteronomy xxvii, 2. Great stones plastered over were to be set up and inscribed with the words of the Law on Mount Ebal beside an altar of Jehovah. This was done (Josh. viii, 31), and in Egypt also similar inscriptions on plaster have been found. The altar with the inscribed cippi may perhaps have formed a circle or enclosure not unlike Stonehenge. Such a circle is said to exist to the present day in Wady Waleh, and the one at el Mareighât has been described in a former report.

Joshua iv, 9. The twelve stones from Jordan were "set up" at Gilgal. The name Gilgal signifies a circle, and it seems indisputable that a circle of menhirs is intended. There was another Gilgal in the hills near Bethel and a third in the Philistine plain. A place called Jileijil also exists east of Gerizim, and probably marks the site of another ancient Gilgal. It seems probable that circles of stones existed at one time in all these places.

Joshua viii, 20. The body of the King of Ai was covered with a great cairn. This practice is still observed, large cairns being erected over those slain in battle in Moab (as also in England in pre-historic times). It seems possible that the great stone heap of *et Tell*, near the site of Ai, may be the very cairn intended in the present instance.

Joshua xxii, 11. The altar Ed, built by the trans-Jordanic tribes, was, according to Josephus, east of the river. It is remarkable that a great group of dolmens exists at the foot of the eastern mountains, just south of the Jabbok, on the main road from Nablus to Salt. These have not yet been visited by the Survey party, but are described by Irby and Mangles. It is perhaps to one of these that the episode refers, as the Israelites were returning from Shiloh to Mount Gilead, and erected their monument "over against the land of Canaan in the borders of Jordan at the passage of the children of Israel." Similar "witnesses" are still erected by the Arabs (as often mentioned in former reports) wherever a sacred place first comes in sight of the pilgrim.

Judges vi, 26, and xiii, 19. An altar built on a rock and a rock used as an altar are mentioned in these two passages. The occurrence of cup-

shaped hollows in rocks, proper for such libations as are mentioned in the latter passage is instructive. The Sakhrat at Jerusalem and that on Mount Gerizim seem to be instances of such rock altars.

1 Samuel vi, 14. The great stone in the field of Joshua the Beth-Shemite on which the ark was placed remained as an *Ed* (rendered "unto" in A.V., verse 18), or menhir afterwards.

1 Samuel vii, 12. The stone Ebenezer was placed by Samuel as a monument of victory.

1 Samuel xiii, 3 and 23 ; xiv, 1, 4, 6. The word rendered "garrison" is, with only a change of points, the same (מִצְבֵּה), rendered "pillar" in some passages and "image" in others (Hosea iii, 4). Jonathan "smote the pillar," which was perhaps a cippus to mark the Philistine boundary, and at the same time a sacred stone, and for this desecration Israel was "had in abomination with the Philistines." The pillar seems to have been then removed, and Jonathan crossed over to overthrow it a second time.

1 Samuel xiv, 33. Saul uses a great stone as an altar on which sheep and oxen are slain.

1 Samuel xv, 12. Saul sets up a place, literally a "hand." With this must be compared 2 Samuel xviii, 18, where Absalom's place or "hand" is called a pillar. The word for pillar is מִצְבֵּה, *i.e.*, an upright thing, not עמוד or column, and it seems evident that a memorial menhir is intended.

1 Samuel xx, 19. The stone Ezel was probably another of these monuments. It appears to have been connected with a cairn, since the words "out of a place towards the south" (v. 41), are more correctly "out of the stone heap" (Argah). Perhaps David had hidden inside a cromlech or dolmen covered by a cairn.

1 Kings xii, 27. The altars of the Golden Calves at Bethel and at Dan were set up by Jeroboam, but there is no notice of any temples having been built in connection with them. Bethel was an old sanctuary, and it seems therefore probable that Dan may have been a former centre of worship. A striking discovery in connection with this episode will be noticed fully in a future report.

1 Kings xviii, 31. Elijah builds an altar of twelve stones, but their arrangement is not specially described.

2 Kings xxiii, 17. "What pillar (A.V. 'title') is that that I see?" Josiah was overturning the idolatrous altars and emblems at Bethel, and the monumental pillar over the grave of the prophet attracted his attention. This is an interesting instance of the connection between pillars which were objects of idolatrous worship, and which the Israelites overthrew, and similar pillars used as head-stones to tombs.

In Isaiah (lxv, 11) the "table for Gad" (or Jupiter), and the "drink offering of Meni" (probably Venus), are mentioned. It seems probable that a dolmen altar may be intended, while the libation would have been poured on the rock, or the table-stone, into a cup-shaped hollow such as have been described in my report on the Moabite dolmens.

An expression in Hosea (xii, 11) seems to be also well explained by referring it to the dolmen altars. "Their altars are as heaps in the furrows of the field." The appropriateness of the simile will strike any one who has seen a field of fallen dolmens and compares it with the heaps of stones collected for clearing the land in any part of Palestine. The great number of the altars at one site seems to be indicated clearly.

The deductions which it seems legitimate to draw from the above passages appear to be.

1st. That Dolmen altars, menhirs, both idolatrous and sepulchral, stone circles and cairns of stone, monumental and sepulchral, are all mentioned in the Old Testament, and probably resembled those which occur in Galilee and beyond Jordan. These monuments form a connecting link between those found in Europe and those of Eastern Asia. They are also similar to monuments discovered by Professor Palmer in the Sinaitic peninsula, and by Palgrave in Arabia, notably with the great cromlech of Darim in the Nejed, the pillar-stones of which are 15 feet high.

2nd. No difference appears to have existed between the monuments used by the Canaanites and those erected by the early patriarchs, by Moses, Joshua, and Samuel. The consecration to a Canaanite deity, and the cruel and obscene character of the worship connected with the Canaanite shrines, was the cause of the destruction of the altars found existing by the Israelites, which were superseded by monuments of very similar character, dedicated on appointed sites to Jehovah; and these were in turn superseded by the Temple and Altar of Jerusalem, before the erection of which the worship in high places, such as Gilgal, Nob, Gibeon, Bethel, Shiloh, Shechem, and Carmel was lawful, according to the Mishna.

3rd. Some of the monuments thus noticed in the Old Testament may perhaps be recognised as existing at the present time, but in other cases they have entirely disappeared, as notably at Gilgal and Bethel.

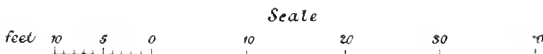
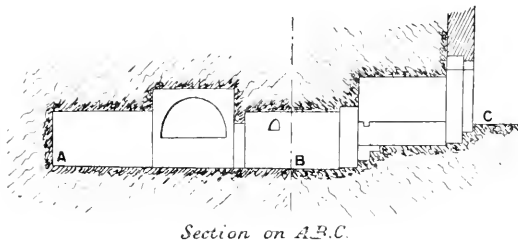
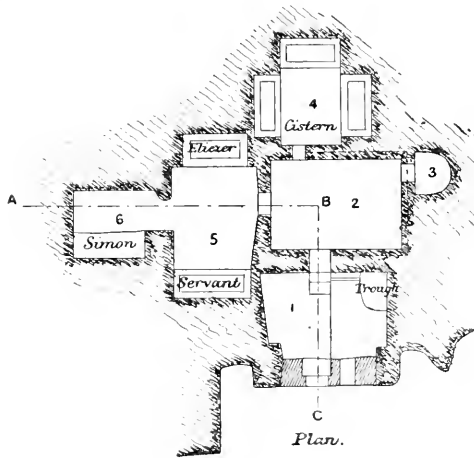
C. R. C.

## JEWISH TRADITIONS IN JERUSALEM.

THE ancient nomenclature of Jerusalem, according to the traditions of the Jewish population, which has never been entirely banished from the Holy City, presents many points of great interest. The most important of these—the identification of the hillock in which is the so-called grotto of Jeremiah (a name only as old as the 15th century), with the Beth-has-Sekilah, or "place of stoning," has already been published in "Tent Work in Palestine," and it appears to be a very widely recognised tradition among the German and Mughrabi Jews alike.

On the 21st March, with Lieutenant Mantell, R.E., I visited the tradi-

tional tomb of Simon the Just, of which we have now made a plan. This tomb is in Wâdy el Jôz, east of the Nablus road. It is mentioned in Finn's "Byeways," and the annual visit paid to it by the Jerusalem Jews is there noticed. "Simon the high priest, the son of Onias (Eccles. i, 1), was one of the famous successors of Ezra, and chief of the 'Great Sanhedrin.'" He is said to have gone to Antipatris to meet Alexander the Great (Tal. Bab. Yoma, 69*a*), and was high priest for forty years. The beautiful story of



TOMB OF SIMON THE JUST.

his last entrance into the Holy of Holies, when the white apparition failed to meet him as usual, is well known. He ranks among the most venerated of Jewish worthies. Curiously enough, Josephus gives the name of Jaddua instead of Simon, as that of the high priest at the time of Alexander's visit to Jerusalem.

The tomb is rock-cut, but a wall has been built in modern times across

the entrance to the porch, and an iron door put up, with a small barred window on one side. This door is kept locked, and the key was brought us by a Spanish Jew through the kindness of Dr. Chaplin.

The façade is carefully white-washed; within is the antechamber,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet below the present surface of the outer ground. A small cistern is cut in the rock bench to the right, and a channel leads thence, round the walls of the next inmost chamber (No. 2), to a hole in the wall communicating with another chamber (No. 4), which was originally a tomb, with three loculi under arcosolia, but is now used as a cistern with a depth of some 3 feet of water. There is no spring, but the surface-water from the rocks is collected in this manner. The second chamber (No. 2) has a single grave on the east (No. 3), and an entrance on the west to the fourth chamber (No. 5): the level is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet below the antechamber. The fourth chamber has two loculi, that on the north being the supposed tomb of Eliezer, son of Simon the Just, that on the south the grave of his servant. A small wooden table stood in this chamber. On the west a door leads to the furthest chamber (No. 6), where is the grave of Simon himself on the south side. It is apparently only a bench built up of small rough stones; but these may cover a real rock-cut sarcophagus. A large vessel of oil was placed on it, in which floated many lighted wicks. I noticed a great many small stones piled in the loculus of Eliezer, probably memorials of visits to the shrine, like the *Meshâhed* of the Moslem peasantry.

The Jews next took us some 200 yards eastwards to a quarry facing northwards. This they assured us was the school and synagogue where Simon the Just used to teach and pray. The tradition has, however, probably little or no value.

The tradition of Simon's tomb is at least three and a-half centuries old, but there is, so far as I know, no mention of it in mediæval Jewish travels before the year 1537 A.D., when it is noticed in the *Zichus ha Aboth*.

The monument of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, commonly called the "Tombs of the Kings," is known to the Jews as *Kalba Shebua*,\* "the gorged dog." The tradition is that a very rich man lived here, who used to feed all the dogs in Jerusalem. This worthy is mentioned in the *Talmud* (*Tal. Bab. Gittin*, 56*a*), as having wished to provide Jerusalem with wine, vinegar, and oil during the last siege (*Neubauer's Geog. Tal.*, p. 137). I believe that M. de Sauley mentions this tradition, which I have heard independently from a Spanish Jew. De Sauley also discovered the Sarcophagus of the "Princess Sara," mentioned by M. Clermont Gambeau as possibly representing that of Queen Helena; and remains of the stele, which, according to Pausanias, stood above Helena's tomb, have been excavated some years since at this same site.

The well known "Tomb of the Judges" is called by the Jews "Tomb of the Seventy," who appear to have been members of the Great Sanhedrin. The tomb is generally supposed to belong to the Hasmonean period,

\* *Kalba Shebua* seems to have been a mythical character. R. Akiba, who died 135 A.D., is said to have married his daughter (*Tal. Jer Ketuboth*, 63*a*).



which would perhaps allow of its having been the sepulchre of members of the Sanhedrin. The Judges mentioned in the Bible were buried each in the territory of his own tribe. The tradition connecting this tomb with the Sanhedrin, is mentioned as early as 1537 A.D.

C. R. C.

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## JEWISH SUPERSTITIONS.

It is well known that superstitions not based on the law of Moses are very firmly credited by the more ignorant of the Polish and other Ashkenazi Jews. Some of these, which are common among the Jerusalem Jews, may be noted, including the nail-parings, the blessing of the moon, the subterranean journey to the valley of Jehoshaphat, the Hand of Might, the Tashlich, etc. A volume of very curious information might be composed on Syrian superstitions, and I hope to collect some scattered notes on the subject, and to indicate the construction with older sources of superstition, when circumstances permit.

The English superstitions regarding the days on which it is lucky or unlucky to pare one's nails seem to be of Jewish origin. The very order in which the nails should be cut is detailed in the Cabbala, and the Friday is prescribed, but Thursday forbidden in order that the nails themselves may not break the Sabbath law by beginning to grow on the Sabbath. The parings are to be burnt or concealed, not thrown on the ground, as, if they chanced to be stepped over by a woman, it might bring her mischance. The Jewesses are careful to hide the nail-parings in cracks of the house walls, but it is said that they sometimes put them into puddings intended to be eaten by their husbands, in order to increase the affection of the latter. They put hair from their heads into puddings for the same reason. The Talmud notices the harm which may be done by leaving nail-parings on the ground (*Tal. Bab. Moed Katan, 18a*).

The blessing of the moon is a curious custom very much reminding the observer of moon worship. According to the Cabbala, it is only to take place when the moon is at least seven days old, and must be observed once a month in the open air. The worshipper about to sanctify the new moon is to stand, with one foot on the other, to give one glance at the moon, and then to bless in the name of the Holy One, of His Shekinah, and of the Hidden One (a Cabbalistic Trinity). The form of prayer commences "Blessed be thy Former, blessed be thy Maker, blessed be thy Possessor, blessed be thy Creator." After meditation the worshipper is to skip three times, pronouncing the words "Fear and dread shall fall upon them, by the greatness of thy arm they shall be as still as a stone," repeated thrice, and thrice backwards; next he pronounces loudly, "David, the King of Israel, liveth and existeth," and then salutes his neighbour.

This ceremony I once saw being performed, by a Polish Jew, on a house-top in the Jewish quarter of Jerusalem, and was hardly able to believe my own eyes, so closely did it seem to me to approach moon worship. Further investigation, however, serves to explain the meaning of the performance. The standing in contemplation with one foot on the other is also observable among Derwishes.

The superstition that it is unlucky to see the new moon first through glass, common in Europe, is perhaps connected with the fact, mentioned in the Mishnah, that the evidence of a witness was not taken as to the appearance of the new moon, if he first saw it through glass or in water.

The Jews are apparently ashamed of such superstitions, and it is very difficult to obtain information on the subject. There can be little doubt, however, that the reason why many Jews wish to be buried on the Mount of Olives, is that they dread the subterranean journey (cf. Tal. Bab. Ketuboth, 111*a*), which they suppose the body must perform on the day of judgment from the place of burial to Jerusalem. In Poland it is said the Jews place small wooden forks in the graves to assist the dead man to dig his way. This curious idea is probably connected with the old Egyptian belief in the journey of the soul, as set forth in the "Book of the Dead."

The "Hand of Might" is a mark found commonly on Jewish (and sometimes on Moslem) houses, often elaborately sculptured. It brings good luck to the house. The mediæval talisman, called "the hand of glory," has no doubt a common origin. The Jewish wedding-ring in Jerusalem is in the form of a hand (as Dr. Chaplin informs me), and small glass hands are used as charms. In India the hand is the symbol of Siva, and indeed to write its history requires a volume by itself. It is interesting, however, to find this widely spread superstition also believed by the Jews.

The Tashlich, or ceremony of casting the sins of the individual into running water on new year's day (supposed to be supported by the words of Micah vii, 19), is strongly condemned by the cultivated Jews of Europe. I have not been able to find whether it is observed in Palestine, where water is scarce.

The mythology of the Talmud would form a rich treat to students, could it be extracted from the the crabbed Talmudic dialect. Many of the famous fables, which are common property of the Asiatic races, are to be found, with a Jewish moral attached, in the Babylonian Talmud. Among others the story of the man with two wives, which I have noted as existing among the Arabs east of Jordan, is applied in the Gemara (Tal. Bab., Baba Kama, 60*b*) to the two divisions of the Talmud which are mutually opposed, the Halacha or practical, and the Haggadah or poetical commentary.

C. R. C.

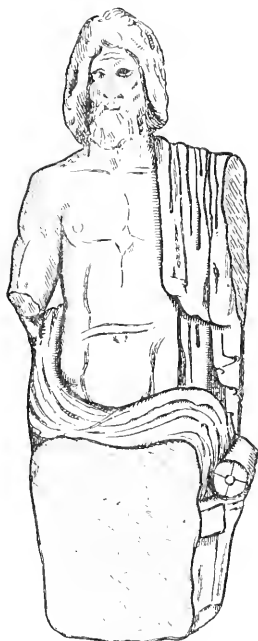
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## NOTES FROM CONSTANTINOPLE.

I TOOK advantage of my late stay in Constantinople to visit the Museum with a view of ascertaining what antiquities may be stored there which came from Syria. The director, Hamdi Bey, a distinguished artist, only lately appointed to the post, is actively employed in cataloguing and arranging the collection, which is far larger and more valuable than I had supposed. He received me with great courtesy, but was, unfortunately, not able to give much information, as he was as yet very little informed as to the contents of the Museum. His predecessor appears to have left everything in confusion. There is as yet no catalogue, and the objects are not marked, nor is it known in most cases where they were found. The coins are now being arranged and classed, but the statues, inscriptions, and bas reliefs are only very roughly divided out as Roman, Assyrian, and Egyptian. It appears that the pottery and many of the metallic articles have only been catalogued by *weight*—"ten pounds Cyprus pottery," or "twenty tons bronze statues," etc., etc., a method which perhaps is scarcely sufficient to mark the difference of value between the various objects. An attempt was however made a few years ago to classify the broken statues by placing all the legs in one case, the heads in a second, the arms in a third, etc., but this appears to have led to some uncertainty in the end as to the parts which together made up the original statue.

The only antiquities which I was able to recognise were the famous Hamath stones and the great statue from Gaza. The former were classed as Assyrian antiquities. I found no other Hittite inscriptions, and the Gezer stones were not in the Museum, so far as I could learn, nor was any one among the officials aware of their existence, although they were seized by the Governor of Jerusalem in 1874. Hamdi Bey had heard of the Siloam inscription, of which he was anxious to obtain a copy. He complained greatly of the way in which the regulations concerning antiquities were disregarded by explorers, and I had great satisfaction in explaining to him that the Society by which I was sent out had never transgressed in this respect since the regulations were first promulgated in 1874.

*The Gaza Jupiter.* This great statue was discovered, in 1880, by the natives at Tell 'Ajjûl south of Gaza, and we owe its preservation to the exertions of the Rev. W. Shapira, the missionary. The Arabs had at once commenced to break up the statue, and had succeeded in greatly damaging the face. Mr. Shapira persuaded the governor to set a guard over the place, and the antiquarians of Palestine owe him a debt of gratitude for having prevented the entire destruction of this unique monument. A paper descriptive of the statue will be found in the *Quarterly Statement*, with the measurement of its principal proportions. I now send a copy of the sketch which I have just made from the



original in the porch of the Museum. The suggestion which I ventured to make at the time seems to me to be fully borne out, and there can, I imagine, be little doubt that the figure is intended for a Jupiter. The principal deity of Gaza was called Marna (*i.e.*, מרנא "our Lord"), and was worshipped as late as the fifth century A.D. (Epiphanius *Adv Heret*). He was a deity who controlled the rain, and his temple was destroyed by St. Porphyrius (*Acta Sanct*). According to Lenormant he was a god similar to the Cretan Jupiter and the Phœnician Eshmun—the chief among a group of seven or eight deities (*"Lettres Assyriologiques,"* Vol. II, Letter V, p. 165, *seq.*). These seven *Cabiri* or "great ones" appear to have all had temples in Gaza. That of Marna, destroyed by the Christians, was round, with two outer porches or circles—a kind of Druidical circle perhaps. His other titles were "the living," "the eternal," "the universal," "the everlasting." It seems probable that the statue at Constantinople may be that of the Jupiter Marna of Gaza. The nose and face have

been damaged, but the arrangement of the hair reminds one of the classic Jupiter. The right arm is broken above the elbow, the left appears to have been sawn off. The figure was seated on a bench, but the legs have also apparently been sawn off in front. These mutilations had been, I believe, effected before the statue was discovered, and it seemed to me possible that the pious pagans may have buried their Jupiter to save him from the Christians, and may have been obliged to divide it for facility of transport. Excavations should certainly be made at Tell 'Ajjûl, as the rest of the statue may yet remain buried as well as the Venus of Tetramphodos, a place apparently in Gaza itself. A curious tradition of buried treasure, and of a phantom calf which guards it, exists at Tell 'Ajjûl ("the calf's mound"), and it is perhaps possible that a temple stood on the hillock.

*Sta Sophia.* I also paid a visit to this famous church of "Holy Wisdom" founded by Constantine, and built by Justinian, and was shown the curious hand mark on the wall and the "sweating pillar," with a hole in the marble about the depth of a finger. It seems to have been made by innumerable pilgrims putting their fingers into the crack in the metal covering, to feel the supposed perspiration of the marble. No doubt this sacred mark is to be classed with the finger mark of Gabriel at Jerusalem, and other much venerated prints on rocks. I found the

flagging of the upper galleries covered with Greek mason's marks, such as I have never seen except here and at Baalbek ; some of these marks were single letters, but others seemed worth attention for comparison with the marks which I have noticed on pillars at Ascalon and at 'Ammân. They are as given below.



The second, if turned upside down, is just like a ligatured Phœnician inscription.

But another observation of greater interest referred to the wooden beam which runs from pillar to pillar in the upper order of columnus. I have had occasion to mention this as an Arab architectural feature, and at first supposed that the beams in this case also had been added by Moslem restorers of the church. The beam is not structural, but affords an additional brace to the pillars, and spans the round arches just as it does in the mosques at Jerusalem, Damascus, and Cairo. I found, however, finally, that one of these beams is ornamented with well cut Greek crosses, in relief, evidently the work of Byzantine masons. Mr. Fergusson will no doubt welcome this little fact (unless he has previously himself observed it) as confirming his views of the Christian origin of the Dome of the Rock. It would, however, be interesting to know whether Byzantines and Arabs alike may not have borrowed this kind of tie-bar from Sassanian architects.

I also observed a very peculiar cross, with various devices at the ends of its arms, occurring on some of the capitals. This cross is exactly like one which we have recently found in a Byzantine ruin in Moab.

The old walls of Stamboul are built of moderate square masonry, in courses alternating with one or more courses of flat bricks. The original work is Byzantine, and the structure has been adopted by the Venetians and later restorers of the walls. This structure we have never found in Palestine, but I found a fragment of wall so built at Kadesh, and the present observation seems to confirm the impression I then obtained that the ruin in question was part of the Roman town of Laodicea, which rose on the ruins of the older site of *Kedes*.

C. R. C.

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#### NOTES ON MR. TRELAWNEY SAUNDERS'S INTRODUCTION.

THE Surveyors of Western Palestine owe their best thanks to Mr. T. Saunders for the appreciation and discriminating praise which he bestows on their work. Criticism from a geographer so well acquainted with the

preceding maps of Palestine, is the best test which could be applied to the work. I hope, therefore, it will not appear ungracious if I attempt a reply to one or two pieces of criticism in the "Introduction." I must also express my regret at the numerous printer's errors, which appear to have arisen from the indistinctness of the photo-lithographic reproduction of our MSS. maps. Several of these have also found their way into the corrected index of the Introduction, and should be revised in a future edition.

*Aneroid heights* (pp. 21, 176, 179). These were collected according to the names, as it was found impracticable to fix the exact points to which they should be written in cases where no name or special object of detail is shown. They were all calculated by Mr. Armstrong, under my direction, in 1877, but a certain proportion were judged to be below the standard, and not good enough to insert on the map. This is specially the case in Galilee. One of Lieut. Kitchener's aneroid barometers appears to have got out of order; unfortunately this was not discovered by his field party in 1877, and we were obliged to condemn the whole of the observations taken with this particular instrument (including his levels of the Hûleh Lake) after the observations had been calculated. We shall endeavour to fix the Hûleh level by vertical angle from the eastern shores.

The height, 136 feet at Shefa 'Amr (p. 200), applies to the spring, not to the village (as is clearly shown on the map). The village stands on a hill, as described in the Memoirs. This height is settled by numerous observations. I think the aneroid heights on the map may be relied on within 20 or 30 feet, and a comparison with some of Colonel Warren's observations confirms this calculation. The level marks are fixed within six inches. The heights of the trigonometrical stations within two feet or three feet.

*Nahr Rûbîn* (p. 46). It is true that this stream dries partly up, but a string of pools is left, as in the case of the Kishon, and it is therefore marked as perennial.

*Kaukab el Hawa* (p. 68). I have endeavoured to show in a previous *Quarterly*, that this name means "fortress of the gorge," which seems more probable than "star of the air."

*Coabis* (p. 70). I have tried to show in the Memoirs that this site is the present Mekhobby on the Roman road. *K'aîn* has not a single letter in common with Coabis.

*Maiumas Ascalon* (p. 141). An explanation of this name, and the discovery of a second inland Ascalon, were noted in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1875. There is another Ascalon north of Jerusalem, and it seemed to me that the famous Philistine city was called Maiumas, "the watering place," in contra-distinction to the inland town.

*Geology* (p. 144). I have completed a small reconnaissance map of the geology of Western Palestine, accompanied by sections of great interest, and detailed observations. Many parts of the country, especially round Carmel, are incorrectly described by M. Lartet, but we found his observations round the Dead Sea very valuable. The view suggested by

Lieut. Kitchener, and mentioned by Mr. Saunders, seems hardly supported by the facts now collected.

*Megiddo* (p. 159). Mr. Saunders does not seem to have known, when writing this passage, of the identifications proposed in support of my suggestion as to Megiddo, namely, *Beit Jenn* for Beth-haggan, *Yeblu* for Ibleam, *Kára* for Gur; and he remarks that these sites should occur in the vicinity of *Mujédda'* if my view were correct. This is just what I have tried to show is the case.

*The high mountain* (p. 166). The tradition placing this at Quarantania seems quite modern. In the middle ages the latter was shown, not as the scene of the Temptation, but of the Fast of Forty Days, as the name also intimates. The mediæval scene of the Temptation was first recovered by the Survey party at the Osh el Ghuráb.

*Dead Sea Shores* (p. 170). The Survey outline is controlled by tangential lines from the trigonometrical stations; before these stations were fixed, it must have been almost impossible accurately to map the shores, and we found the indentations much exaggerated on the maps, which is the natural tendency in sketching, as the distances are foreshortened to the eye. We have found the same to be the case last year on the eastern shores.

*Identifications.* Mr. Saunders only alludes to a small percentage of the known sites mentioned in the Memoirs. I cannot help regretting that he should support what may I think be called the exploded theories as to Lachish, Kirjath Jearim, and Shihor Libmath. The site of Abu Gheith, which he proposes for Gath, cannot have been that of an important town. He also speaks of Lejjûn as if it were almost certainly the ancient Megiddo, although there is hardly an argument in favour of this view beyond the proximity to Taanach. An identification is merely a vague conjecture unless the ancient name can be proved still to exist. It was for this reason that I attributed to Mr. Selah Merrill the recovery of Succoth, as no previous writer seems to have recognised the value of the existing name. In the same way the name Haiyân was unknown to Robinson, though by a lucky conjecture he pitched on the site in question as representing Ai. I may, perhaps, be allowed to express the opinion that it is entirely a false supposition that the names of Hebrew towns have been *translated* into Arabic names having the same meaning though a different word. The tendency of the Fellahin is towards the preservation of the *sound* not of the *sense*, as can be proved by an overwhelming number of examples. With the exception of Tell-el-Kady I know of no well established instance of the converse being true, and even in this exceptional case the old name Dan appears to survive in the immediate vicinity. The identifications of Tubania, District, Geba of Horsemen, and Janum, I was, so far as I can find, the first to propose; it is not quite clear whether these have been independently fixed at the same spots by Mr. Saunders, but if this is the case the coincidence is very satisfactory. I am very glad to see that many of the proposed identifications which I have felt most confident in publishing have been adopted by Mr. Saunders.

Many others will be found in the pamphlet on "Biblical Gains," amounting to some 130 in all ; but there are a great many Byzantine and Crusading identifications due to the Survey, which I have as yet only noticed in the Memoirs, where the authorities are given in full.

*Valley Names* (p. 163). Mr. Saunders notices a group of small valleys in the Ghor, some of which have names not marked on our map. It should be noted, however, that in many cases the name does occur, applied to a ruin, spring, or other object, in or near the valley as shown on the Survey. The surveyors who have worked with me (including Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake) have always been of the same opinion, that it was only the main water-courses of the country which have really distinct names of their own. Even these constantly change their names, along their courses, as may be seen on the map, and are called after the villages and ruins they pass. The small valleys have no real names at all. We have remarked, in the Bedawin districts especially, that there are *local titles*, generally taken from a ruin or remarkable feature, and applied to all the natural objects near it. Thus if a ruin is named Mushukker, we have 'Ain do., Jebel do., Wâdy do., Sahel do., etc., all round it : and each traveller has perhaps collected one out of this group of half-a-dozen names, the only one of value being probably found at the ruin. Springs have often valuable names with traditions attached, but the names of hills and valleys, as a rule, are either purely descriptive, or else taken from the village, ruin, or spring. I have already written at length as to the fleeting "secondary nomenclature," as distinguished from the ancient and unchanging nomenclature of the ancient sites. These views are confirmed by our late experience, and although names of interest may have escaped the Survey party, or have been rejected as not resting on reliable evidence, the experience of our various revisions has been, that, unless a ruin had escaped notice, the additional names collected yielded nothing of any value.

I have, however, in the case of the names mentioned by Mr. Saunders examined the Map (Sheet XII), and subjoin the results of my investigation. It appears that our work agrees with that of Colonel Warren, but the nomenclature of M. Guerin cannot fairly be placed, I think, on an equal footing with that of the Survey, because it has evidently not been written down by an Arab scribe ; while the hasty character of his journey would of course prevent his verifying the names which he has given. The names in question are as follows :—

#### NAMES COLLECTED BY COLONEL WARREN.

##### Sheet XII of Survey.

1. Wâdy Umm Karuby. This is probably Wâdy Umm Kharrûbeh, "valley mother of the locust tree," marked on the map, but not noticed by Mr. T. Saunders.
2. Wâdy Umm Dahideh. "Valley mother of the flock of camels," a name not on the map ; apparently not important.



3. Wâdy Shiyeh. Apparently for Wâdy Sh'aib. There were, unfortunately, some errors in the Arabic of Colonel Warren's list, as pointed out in former papers by M. Ganneau and by myself.
4. Wâdy Swaideh. Apparently named from Khûrbet Suweideh ; shown on the Survey.
5. Wâdy S'aidiyeh. Proper name ; the ford of S'aidiyeh, is marked on the map.
6. Wâdy Abu Jerad. "Valley father of locusts" (or perhaps "barren valley"), not named on the map.
7. Wâdy Belgod. The name Sidd el Belkawy occurs on the map near, applied to a cliff. This is probably the same ; and Belgod cannot well be an Arabic word.
8. Wâdy Abu Hashish. "Valley father of grass." The cliff of Abu Hashish is marked on the map.
9. Wâdy Ghor. This seems improbable, especially as it has no article. It is probably not a real name. The Ghor is the whole basin.
10. Wâdy Abu Sidra. The form Wâdy Abu Sidreh, "Valley father of the lotus-tree," occurs on the map, and is more correct than Sidra.

Thus out of ten names only two are really omitted on the map, though the rest are written to the objects whence the valleys are named. The two omitted do not seem to have any particular value.

#### NAMES COLLECTED BY M. GUERIN.

(Sheet XV).

1. Wâdy Rhazal. This is the French spelling of Ghazal. A spring "Ain el Ghazal" (of the Gazelle) is marked on this part of the Survey map.
2. Wâdy es Seder. Wâdy Abu Sidreh occurs on the map, but not apparently in the same order. There are many lotus-trees in this district, whence probably the name.
3. Sath el Rhoula. Probably Sâdet el Ghuleh ("Ghoul's Cliff"), not on the Survey.
4. Khurbet el Bridje. Apparently "Ruin of the little tower." Two are marked on the Survey.
5. Wâdy es Sekaah. Apparently for Zôkah-Râs ; Umm Zôkah here occurs on the Survey.
6. Hosh ez Zakkum. "The courtyard of the balsam-tree," apparently at Khûrbet Suweideh, whence the valley called Umm ed Deraj ez Zakkûm is shown descending on the map.
7. Wâdy en Nekeb. "Valley of the hollow," a name so common that it can hardly be called a local title.
8. Tell es Saidieh. Apparently out of place. The name occurs at a ford of Jordan near a tell a little further north.

9. Wâdy Asberra. This can hardly be an Arabic word. Probably some error has crept in. The name Sâdet et Ta'leb occurs here on the Survey, "cliff of the fox."
10. Wâdy Abu Sehiban. This word also does not seem to be Arabic. The valley is called on the Survey Jûrat el Kutufi, "hollow of the St. John's wort"—a plant growing abundantly here.
11. Wâdy Kefr Anja. Unknown.
12. Wâdy ez Zarha. Apparently "broken valley." It is called Abu Hashîsh on the map; both names are of little value archaeologically.
13. Wâdy el Eurkan. "Valley of cliffs." This like the preceding would apply to any of the little valleys hereabouts, as they all have low cliffs. It is called Abu Lôz on the map.
14. Sîret el Maazeb. "Fold of the summer grazing place." These folds are marked (there are several). The peasantry from the villages use them in spring. This formidable looking name is consequently nothing beyond a description given by the guide of what the enclosure was used for.
15. Khurbet es Sîreh. "Ruin of the fold." See preceding.
16. Wâdy Abu Sedra. Sidreh on the map, which is a more correct way of spelling the word, as the final Aleph is very rare.

Out of these 16 names, therefore, only Nos. 3, 7, 9, 11, can be fairly considered to be omissions, and of these one seems to be a mistake, and the others unimportant; unless it be Kefr Auja—a name not noticed by any other traveller.

The above comparison seems to show how necessary it is, both for the explorer and the critic, to be acquainted with Arabic, and especially with the local Syrian dialect, which presents many peculiarities in the use of topographical terms, which may be studied in the Name Indexes now published. It also serves to illustrate the contention that the names of the smaller valleys, especially in Bedawin districts, have very little importance for the antiquarian. Several misprints occur on this page of Mr. Saunders's work, *e.g.*, Katurj for Katwy, and Taleh for T'aleb.

C. R. C.

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### NEW IDENTIFICATIONS.

*Mount Baalah* (Josh. xv, 11). A relic of this lost name may perhaps be recognised in the *Wâdy el Baghl* (the *gh* representing one of the two Arabic equivalents for the Hebrew 'Ain), which runs into the Valley of Sorek from the north, on the west of Zoreah. The name appears to have applied to the Ekron ridge (see "Handbook to the Bible").

*Bethsaida*. Without entering into the controversy whether there were

one or two places so-called, on the shores of the Sea of Galilee, it may be noted that the mediæval writers place the so-called Galilean Bethsaida at Minieh. The name of the little sacred place 'Aly es Seiyâd ("the fisher") may be a survival of this idea.

*Beror-Hail* (Midrash Koheleth vii, 7), the place to which Rabbi Johanan retired when the younger Gamaliel took charge of the school at Jamnia. It appears to have been in the Philistine plain, and is perhaps represented by the modern village *Bureir* south-east of Asealon.

C. R. C.

## NOTES.

JERUSALEM, 15th March, 1882.

*Kadesh on Orontes.* Mr. Tomkins will not expect me to abandon so favourite a child as this, without a careful debate, and it is evident from the tone of his paper (*Quarterly Statement*, 1882, p. 47) that he is anxious to discuss the matter without prejudice. I am, however, obliged to wait until I can consult Lepsius, the Epic of Pentaur, and other authorities, before replying. I cannot but think, however, that the evidence in favour of our discovery will prove too strong, and that the north point on the famous Egyptian bas relief will have to be placed differently from his supposition. *N.B.*—I have, since writing this, consulted Lepsius and Rosellini, and the result seems to confirm my views as to Kadesh in a remarkable manner, as I hope shortly to show.

*The Funeral Tablet.* The interesting paper by Mr. Boscawen on this matter contains much fresh information. On reading Le Normant's "Magie," it seemed clear to me that the three figures on the right of the third division represented the soul escaping from the evil genii, who turn against one another, as described in the Accadian Magical Formule, a view which Mr. Boscawen has fully worked out. The two fish-deities seem to be similar in idea to the Egyptian figures of Isis and Nephtys, as represented standing at the head and feet of the mummies, and to the angel Munker and Nakûr, whom Moslems believe to question the soul. The same belief is well known to have existed in the Mazdean faith, and the Persian story of the soul's trial, by its own thought, word, and deed, is one of the most beautiful fancies in the Zend-Avesta. Mr. Boscawen's notes do not seem to militate against the idea that the deities in the second row are the planetary genii, but these belong to Assyrian rather than Accadian mythology. I have referred in my original paper to M. Clermont Ganneau's previous description of the tablet, from which I obtained various valuable indications, which I hope I acknowledged sufficiently. M. Ganneau, however, promised a further paper on the subject to the "*Revue Archéologique*," and I am not aware whether this has ever been published. It is to be hoped that he will be able

to send it to the next *Quarterly Statement*. The tablet was not found in Phœnicia, so far as I understood, but the mythology of the Assyrians, Accadians, Egyptians, and Phœnicians, has so much in common that it must be extremely difficult to distinguish the sources of the ideas forming the subject of the reliefs.

*Rock Rimmon.* I must leave the readers of the *Quarterly* to decide on Mr. Birch's arguments, which do not seem to me to dispose of the difficulty that 600 men cannot have lived in the cave which I have now carefully measured (*el Jâi*), and of which I have forwarded a plan. No such cave is mentioned in the Bible in connection with the Rock Rimmon, and there appears to be no tradition of any value for Biblical purposes at *el Jâi*. As to the meaning of the word *Sela* it is probably safer to follow Gesenius, even when Dean Stanley does not agree with this respected authority. The rest is matter of opinion, which those interested will be able to settle for themselves.

*Sion.* The views which I have briefly advocated in this matter seem to me to have the advantage that they allow of every one of the disputants being right. All writers have quoted Biblical texts in favour of their views, and it seems to me that if we admit that Sion was a poetical name for the "sunny hill" on which the Holy City stood, without endeavouring to limit the meaning of a term which seems employed differently by various Old Testament writers, we shall be able to do justice to the erudition of Robinson, Fergusson, Williams, Reland, and later writers alike.

*Tyropæon.* Some able writers have suggested a Hebrew origin for this name. Two explanations occurred to me while writing the Jerusalem article for the "Encyclopædia Britannica." First that the original form was (צַרְפָּדָי) from a root occurring in the name Sarepta (now Sarafend), in Surif (which I have proposed as identical with the Sariphcea of the Church Histories, placed by Vandevelde at Safiriyeh), and in many other instances in Palestine. The root is connected with the idea of smelting silver, and is found in the Arabic *Serf* ("to change," according to Freytag's Lexicon). It is now applied to "small change," *i.e.*, silver when given for gold. Now in Jerusalem, since the 8th century A.D. to the present day, the shops of the money-changers have been placed in the Tyropæon valley, along David Street, and round the Hospital of St. John. Bernard the Wise alludes to this, and part of the street in question is called by Mejr-ed-Dîn *Khân es Serf*, possibly a preservation of the name Tyropæon down to the 16th century. I have not been able to ascertain if this name survives, but it is probably forgotten, for the street nomenclature of Jerusalem differs greatly from that in the time of Mejr-ed-Dîn, as appears on comparison of his account with Sir C. Wilson's map. The canon of "*immutability in oriental custom*," on which we may so often safely rest, would render it possible that the Jewish money-changers of the time of Josephus may have sat (only some 30 feet nearer the rock) on the very spot where their descendants now await their victims; and in this case the Tyropæon Valley was that not of the cheese-makers (who were probably only found in the pastoral districts far south), but of the "money-changers," who at times

encroached down its course within the very gates of the Temple, where according to the Talmud they erected booths in a specially allotted part of the area.

The second suggestion is that the name Tyropræon is derived from the Hebrew Teraphim (possibly from the Sanscrit *Sarpit*, whence also Tseraphim and our English "Serpent"). The Canaanites in general worshipped Teraphim down to a very late date, and the brazen serpent was worshipped in Jerusalem by the idolatrous kings.

I hope to show, in a further volume on Jerusalem, that the traditional Golgotha is neither more nor less than the site of the original temple of Venus, which Constantine found rebuilt, and from which the name *Kadesh* or *Kads* came to be applied to Jerusalem; but yet more that this old temple of Ashtoreth was the Jebusite Sanctuary before David took Jerusalem, and round which the sepulchres of the kings were hewn, after the worship of Jehovah had consecrated the Temple Hill. This would be another instance of the immutability of sacred sites in the East. The name of the Teraphim, which would have belonged to the Jebusite Sanctuary, may have lingered in the valley beneath the knoll, with its sacred cave (the Chapel of Adam), now shown as the site of Calvary. Its signification may have been forgotten by the time of Josephus, and the Teraphim may have been converted into those yet greater magicians the money-changers.

These conjectures must be taken for what they are worth, as the subject cannot be fully worked out in a brief note, without reference to authorities.

*Kirjath Jearim.* The identification of this spot with the "nameless city" of Samuel (1 Sam. ix) appears to be extremely probable, on the grounds stated by Mr. Henderson, and the topography of this difficult episode seems to me best explained on the supposition of a tour north, west, south, east, and again north, from the starting point. Mr. Schiek has lately identified the land of Shalem with the district of the Beni Sâlim, and although there is a difficulty in this, because of the guttural in the Hebrew, the idea is well worthy of consideration. The land of Shalisha seems to have lain further north-west (judging from the Onomasticon) in the direction of *Kefr Thilth* (the exact equivalent of Shalisha in Arabic), where are several places with names from the same root, meaning "three." This would lead Saul naturally through the western part of the land of Benjamin to Kirjath Jearim. So many sites have, however, been proposed for the latter place, that it must rank with Megiddo and Gibeah, on a much lower level than those numerous places concerning which controversy has been laid at rest. It is to be hoped that the general reader will not be liable to forget that a very large proportion of the discoveries made by the officers of the Society have been generally accepted by the critics, and that those now in dispute are connected with sites vaguely or incidentally mentioned in the Bible. It is a matter for hearty congratulation that the keenest critics whose notes appear in the *Quarterly Statement*, write with so much good feeling and such absence of rancour.

## EASTER CEREMONIES OF THE WASHING OF FEET.

JERUSALEM, *Easter*, 1882.

AMONG the numerous ceremonies observed by the Christians in Jerusalem at Easter time, is that which commemorates Christ's washing the feet of His disciples, celebrated by both the Greeks and the Latins.

That of the Greeks took place on Thursday before Easter, as usual (the weather being fine), in the open air in the court before the entrance to the Holy Sepulchre Church. Before eight o'clock in the morning the Latin and Greek monasteries by which the court is surrounded on three sides were full of people anxious to get a good view. Every roof was lined with spectators, while the windows of the church which command the court on the north side were equally crowded. The minaret of the adjoining mosque, known to the Arabs as "the Mosque of Omar," was entirely occupied by Moslem women, while the court of the church itself was filled almost entirely by Russian pilgrims.

In the centre of the court a raised wooden platform had previously been erected, with a divan on three sides, for the accommodation of the Patriarch and priests. It was surrounded by an iron railing, supporting at the east end a cross flanked by two discs, an emblem belonging to the Greek Church. The platform was also guarded by a line of soldiers, who preserved an open space round it two or three paces in width, and lined the path as far as the entrance to the Greek monastery. A small platform had also been constructed abutting against the wall on the east of the court, and facing the principal platform in the centre. Immediately over it was the branch of a willow suspended by a rope from the roof of the monastery.

Shortly before nine o'clock an archimandrite appeared and mounted this small platform. He was soon followed by twelve other archimandrites preceding the Patriarch, the latter dressed in vestments sparkling with gold, silver, and precious stones, and bearing his official rod surmounted by a small silver cross above two venomous serpents, also of silver. There were slight differences in the vestments of the various archimandrites, but all wore a red and gold cope, with the usual black Greek cap. Six of these dignitaries carried candles.

The procession was followed by four or five priests in black copes, who were to act as assistants. When all except the first mentioned archimandrite had ascended to the large platform, the Patriarch took the principal seat on the central divan facing towards the east. At his feet were a gold ewer containing water, and a silver basin, which had been prepared before the commencement of the ceremony. Close to these were placed some of the candles which had been brought in the procession, and lastly a bouquet of flowers. The side divans were occupied by the archimandrites, one standing, when necessary, to hold the Patriarch's book. The assistant priests,

most of whom carried towels in the procession, did not sit down, but remained holding them.

After a pause of a few minutes, the Patriarch and those around him rose while he read a passage from the Holy Scriptures ; he then turned and blessed the crowd below, and descending by himself into the court, knelt alone in prayer. This was to symbolise Christ withdrawing Himself from the disciples on the day before the Crucifixion. At the same time the first noticed archimandrite alone on the small platform, chanted a solo.

The Patriarch, having finished his prayer, re-ascended the platform, and a number of towels were wrapped round his waist and over his shoulders. Water was poured out into the silver basin, and he proceeded to wash the feet of the archimandrites. The basin was placed by an assistant before each in turn. The Patriarch, kneeling, washed and wiped the feet, and stooped to kiss them. At the same time the archimandrite seized and kissed the hand of the Patriarch. During this ceremony considerable excitement spread through the crowd, who threw up numbers of towels, handkerchiefs, etc., to be dipped into the now sanctified water, and returned. This was done for them by the assistants, who sometimes also sprinkled the water over the crowd.

It now appeared that each of those whose feet were washed represented one particular disciple, and the representative of Peter requested that not only his feet, but also his hands and head, might be washed.

The ceremony of washing was completed in about ten minutes. The little water then left in the basin was poured over the bouquet of flowers already referred to as being on the platform, and the Patriarch took his seat once more on the divan. The representative of St. John approached him to ask who was destined to be the betrayer, and Judas then stood out in full view. The other archimandrites in turn came forward, and either repeated or read a few words to the Patriarch, and the ceremony, having lasted about an hour and a-quarter, closed with a short eloquent sermon from the occupant of the small platform, to whom the crowd listened attentively.

The procession then returned in the same order in which it had come, and awakened much enthusiasm. The Patriarch was separated from the rest, and at one time it seemed that the soldiers would hardly be able to bear him through the mob. He carried the flowers on which the holy water had been poured, and with this he sprinkled and blessed the crowds who pressed forward to touch him. The struggle lasted until he was carried into the Greek monastery, the crowds who had no chance of coming near him being obliged to content themselves with clapping their hands and singing.

The corresponding ceremony of the Latin rite took place, with somewhat less pomp, inside the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, on the afternoon of the same day. Long before the appointed hour the door of the church was besieged by an eager crowd. The Moslem custodians refused, however, to open it before the arrival of the Latin Patriarch. Even the French Consul, who attends in an official capacity all the ceremonies of his Church, was not allowed to enter.

At half-past two, on the arrival of the Patriarch, the doors were thrown open, and all the positions which commanded any view were at once occupied. The washing was to take place in front of the entrance to the Holy Sepulchre, between the Chapel of the Angel and the Greek Church. Only a limited number of people assembled (perhaps because it was known that they would be locked in till 6 p.m.), but there were enough to make it difficult to approach the officiating priests. The congregation included a few Russian pilgrims.

A procession of about a dozen boys in red cassocks and white surplices, fifty priests, some wearing the white surplice, and lastly, the Latin Patriarch, in the vestments of his office, approached from the Latin sacristy, and took their seats; the Patriarch on a throne placed facing the tomb, and the priests on each side in several rows facing one another.

After a portion of Scripture had been read, the Patriarch kissed the missal, and was dressed with towels, while some water was poured out into a silver basin before him. There were thirteen men in the front row of benches, some being priests and some laymen, and of these the Patriarch washed the feet in just the same manner as is described above in the Greek ceremony. To each man, after washing his feet, he gave a small picture (some 6 inches by 4 inches) in a wooden frame, containing a representation of the cross, with an ornamental design of flowers on a white background. This was in most cases kissed by the recipient.

There was apparently no representation of the individual actions of each apostle.

After the washing more water was brought. The Patriarch washed his hands, and read some portions of Scripture. The service thus ended in about twenty minutes, and that of the Tenebræ at once commenced. The door of the church having only been opened for two minutes, we now found ourselves locked in. Prayers, chanting, and singing, continued till six o'clock, when the Patriarch gave the necessary order, and we were enabled to leave.

A. M. MANTELL, *Lieut., R.E.*

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### A ZIKR CEREMONY.

IN an inconspicuous building by the side of one of the back streets of Jerusalem, derwishes are in the habit of holding a religious ceremony, generally described by Europeans as "howling"—spoken of among the Arabs as a "Zikr." The sect whose rite I attended, are the followers of Sheikh Seyid el Bedawy, and in Jerusalem they hold the Zikr in a small mosque, rendered sacred to them by its containing the tomb of one of the most holy of their number—Sheikh 'Eed el Mughâribeh. On Sunday evening, some two hours after sunset, it usually takes place, and accordingly at about half past eight I was admitted into the court-yard in front of the



mosque. Some eight or ten men had already arrived, and were sitting smoking on carpets placed in the court-yard, waiting in almost absolute silence for the signal to commence. Through the low door of the mosque was just visible the *Mihrâb*, or prayer recess, before which the pious Moslem stands five times a day during his devotions. The floor of the mosque was covered with straw matting, and immediately in front of the *Mihrâb* a small piece of carpet had been placed for the principal sheikhs.

We had not been waiting long before six or eight of the derwishes entered the mosque, followed by attendants with drums and cymbals, and the ceremony commenced. Two sheikhs sat on the carpet alluded to above in front of the *Mihrâb*. One of these wore a clean white turban, which was in strong contrast with his long black jubbeh, or cloak. The other, in a grey cloak, wore the green turban—a sign that he was one of the descendants of the prophet Mohammed, or that he had made the annual pilgrimage to Mecca. A large drum was held by an assistant in front of these sheikhs while they repeated a short prayer. The assistant advanced one pace towards them, and they prayed a second time. He advanced once more, and they prayed the third and last time. This seemed to be an introduction to the *Zikr* itself, and after the third prayer, during which he knelt on one knee, the man who held the drum fell back behind the circle which the others had now formed. During these prayers it was noticeable that he stood with the right great toe pressed over the corresponding toe of the left foot, said to be an attitude of contemplation, the belief in which is shared by all sects of derwishes.

I now removed my shoes and entered the mosque to see better what was going on. The interior of the room was quite plain, with white-washed walls and roof. There was no pulpit. At the west end, however, a large tomb was visible—that of Sheikh 'Eed el Mughâribeh—covered with a green cloth, and ornamented with two flags. Some drums were hung on the walls near the tomb. A dim light was supplied by one solitary oil-lamp hung from the roof.

The *Zikr* now began in earnest, with the beating of drums and clashing of cymbals; of the latter there were three pairs, which were used in turn by different derwishes in the ring. Two of the drums, being large, were beaten by men standing up behind the ring; the remaining drum was much smaller, and could be managed by a performer who was sitting down. This music was exactly the same as that which is heard at time of the pilgrimage to the shrine of Moses, and on Mohammed's birthday, and other similar occasions. At intervals one or two of the number would break out into a loud and tuneless Arab song. Throughout the *Zikr* it was remarkable that they kept very good *time* with all the instruments, although there were numerous changes from slow to fast, and *vice versa*: also the rhythm of the blows was constantly altered. It was some time before I discovered which of the number was acting as leader: they seemed to understand what alteration he wished from the slightest gesture, and only once was it necessary to say "soua, soua" (together, together), to bring them back to order.

The derwishes who formed the ring were at first only four in number, one being a Turkish soldier. Others came in one by one, and joined the circle, until there were as many as twenty. They did not appear to attach any importance to the exact number. Any member could leave the mosque or return just as he wished. Two children, a boy and a girl, sat down with the derwishes during part of the Zikr, and the kavasse from the British Consulate who was with me occasionally joined in. The derwishes themselves were not distinguished by any particular kind of dress. They did not wear the distinctive cap, cloak, and girdle seen in this country among the Maulawiyeh derwishes. Some wore the black jubbeh, and some a coloured one; while others only wore the striped vest or kaftán. Four of the number wore the green turban, while others wore a white turban or only a fez. The Turkish soldier was in uniform. It would therefore be quite impossible for the uninitiated to recognise as such a derwish of this order.

The performance on the drums and cymbals described above lasted some seven or eight minutes, becoming towards the end rather painfully loud. At a pre-arranged signal it suddenly ceased, and one of the derwishes was left singing a rude chant; after about half-a-minute he stopped, and another took it up. When three or four men had thus sung a prayer, the drum and cymbals re-commenced as before, having, however, by this time all changed hands. After a second performance on these instruments similar to the first, the chant was again taken up; the drumming and chant were then repeated a third time, and the instruments put away.

The only other circumstance that was noticeable up to this point, was the entrance of Sheikh Mâjid, the principal derwish present that evening. He walked round the ring saluting each in turn. First he covered his own face with his hands; then he placed his hands on the head of the derwish who was seated before him, and lastly he kissed the head of the latter. He did not thus salute the soldier, but bowed to him after taking the central seat on the carpet near the Mihráb. He wore the sacred green turban; he seemed to be the oldest man in the party (he was certainly the chief), and was perhaps 35 or 40 years of age. There were among them no venerable grey-bearded sheikhs.

After the removal of the musical instruments, the Zikr proper commenced. The word "Zikr" means "remembering" or "mentioning," and hence mentioning the name of God, which is accordingly done in the following formulæ—a statement of the unity of the Moslem deity—

"Lá ilálah illa lláh,"

that is to say, "There is no God except the God." This was repeated over and over again, with accents on the syllables as shown above, the derwishes nodding their heads backwards and forwards in time. After five or six minutes the motion became more rapid, and they turned the head alternately to each side in nodding. After some ten minutes of this repetition, they all stopped, and prayers were repeated in turn by various

derwishes, the names of Mohammed, Ali, Othman, and other celebrated Moslem saints being distinguishable.

Another repetition of the formula "La ilahah illa llah" then took place, followed by a prayer similar to the first.

Hitherto all had been sitting; they now rose and repeated "La ilahah illa llah," turning round as far as possible alternately to each side. At the same time it appeared to be of importance not to move the feet in the least degree, or to raise them from the ground. No other rule as to posture was discernible; no particular position was adhered to either for the head or the arms.

This was followed by a third prayer, and this prayer by a short but very violent Zikr. The sound certainly greatly resembled the barking of dogs, to which it has been frequently compared. No words could be distinguished; at the same time none of the men showed any signs of fatigue, or of a tendency to fall down in a fit, which is said sometimes to result from a violent Zikr. There were at the end sixteen men in the ring and four in the centre, all shouting at the top of their voices. This was the greatest number that mustered at any time throughout the evening.

This last Zikr ended as suddenly as it had begun, and all sat down. Sheikh Mâjid repeated a short prayer, to which they all answered "Amen" at the end of each sentence, and the religious ceremony was at an end, having lasted about an hour and three-quarters. Several of the derwishes kissed Sheikh Mâjid's hand, and left the mosque; the rest remained in their places, and coffee was at once brought in.

The formula "La ilahah illa llah" was pronounced at the rate of some thirty times a minute. The repetition was continued during three periods of about ten minutes each, and one period of about three minutes with greater rapidity. The formula was therefore repeated more than a thousand times in all.

Throughout the Zikr Sheikh Mâjid and those nearest him were much less noisy and demonstrative than the others. One of those next him held a rosary, and appeared during most of the time to be counting his beads; he not unfrequently passed his hands over his face and beard, as did also the others at intervals, after the different prayers. This is perhaps connected with the derwishes' custom of passing the right hand as if unintentionally over the chin, by which sign they recognise one another in public.

It appears that the derwishes of the Seyid el Bedawy sect hold a Zikr of this kind every "Monday evening," as the Arabs call it—since Monday commences with them at sunset on our Sunday—and they will even go through the performance at a private house if specially requested to do so by any of their friends.

## DĀJŪN, NEAR SITT NEFĪSEH.

THE name Dājūn applies to the ground immediately to the north of the shrine of Sitt Nefīseh (shown about four miles west of Ramleh on Sheet XIII of the 1-inch map). There are no ruins or other remains visible above ground. During the past year, however, the Fellahīn have discovered below the surface a number of stones suitable for building purposes, which they dig out and carry to the village of Beit Dejan. The name Dājūn is in consequence well known in the neighbourhood. It was first pointed out to me as applying to a small patch of sand some six paces across, at a distance of 160 paces N.N.E. of the Welieh of Sitt Nefīseh. A few small pieces of sandstone were lying on this spot, but all the stones of any size had been removed. Several small pits had recently been dug close by, out of which the shepherds stated that building stone had been taken.

There is also a larger excavation, some 25 feet across by 10 feet deep, situated about 60 chains to the north of Welieh. From this a considerable number of stones must have been obtained. Mortar, small stones, shells, and pottery were lying about, the latter apparently not very ancient.

Some 100 yards further north again is an old pit about 10 feet deep and 25 feet across at the top. The sides and bottom are covered with grass. The shepherds consider it to be the Bīr or cistern of the old village of Dājūn. Near this pit is a stone 4 feet square, partly buried in the ground, with one side still covered with mortar. It appears to be the only large stone on the site which has not been taken away by the inhabitants of Beit Dejan.

The shrine of Sitt Nefīseh is a quadrangle measuring 15 feet 4 inches by 14 feet 7 inches, enclosed by four walls, the bearing of two of which is 13 degrees west of true north. The north-west angle of the enclosure has been destroyed. There was originally a door in the north wall, but only the eastern jamb is now visible. The walls are of modern construction, 5 feet high and 21 inches thick, built of small stones covered with plaster. Each of the corners, which are still standing, is surmounted by a pyramidal stone about 20 inches in height. There is a mihrāb, or prayer niche, in the south wall inside the holy place. There is also a small niche in the north-east corner, intended, apparently, for lamps or offerings.

A. M. M.

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 SUPPOSED VILLAGE OF JETT, NEAR BEIT JIBRĪN.

It has been supposed that a ruin exists in the neighbourhood of Beit Jibrīn, known by the name of Jett, or some similar word, and representing the Biblical town of Gath. In riding from Latrīn to Beit Jibrīn I made

inquiries on the subject in the village of Dhikerin, and in the country between Tell es Sâfi and Beit Jibrin. During the following days I visited Beit Jibrin itself, and also Kudua, Zeita, el Kubeibeh, ed Dawâimeh, Idhueh, Senâbra, Umm Burj, and Deir Nakhkhâs. In none of those places, nor in the intermediate country, was any name known containing the same radical letters as the word Gath. The nearest approach is in the case of Tell Judeyideh, shown on the map a little to the north of Beit Jibrin.

It should be mentioned that, in almost every instance, the Fellahin answered readily and correctly questions as to places marked on the map, so that it can hardly be on account of reticence on their part that the name has not been recovered.

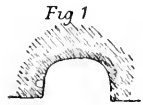
A. M. M.

## JERUSALEM.

### THE BAKOOSH HILL.

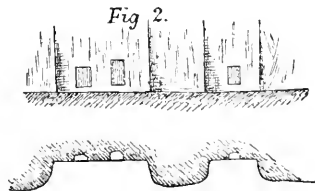
22nd February, 1882.

ON the 16th of this month Mr. Armstrong and myself, in company with Dr. Chaplin, made an excursion to the Bakoosh Hill, in order to examine the view from the top, and to ascertain what tombs were to be found in the neighbourhood. The first four figures on the accompanying plate show the principal rock-cuttings of various kinds that we came across. No. 1 represents a rough cave on the level of the ground, 7 feet broad by 4 feet deep, perhaps entirely natural. On the left, however, we saw a well cut niche (as shown in the figure) of about the size required for a lamp, 8 inches broad by 6 inches high by 4 inches deep. Only this one niche was visible, but in all probability the entrance to an interior chamber exists under the present level of the ground, as in the cave known as "Umm et Tâkât," at El Jib. The tomb thus described lies on the north-east slope of the hill, at a distance of about  $\frac{1}{4}$  mile north of the "Bakoosh Cottage," the residence of the late Mr. Finn.



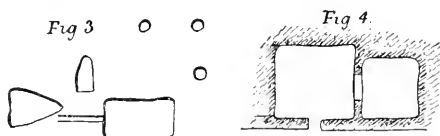
Another cave, which is perhaps a similar tomb, was found on the saddle to the west of the hill.

On the south of the hill the rock is cut in the manner represented in Fig. 2. The surface is cut back, as shown in plan, in two places about 5 feet apart. In one of the recesses so formed two well cut niches were found (as shown in the plan and elevation). In the other recess there is one niche. The rock in this place runs



north-east and south-west, so that the smoothed surface faces the south-east.

Due east of the hill, just below the Bakoosh Cottage, we found the tomb shown in plan in Fig. 4, consisting of two chambers, some 8 feet square and 6 feet square respectively, connected by a door. On entering the outer chamber a rock-cut passage is seen to the left 1 foot 6 inches broad, by 1 foot high. It is closed with stones, but is probably a koka, and runs in only or 6 feet.



Traces of a rock-cut wine-press are visible on the saddle to the west of the Bakoosh Hill, while on the top of the hill itself we found the cuttings represented in Fig. 3. The three pans are roughly cut to a depth of 18 inches or 2 feet, and are closed at the bottom with earth and stones. The smallest of the three might possibly be the entrance to a cistern. The surface of the rock in that on the left is rotten, the effect of water standing in it for a long time. The three circles in the right hand top corner of the figure represent rock-cut hollows so common on both sides of the Jordan, and sometimes used by the present inhabitants for the manufacture of gun-powder.

A careful examination of the whole spur, on the east slope of which the Bakoosh Cottage stands, did not reveal any artificial rock cuttings besides those above described. The tomb sketched by Mr. Finn in "Byeways in Palestine" is visible to the south, separated from the Bakoosh Hill and Cottage by a wâdy.

We found no foundations leading one to suppose the hill an ancient site, nor did we come across any coins or pieces of glass or pottery—the latter being especially common in the neighbourhood of old ruins.

We devoted some time to investigating whether the Mount of Olives is visible from the top of the hill. From the saddle (about  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile west of the cottage) referred to several times above, the Church of the Ascension and all the surrounding buildings are visible. From the top of the hill, however, they are hidden by the Beit Jâla ridge. It was, however, just possible to identify the Russian building (a trigonometrical point in the Survey) on the east shoulder of Olivet, the hill itself being indistinguishable.

A question has also been asked as to Rachel's Tomb. That too is invisible from the top of the Bakoosh Hill.

#### KHURBET 'ADASEH.

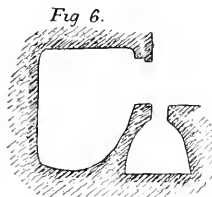
On the 20th of this month we paid a visit to the above ruin, and found there many signs of its having been formerly inhabited. On the south

especially much work has been expended on the rock. In many places the cutting appears to be due to quarrying, but as the rock scarps are almost entirely hidden by soil, it is difficult to speak with certainty. In some places, however, the cutting was no doubt effected for the entrance to a tomb, as for instance that shown in Fig. 5. It seems probable that both a quarry and a cemetery exist on this slope of the hill. The entrance to one tomb is visible, but is closed with rubbish. No doubt many others have been cut in the vertical rock surfaces in the quarry, which extends roughly over an area 100 yards east and west, by 50 yards north and south.



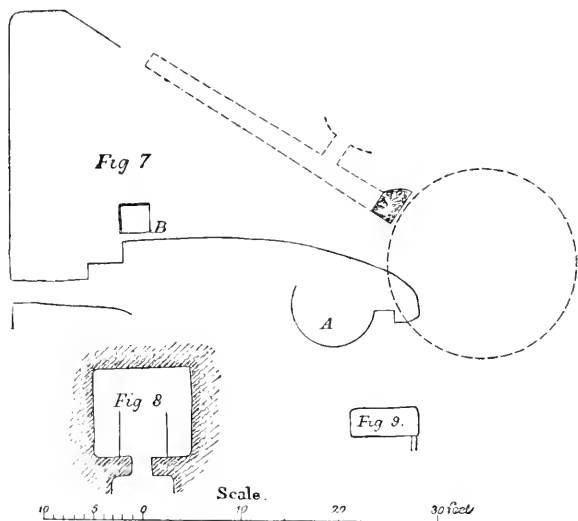
On the west of the hill near the top is a cutting in the rock 7 feet by 3 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 6 inches deep (Fig. 9). This is too large to be a rock-sunk tomb, and a channel leading into the cutting shows that it has been used for collecting rain water.

A well cut hollow in the rock, 10 inches across, was found not far distant.



On the top of the hill we found the caves shown in plan in Fig. 6. They are rock-cut and fairly well executed. They are below the surface of the ground, and one descends to them through a rough rock-cut shaft. On the right hand side, on entering the larger cave, a groove is cut to receive a door. A bolt-hole is still visible. The caves are partly filled with rubbish, and no kokim or loculi were to be seen.

Fig. 8 represents a tomb found on the east slope of the hill. At the



level of the present surface of the ground are seen traces of a bench on each side, as shown in the sketch.

There are a large number of cisterns on the 'Adaseh hill. A small cistern, 9 feet by 6 feet, is cut in the quarry on the south. Near the top of the hill is a large and remarkably well made cistern, shown as a dotted circle in Fig. 7. An underground aqueduct, 30 feet in length, is also shown in dotted lines. We were quite unable to understand its use. There is no connection between it and the large cistern, but a side passage leads to a second cistern, closed up, of which a small portion is shown by dotted lines. The aqueduct is cut in the rock to a depth varying from 4 feet at the part nearest the large cistern, to 10 feet at the end. The width is 1 foot 6 inches to 2 feet. The top is covered with slabs of stone placed across from side and covered with stones and earth. The sides are covered with good cement, containing small pieces of charcoal and pottery, to a thickness of  $2\frac{1}{2}$  inches. The slabs are removed at the end nearest the cistern, and from this point the aqueduct is entered. The other line in the figure represents cuttings in the rock on the surface. At A part of a cistern is visible. At B is a square chamber, perhaps for collecting water. At a few yards distance we found traces of another cistern, lined with good cement, containing large pieces of pottery and also charcoal.

Among the ruins at the top of the hill are the mouths of several closed cisterns, while the Fellah who took us round pointed out several other places where he said cisterns had been found and closed up.

On the south slope is a birkeh, or reservoir, 51 feet 6 inches by 37 feet 6 inches, partly rock-cut, partly masonry, and near it three large cisterns. On the north of the hill the corner of another birkeh is visible. The sides are covered with earth, so that it could not be measured, but its size must be about 40 feet by 20 feet.

The ruins at the top of the hill include the foundations of a building or tower, 13 paces by 12 paces.

Other foundations and heaps of stones are seen all round. Several pieces of columns of pink and grey limestone, and some well cut stones, show that a building of some importance once stood here. Several wine-presses may be seen in the rock surface. We found a piece of tessellated pavement, containing six or eight tessere, and an ornamented piece of pottery. The ground among the ruins is covered with chips of pottery.

There are no springs at Khürbet 'Adasah, the nearest being at El Jib, distant  $1\frac{3}{4}$  miles, but the tombs, cisterns, and other indications, show that the present ruin marks an important ancient site.

A. M. M.

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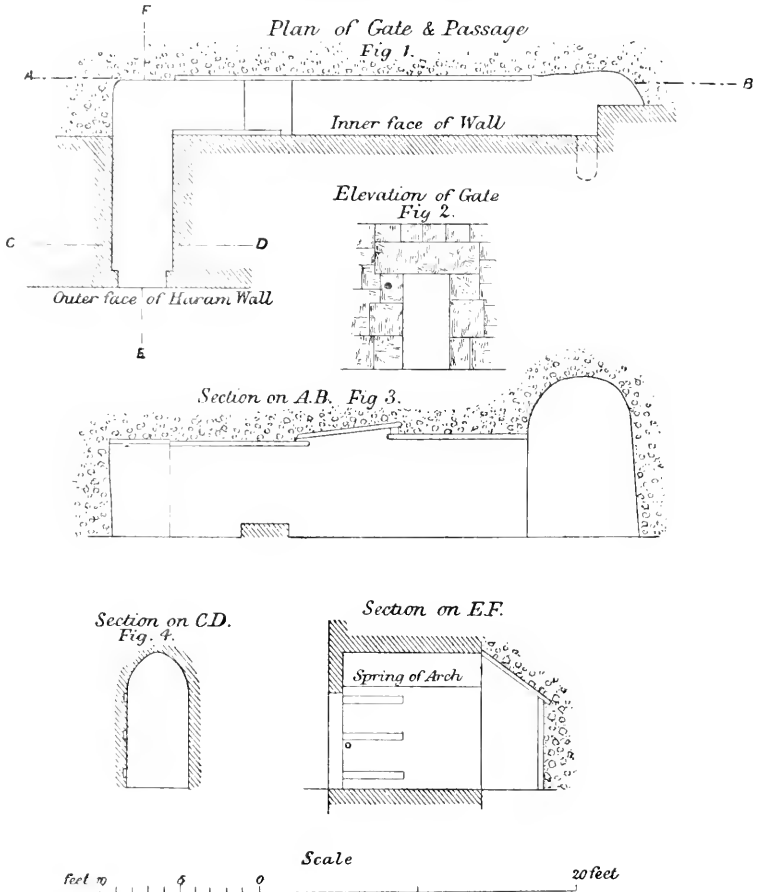


JERUSALEM.

NEWLY OPENED GATE IN THE EAST WALL OF THE HARAM.

JERUSALEM, 3rd March, 1882.

In the last number of the *Quarterly Statement* reference is made (p. 18) by Mons. Clermont Gamneau to a gate in the East Wall of the Haram, which the Turkish authorities have recently opened at his request.



According to instructions given by Captain Conder, before his departure for Constantinople, I forward plans and sections showing the condition in which the excavations have now been left.

Fig. 1 in the accompanying plate is the plan. The thickness of the

wall is 9 feet 6 inches, and through it a passage is built 3 feet 9½ inches in width. Fig. 4 shows the cross section of this passage. The height is 6 feet 7 inches to the spring of the arch, which is formed of seven voussoirs in all, the key-stone being smaller than the side voussoirs. The height in the centre is 8 feet 6 inches, so that the rise of the arch is just half the span. It is, however, not semicircular, but slightly pointed, as represented in the figure.

Fig. 5 shows the longitudinal section through the passage. At the eastern face arrangements have been made for a door. The three horizontal grooves are presumably intended to leave space for the bolts in opening and shutting the door—an arrangement sometimes followed at the present time. On each side also is seen a hole for hinges or bolts, one being represented in the figure below the central horizontal groove.

Fig. 2 shows the appearance of the door from outside. The opening is narrower than the passage itself (being 6 feet 1 inch high by 3 feet broad), and is surmounted by a lintel-stone 6 feet 6 inches by 2 feet by 10 inches thick. The size and arrangement of the adjacent stones are shown according to actual measurements.

The left (southern) jamb of the door is 257 feet from the south-east corner of the Haram.

With the exception of the lowest course, the masonry within the gate and on the inner surface of the wall consists of well cut undrafted stones, 1 foot to 2 feet 6 inches in length, in courses from 1 foot to 2 feet in height. The materials of the lowest course, however, are evidently more ancient; the stones are much larger (the dimensions of two of them being 4 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 8 inches, and 4 feet 9 inches by 3 feet respectively), and show signs of a marginal draft with a much worn rustic boss. One side of the passage is partly covered with good white mortar, with tool marks on the surface resembling arrow-heads, intended either to be ornamental or for the reception of another layer of plaster.

After reaching the inner face of the wall the excavators ran a gallery northwards under the surface of the Haram for a distance of 29 feet. The earth through which it runs consists of stones (some 6 inches to 1 foot across) and rubbish, and is supported by woodwork, one side of the gallery being formed by the wall itself. It is here that the interior course of more ancient material referred to above has been laid bare. One stone projects from the floor of the gallery, as may be seen in section in Fig. 2, but the rest of the floor is apparently earth. At the north end the ground plan of the wall is as represented in Fig. 1. The dotted line at this point shows a closed up drain, or the vacant space left by removing one of the lowest stones in the wall.

The work has now been left some months, I believe, *in statu quo*, and the Turks do not at present show any intention of continuing their investigations further.

A. M. M.

This door is probably not older than the 15th century at earliest.

C. R. C.

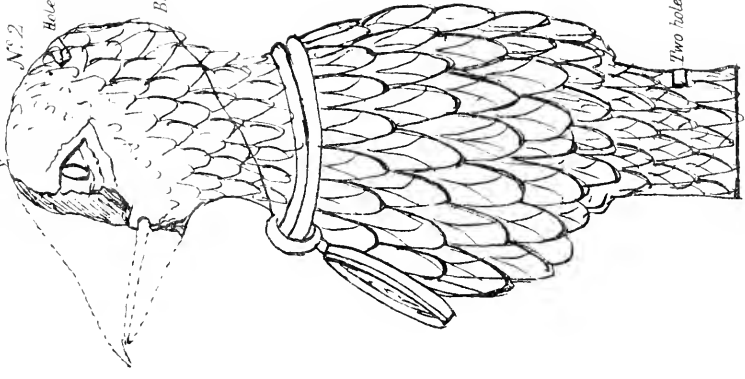


Side View

N<sup>o</sup> 2

Hole for eye-iron (shown in drawing)

Breakage



Two holes for Iron Fastenings

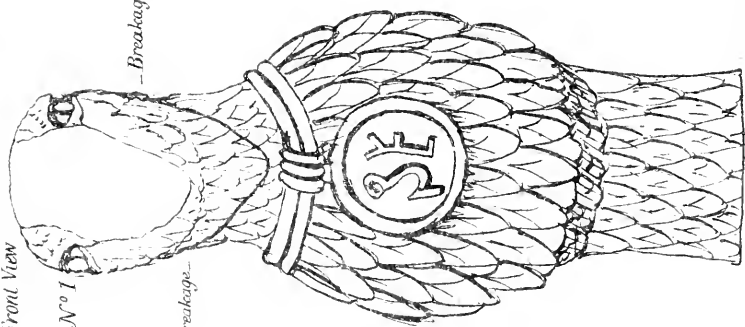
x

Front View

N<sup>o</sup> 1

Breakage

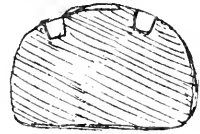
Breakage




2 feet 4 inches high

Plan of bottom

N<sup>o</sup> 3



JERUSALEM, 13th June, 1882.

In the winter from 1880 to 1881, many of the outer stones of the eastern wall of the Haram Esh Sherif, near its south-east corner, fell down: some smaller pieces followed last winter; and in order to avoid the entire falling (except the large ancient parts) it was now absolutely necessary to repair. So the upper part—not only what stood higher up above the ground inside, but a good deal downwards—on both sides (east and south) at the south-east corner, was taken down, so that the place called the “cradle of Christ” became towards east quite open, and partly also in south. By this work last week a curious stone figure was found, and brought into the Serai (into the office room of the Pacha), where I had an opportunity of seeing it, and of making a sketch and taking the necessary measurements from it. It is of green marble, now broken in two pieces: the head is loose, but when I put it on the body it fitted exactly (the breakages I have shown in the two sketches); the nose on the head is also broken off, and is missing, as it was not found at the spot. The two eyes are preserved very well, but are not human ones—they are put rather on the side of the head than in front, and are standing unusually far one from the other, so the face cannot have been a human one; there is also not any trace of a beard. So I suppose the nose was a bill or beak (of a bird) probably, as I have pointed it out by dotted lines—the (inner) ending of it; and so the situation of the mouth is on one side preserved as I have shown in Fig. 2. But might it not have been the mouth of a fish? only then it would have been situated curiously. Over the whole body are feathers—as I think, or as my companion thought, fish scales—each feather marked with two curves thus, . On the neck of the figure is a double band, on which hangs a medallion by a three-fold ring. On the medallion are two letters—as I think the figures are—in relief. On the occiput is a square hole, in which once metal was fastened, and also two such holes on its foot, of which I show the form (in Plan No. 3). So it is clear nothing is missing on the foot, but all complete still, although in some way curious. I heard that the Pacha had ordered some sketches to be made from it, which he had sent to Constantinople, and is now waiting for direction what he is to do with the figure. It seemed to me that a cast should be taken if possible, if it remains long enough here, and permission can be got.

C. SCHICK.

## LIST OF PHOTOGRAPHS

Taken by Lieutenant A. M. MANTELL, R.E., in 1882, for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

1. *Makâm at 'Ain Hesbân.*

This Makâm, or sacred place, situated near Hesbân (the Biblical Heshbon), is one of a class very numerous in Eastern Palestine. It consists of a low wall, roughly built in the form of a circle seven or eight paces in diameter, round the tomb of some Sheikh. On the west is a construction similar to a cromlech, but much smaller, consisting of a stone some 2 feet long, taken from a neighbouring ruin, and supported at the end on two other stones placed vertically. A door is thus formed about 2 feet high by 2 feet wide. The Bedouin, not having any mosque available, pray at such a shrine, first placing on the door described above some small offering such as a berry from a neighbouring bush or a piece of metal.

All the modern sacred stone circles are formed on the same principle, but in some cases the door is on the south. They correspond to the Kubbeh or domed building frequently seen in Western Palestine. Ploughs and other implements are left in them for months when not required for use; it is considered that no thief would steal them from such sacred places.

2. *Cromlech west of Hesbân.*

This is the finest specimen of the 700 or 800 cromlechs found by the Survey party east of the Jordan. It consists of two side stones, a top stone and a floor stone, as may be seen in the photograph. The figure on the left is Goblân en Nimr, Sheikh of the Adwân Arabs, a man over six feet in height. This gives a good idea of the cromlech.

It is still an open question for what purpose these pre-historic monuments were erected. Although in some parts of the world they have been used as tombs, Captain Conder, in the *Quarterly Statement* for April, 1882, has given his reasons for supposing that those found in Moab were never used for such a purpose. From the arrangement of the top stone, and from the peculiar cuttings often found on its surface, he concludes that they were only intended for altars. The prevalent idea among the Arabs is that they are inhabited by ghouls.

3. *Cromlech west of Hesbân.*

This is another fine specimen situated within about twenty yards of the above.

4. *Cromlech west of Hesbân.*

In this instance the top stone is only slightly raised above the ground, but an examination on the spot leaves no doubt as to its being an artificial construction.

5. *Cromlech west of Heshbân.*

Similar in construction to No. 4. The Arab sitting near the cromlech is Sheikh Goblân.

6. *El Kal'â in Wâdy Heshbân.*

A remarkable group of limestone rocks in the valley running westwards from Heshbon. They have a strong reddish tinge, and from a distance show a castellated form, which makes it difficult to believe that they are not artificial. This is indicated by the name "Kal'â" or "fortresses." On a near approach, however, their appearance entirely changes, and they prove to be only natural crags.

7. *Makâm at Hadâniéh in Wâdy Jideid.*

This is similar to that shown in photograph No. 1. The offerings on the lintel of the door can be well seen, and are in this instance very numerous, including berries, shells, coins, a stick, pieces of iron, and the lock of a flint gun. It is remarkable that this small makâm is within a few yards of a large ancient stone circle 80 yards in diameter, with wall 30 to 40 feet thick. Of the latter the Arabs cannot give any explanation. It is situated on a spur immediately above a good spring, and there are many cromlechs in the neighbourhood. Captain Conder considers the large circle to mark the sacred centre round which the cromlechs were built.

8. *Stone Circle and Altar at Minyeh.*

The part of this construction apparently intended for an altar, is a large stone about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet by  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet, by  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, surrounded by a circle of roughly squared stones six paces in diameter. On the east another similar circle intersecting the first forms a sort of courtyard, in which the worshipper might stand facing the altar. This and six other such constructions stand on the bend of a hill overlooking the Jordan valley just above the spring at Minyeh. There is another also in the Jordan valley among the cromlechs near Kefrein. The Bedouin do not know for what they were intended.

9. *Rock-cut Tomb at el Kahf.*

The entrance to this tomb is surrounded by a well executed rock-cut pediment finer than that at the tombs of the Judges near Jerusalem. In front of the entrance is a courtyard reached by steps. The tomb chamber is at a lower level, and reached by a shaft. It is 20 feet square by 9 feet in height. On three sides there are benches for corpses, with rock-cut arcosolia.

Some 200 yards to the east is another rock-cut tomb containing ornamented sarcophagi. The style of ornamentation shows that these tombs date from about the second century A.D.

10. *Public Building at 'Ammân.*

'Ammân marks the site of the Biblical Rabbath-Ammon, and contains to the present day the remains of many Roman buildings, of which one of the best is that shown in photograph No. 10. Only a few columns and one gate are still standing, and it has been supposed that these represent the Ancient Forum. A column in the foreground shows a number of Arab "tribe-marks" which the Bedouin frequently inscribe in conspicuous positions, either for good luck or to record their opinion that the place belongs to them.

11. *Kabr es Sultan at 'Ammân.*

This photograph shows the façade of a fine Roman tomb on the east of 'Ammân. There are various interior chambers for the reception of sarcophagi. The Arabic name signifies "the tomb of the Sultan."

The monument dates probably from the second century A.D.

12. *Odeum at 'Ammân.*

This is the smaller of the two Roman theatres at Rabbath-Ammon, and must have been used for the acting of plays; while the largest one, which is in an excellent state of preservation, was used for entertainments in which wild beasts were exhibited.

13. *North Gate of Public Building at 'Amman.*

This is a view taken from the north (*i.e.*, outside the building) of the gate which is seen in the distance in photograph No. 10.

14. *Church at 'Amman.*

A Byzantine building of which the apse is in a fair state of preservation. An inscription found in one of the walls by the Survey party appears likely to give very closely the date at which the church was built.

15. *Kusr en Nueij's north-east of 'Ammân.*

A finely ornamented Byzantine building, intended for the reception of sarcophagi. The Ionic capital and some other details of the order are visible in the photograph. The roof bears a Roman sepulchral vase.

16. *Tomb Tower west of 'Ammân.*

Similar to that in the preceding photograph.

17. *Public Building and Bridge at 'Ammân.*

This view is taken looking down the fine stream at 'Ammân, which flows finally into the Jabbok. On the left we see the outside of the building, of which a special view is given in photograph No. 18. In the distance is one of the Roman bridges which cross the 'Ammân stream.



consists of a single span, still in perfect preservation, and gives access to a street bordered with columns leading to the two Roman theatres.

18. *Public Building at 'Ammân.*

This photograph shows the part still standing of some fine Roman building, probably baths, of which an exterior view is given in photograph No. 17. The three apses are well preserved nearly to the top, as also are a number of the columns. The rows of holes seen in the stones of which the wall is built were probably used in covering the surface with tiles or metal plates, but none of the plates themselves were found by the Survey party.

19. *Kusr es Seb'ah south of 'Ammân.*

This is the best preserved of the tomb-towers near 'Ammân, and is similar in general arrangement to those in photographs 15 and 16. It measures externally  $23\frac{1}{2}$  feet by 23 feet, and is entered by a door on the north. There are ten sarcophagi inside the towers arranged round three of the sides in two layers. Several of them are ornamented with wreaths, and one with a cross. All that the Arabs have been able to open have been rifled, but there are still four which seem to have been undisturbed, and might repay examination. Several sarcophagi stand in conspicuous positions on the slopes of the hills in the neighbourhood of the Tower.

20. *Temple at Khareïbet es Sâk, south of 'Ammân from the east.*

The photograph shows two rows of columns with Ionic capitals still standing among the ruins of a very considerable town. There was originally a gate, on the east of which one finely carved jamb is still *in situ*, and can be seen in the photograph.

The columns have been much damaged by the weather and shaken by earthquakes. Several shafts and capitals are lying about within the external foundations.

21. *Temple at Khareïbet es Suk, south of 'Ammân from the west.*

A different view of the same subject.

22. *Tomb-Tower near Khareïbet es Suk.*

This is situated a few hundred yards to the east of the Temple. It is nearly 40 feet square in plan, and is therefore considerably larger than the other tomb-towers near 'Ammân. The walls are lower than in other such buildings, and are provided with a cornice and a plinth. The tower is not roofed in. The interior is filled with earth, stones, and rubbish, so that no sarcophagi are visible, but there are two lying on the ground outside.

Outside the west wall an arch has been built as in the photograph. It is not bonded in with the rest of the masonry, and would appear therefore to be more modern. It is not clear with what object it can have been constructed.

23. *Odeum at 'Ammâm. Interior Door.*

A view from the inside of one of the entrances to the small theatre shown in photograph 12.

24. *Cromlech North-west of 'Ammân.*

A fine example of a cromlech, and remarkable for its being composed entirely of flint. A second cromlech can be seen in the distance.

25. *Interior of Sassanian Building in 'Ammân Citadel.*

This photograph gives some of the details of a building which has been an architectural difficulty to various explorers. Captain Conder has recently suggested that it is of Sassanian origin, of about the same date as the great palace discovered by Canon Tristram at Mashita. He finds also that there is a close resemblance between the details of this building and those of the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem, and considers that it will throw much light on some of the most disputed points in Syrian architecture.

26. *Entrance to Rock-cut Chamber at 'Arâk el Emîr (showing inscription).*

This is the entrance to a very fine chamber cut in the cliffs at 'Arâk el Emîr. The chamber is some 60 feet long by 30 feet broad, and 30 feet high, and was evidently formed with much care. It is now used as a store for "tîbn," or chopped straw. The inscription on the right hand side is Hebrew, and is thought to date from the second century B.C. Although the letters are remarkably well cut, the translation is still a moot point: in fact, it is not certain whether it should be read from right to left, or *vice versa*. De Vogué, reading from right to left, translates it "'Arniyeh," but cannot suggest any very probable meaning. If read like European languages, from left to right, it may be construed to mean "Tyrus," the ancient name of 'Arâk el Emîr.

27. *Rocks at 'Arak el Emîr.*

A remarkably fine range of cliffs, visible for many miles to the south. It is 600 yards in length, extending north-east and south-west, the height in the centre being 80 to 90 feet. The name of the place (ancient Tyrus) is taken from this cliff, and signifies the "Princess Rock."

28. *Kusr el 'Abd at Arâk el Emîr.*

This building, called by the Arabs "the castle of the slave," is a palace constructed by John Hyrcanus in the second century B.C. It was probably never finished, but the general design has been drawn out by De Vogué from the existing ruins. The stones (some of which are larger than any in the Jerusalem Haram) were brought down on a causeway from the cliffs shown in photograph 27. Perforated stones were firmly embedded in the

causeway, probably to assist in this engineering operation. One of these appears in the photograph.

The animals carved on the upper course of stones are supposed to be lions. They are mentioned by Josephus, and this reference leaves no doubt as to the identity of the present ruin with the palace of Hyrcanus.

A. M. M.

## THE ROCK RIMMON.

*To the Editor of Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement.*

IN your last *Quarterly Statement*, the Rev. W. F. Birch so winnowed with his critical pen Captain Conder's communication *in re* the Rock Rimmon, that I am left with a very little wheat and a great deal of chaff. I have no wish to be drawn into controversy, but should like to silence for ever any insinuations that the name Rummur, or Rummân, which was obtained by me from the Fellahin of Jebâ, when visiting the cave "Mughâret el Jâi," was the result of my first letting them know the place I wanted, and then, in the Eastern fashion, finding it given to me.

Mr. Salami, the Vice-Consul of Jerusalem, knew a thing or two about the Fellahin mind, and as we rode together to Jebâ he more than once said to me, "Whatever we do we must not give the shepherds a notion of the names of the cliffs or caves we wish to know about." And this caution was most conscientiously acted upon the day we explored the Wâdy Suwâinit, entered the cave, and heard the name Rummân, in the valley of Michmash.

H. D. RAWNSLEY.

## THE BODIES OF THE PATRIARCHS.

DEAR SIR,—I see in yesterday's *Times* Lieutenant Conder lately visited with the Princes the mosque at Hebron. I should like to point out, as a matter for discussion in the *Quarterly Report*, that the bodies of the patriarchs, with Jacob—if not those of Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebekah, and Leah—were transferred from Hebron to Shechem. (*See Acts vii, 15, 16.*) No reason for the removal is assigned, nor the time when it took place. Still, the fact is undoubted, though commonly overlooked. Could not search be made at Shechem for the spot to which the patriarchs were thus, as S. Stephen says, *μετετέθησαν*?

Yours faithfully,  
CLERICUS.

## SILOAM TUNNEL.

## I.

## ONE THOUSAND CUBITS.

CAPTAIN CONDER'S interesting discussion of this question in the *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1882, may lead to important results, of which he can form no conception. I think he has satisfactorily settled the question as to the actual spot where the two excavating parties met, which appears to be in the exact spot where I predicted the place of junction would be found.

“Now if there be any likely spot where the two gangs met *it will be at this high cutting* (4 feet 6 inches) . . . . Where we find this space of enlargement at the middle of an aqueduct, there is the spot where they endeavoured to meet.”—*Quarterly Statement*, October, p. 295.

And the printed statement of Captain Conder indicates that the point of junction was exactly *where it had been predicted*. I am sorry to find in this last published statement so erroneous a statement of my theory of the Siloam tunnel as is given in the following passage :—

“Unfortunately Mr. Beswick's calculations, which reduces the length of the tunnel to 1,478 feet, is founded on a misconception (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1881, p. 295), as the length of the branch from the Virgin's Fountain *is not included* in the total of 1,708 feet.”—*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1882, p. 127.

Unfortunately this misconception is in the mind of Captain Conder. My calculations do not reduce the tunnel to 1,478 feet, nor has he included the length of the branch from the Virgin's Fount in the total of 1,708 feet. I am fully aware that the Siloam tunnel is estimated from the place where it enters the cross passage to the Virgin's Fount, and that this cross passage of 50·8 feet in length is not included in the total length of the Siloam tunnel, 1,708 feet. My calculations begin where the tunnel enters this cross passage, and where the 1,708 feet of length begin. And my theory is, that for 231 feet, where the tunnel begins at the cross passage, the tunnel forms an eastern or upper branch of large bore or broad gauge, 6 feet high ; it then changes its course, and turns south ; at the same time and place the tunnel changes its character, and becomes a southern branch of narrow bore and gauge.

Am I right in stating that the upper or eastern branch of the aqueduct, which begins at the cross passage to the Virgin's Fount, is of large bore and gauge, so large that a man 6 feet high can walk erect therein ? And am I correct in stating that the lower or southern branch, from end to end, is a narrow bore and gauge, almost too small for a man to pass through ? Its highest point, 4 feet 8 inches, is in the middle of its length, exactly at the





place where *I predicted* the point of junction of the two gangs of men would be found (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1881, p. 295). With this single exception, the whole length is a remarkably narrow bore from end to end. I claim that the whole of this bore, or southern branch of the tunnel, is the only portion that the tablet-maker meant to be included in the 1,000 cubits mentioned in the inscription of the stone tablet. In short, I divide the Siloam tunnel into two branches, upper and lower, or into southern and eastern branches. The eastern branch is a broad bore and gauge, 231 feet in length; the southern branch is a narrow bore and gauge, 1,000 cubits = 1,477 feet in length; and the total length being 1,708 feet from the Siloam Pool to the place where the tunnel enters the cross passage to the Virgin's Fountain. I do not see how any one can misapprehend this simple and concise statement.

Let us examine the inscription more closely. It says, "And there flowed the waters from their *outlet* to the Pool for a distance of 1,000 cubits." The 1,000 cubits is measured from the "*outlet* to the Pool." The Pool we know, but where is the "*outlet*?" It cannot mean the *beginning* of the tunnel, for that would be the "*inlet*" and not the "*outlet*." The word in the tablet is well known, and its meaning determined: it never refers to the beginning nor the end of a passage, but always to the length or course of the passage. And this fact settles the question, that the 1,000 cubits is not to be measured from the beginning of the tunnel, but to some point in its course. When Hezekiah stopped the "*watercourse*" (2 Chron. xxxiii, 30) of the fountains this word was used in the original Hebrew, מוציא *motza*. It is always applied to the watercourse, passage, tunnel, or goings-forth, but never to the ends of a tunnel. The word "*outgoing*" is more expressive of the actual meaning of the word than the word "*outlet*," which Professor Sayce has given to it. As in the Psalms (lxxv, 8): "Thou makest the *outgoings* of the morning," where the Hebrew is *motza*. In this case, as in every other, the word cannot be applied to the beginning of the day, but to the course of the day *from the morning*—its *outgoings* during the day.

The radical meaning of the word is to press, squeeze, make narrow, tight passage, to squeeze through, to make straight. The Arab is ماضا *maaza*, to press tight and squeeze, as when the hands rub corn. And I cannot see any other inference to be drawn from the meaning of this word in the tablet than this: that it refers to that length of the tunnel which is emphatically a narrow bore, a tight passage, a straight place, to be squeezed through if you get through at all. This is its radical and common meaning—the length of the passage, and not to one of its ends. It seems to say, when a free translation is given:

"The waters flowed from (תמוצא) the *narrow bore* to the Pool for a distance of 1,000 cubits."

Just as the persecutors are overtook between the "*straits*," מצר, *metzar*, (Lam. i, 3); see Job xxxvi, 16; xxxvii, 10. This narrow bore, or straitened passage, is the only part of the passage to which the tablet-

maker could apply his measure of 1,000 cubits—from the beginning of the narrow bore to the Pool: so that the proof seems complete, that the 1,000 cubits is the measure of this narrow bore, or lower branch of the tunnel.

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## II.

### THE TABLET-MAKER'S CUBIT.

CAPTAIN CONDER briefly alludes to the inscription, line 2, in relation to the "*three cubits*" to be broken through when the excavators first met at the place of junction. And he remarks, "the party at *d* were just *three cubits* of 16 inches from them." It is unfortunate that the actual distances of the sides and set backs at this place of junction were not taken with some degree of careful precision, or if taken, that they were not given except by way of inference, which would be, in a general or random way = 48 inches. Had the exact distances been given or taken, carefully measured without regard to theory, we could have used them as valuable factors in settling the value of the cubit.

Again, in the last line of the inscription we read, that "three-fourths" of a cubit was the height of the rock over the head of the excavation. If this be the correct reading, then the difference of height of the two channels at the point of junction would be—

inch cubit	inches
16'000 × .75 =	12'000
17'724 × .75 =	13'293
18'000 × .75 =	13'500
21'000 × .75 =	15'750

Captain Conder admits "the difference of height of the two channels at the point of junction is just 13 inches, or close upon *three-fourths* of a cubit of 16 inches." How much closer it would have been to a cubit of 17'724 inches, such as I suggest, had a very close measurement been made, it is difficult to say. But if this measurement of *three-fourths* of a cubit = 13 inches, then 3 cubits ought to have been 52 inches instead of 48. Then, again, admitting the diagram produced by Captain Conder, and using it as a guide, the distance between the workers being "yet three cubits to be broken through," as stated by the inscription, that distance would be represented in the *inscription* by the following words:—

(Line 3) "The excess of rock on the right. They rose up . . .  
they struck on the west of the—

(Line 4) excavation, the excavators struck, each to meet the other  
"pick to pick."

Both gangs of men seemingly worked on this excess of 3 cubits, and struck the excess of rock, each to meet the other, pick to pick. Therefore, if *e* in the diagram be the point of junction, the space between them would



be that which lies between the set back at  $d$ , where the excavators have struck and cut the rock "on the west of the excavation." But the diagram itself shows clearly that the intervening space so struck is over 52 inches. If both gangs struck the rock of 3 cubits, as the tablet says they did, "each to meet the other pick to pick," then the intervening space would be from the set back at  $f$  working up stream, to  $d$  working down stream, and meeting at  $e$  the point of junction. The intervening space would then be "three cubits" of 17·724 inches = 53·172 inches. For the slight set back down stream at  $e$  is less than 24 inches from the set back  $f$ . The total space between the set back at  $f$  and the set back at  $d$  is nearer 53 inches than any other figure. Captain Conder assumes: "The party at  $e$ , in the meanwhile, seemed to have stopped working, which they would naturally do, to avoid injuring or being injured by the others." But this is opposed to the statement in the inscription, which says, "the excavators struck, each to meet the other pick to pick," after they had found out there was but 3 cubits between them. It seems more likely that the excavators forming the down stream party worked from  $f$  to  $e$ , and the up stream party worked from  $d$  to  $e$ , where both met at  $e$ , the point of junction. Both parties would be too eager to meet for one of them to stand still, with 3 cubits of solid rock in front of them.

I am fully prepared to enter into an elaborate test of the actual length of the cubit measure in use in and around Jerusalem during biblical times, and during the time of Herod. But the present is not the proper time, and space in this *Quarterly* will not permit it. However, the following cases being of a purely topographical character, and the main factors having been furnished by the Ordnance Survey, may be cited with confidence and profit, independent of their importance and interesting nature.

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### III.

#### TEST CASES.

Case I. The large foundation stone in the south-east angle of the Haram was sunk into the rock at a level of 2,272·25 feet above the Mediterranean. This is generally regarded as the chief foundation stone in the substructures of the Haram, and probably was the first stone laid in the structure. Now add 100 cubits to its height, and you obtain  $100 \times 1·477044 = 147·7044$  feet. Hence:—

$$2,272·25 + 147·70 = 2,419·95 \text{ feet.}$$

And you obtain the exact mean level of the Haram. The Ordnance Survey gives 2,420 feet as the general level of the Haram area. Colonel Wilson, in his Ordnance Survey Notes, and in all the maps (*Quarterly Statement*, January, 1880), gives 2,420 feet as the general level of the Haram. Captain Warren, in all his works, gives 2,420 feet as the general level of the Noble Sanctuary. Captain Conder, in all his works, follows suit with 2,420 feet as the general level. Indeed this factor has never been

questioned, and has obtained universal acceptance. And yet, according to my estimate of the true value of a cubit, 100 cubits is the exact difference between the level of the substructural foundation and the general level on top of the substructure.

Case II. Josephus describes the general height of the Gentile or outer Court, which was about equal to that of the general rock level of the Haram as we find it to-day, namely, 2,420 feet. He says :

“The lowest part of this Court [Gentile] was erected at the height of 300 cubits, and in some places more.”

Now 300 cubits would be equal to  $300 \times 1.477044 = 443.114$  feet. All the heights of Moriah and Ophel and Mount Sion have their ravines and depths drawn together at only one point, a deep well south of the city called Bir-Eyub. The united ravines come together here. It is the lowest level to them all. Its rock surface has a level of 1,977 feet, with a general surface level all round of 1,979 feet. Let us now estimate from this lowest level of the ravines around the Haram, and add the height given by Josephus, namely, 300 cubits, and we obtain the following result :—

$$300 \times 1.477044 = 443.114 \text{ feet.}$$

$$1,977 + 443.114 = 2,420.114 \text{ feet.}$$

And we again obtain the general level of the Haram, or of the lowest height of the Courts in Herod's Temple, *as stated by Josephus.*

The real test of any value given to the cubit is best seen in large values, where the error, if any, is magnified to a degree to make the erroneous estimate palpable. In small quantities of a few cubits the error is so insignificant, that the difference is usually attributed to carelessness in the workman, or the slack use of round numbers and measurements by the engineer and constructor, as if they were never very particular. But magnify the distance to 50 or 100 cubits, and the error then increases into yards and rods.

Case III. In 1 Kings vii, 2, we read of Solomon building his palace 100 cubits in length. And in verse 6, he is said to have built a porch in front of the palace. Its length across the front of the building was 50 cubits, and its depth or breadth 30 cubits, making a total length of 100 cubits, and a breadth of porch of 30 cubits = 130 cubits total length.

Now, if we admit that the Royal Palace was built on Mount Moriah, along the length of the south wall, where Herod placed his Royal Triple Cloisters, the substructural foundations must have been of the same extent. Let us see what evidence exists. The value of 130 cubits = 192 feet.

$$130 \times 1.477 = 192 \text{ feet.}$$

The original passage of the Triple Gate terminates at a distance of 19 feet exactly. And at very nearly the same distance from the Double Gate, the original double tunnel terminates. And in the plate given in “Recovery of Jerusalem,” Captain Warren has marked the total length 192' 0", or 192 feet and a fraction less than an inch. The proof which this result furnishes of the original substructures being equal to the length of the Royal Palace and porch of Solomon, cannot but be regarded as interesting and valuable to our topographical knowledge of Ancient Jerusalem.

I am prepared to supply important test cases by the score, of great topographical interest, in and around the Haram, in illustration of the true length of the cubit, which I estimate at  $\sqrt{3.14159} \times 10 = 17.724$  inches. And it seems to me very likely that this narrow bore, forming the southern or Siloam branch of the aqueduct of 1,000 cubits = 1,477 feet, is a confirmation of that estimate.

*Strathroy, Ontario,  
Canada.*

S. BESWICK.

I AM sorry to have misunderstood Mr. Beswick's view as to the tunnel. He, however, appears to suppose our survey of the tunnel to be much rougher than is really the case. Every offset has been carefully measured within an inch or so, and the whole of the passage has been carefully planned from a chain and compass traverse, which can be consulted for any measurements required. The bore of the tunnel, from end to end, is nearly uniform, but the height varies constantly in different parts; as a matter of fact, the southern part of the tunnel is much the highest (12 to 16 feet). The cross passage to the Virgin's Pool is low (about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet). The section (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1882, p. 123) gives a general idea of the heights along the canal.

The statement I have made as to the "three cubits" was not either general or random, but founded on the traverse, which can be published if necessary. There is no distinct alteration of the tunnel at 231 feet from the north end, either in gauge or in height. The exact distances were taken carefully without regard to theory, as we have no theory to support in the matter. Mr. Beswick's "Test Cases" appear to me very inconclusive, and not to be compared with the deductions from widths of passages, intervals of buttresses, and dimensions of stones, which I enumerated some time since in the *Quarterly Statement* as indicating the length of the cubit.

C. R. C.

## THE ANNUAL MEETING OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

THE Annual Meeting of the General Committee was held at the Offices of the Society, on Tuesday, 17th June. The chair was taken by Mr. JAMES GLAISHER.

The minutes of the last meeting were read and confirmed.

The Secretary then proceeded to read the Report of the Executive Committee on the work of the past year.

“ MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

“ Your Committee, elected at the last General Meeting, held on June 21st, 1881, have, on resigning their trust, to render you an account of their administration during the past year.

- “ 1. The Committee have held twenty meetings since their last election.
- “ 2. The subjects which have occupied their attention have been the following:—

#### I.—THE SURVEY OF EASTERN PALESTINE.

“ We had the pleasure of announcing, at the annual meeting of last year, that the services of Captain Conder and Lieutenant Mantell had been fortunately secured, together with those of Messrs. Black and Armstrong, formerly of the Royal Engineers, and were with Captain Stuart in the commencement of the Survey of 1872.

“ The expedition started in the spring of last year, and after some good preliminary work, pending the arrival of the instruments, Captain Conder led his party across the Jordan, and commenced the Survey of Eastern Palestine.

“ It was found, however, that difficulties were raised by the Turkish authorities of a kind which had never previously been encountered. The firman under which Captain Conder worked was one signed by the Sultan's predecessor, and peremptory orders arrived from Constantinople that, until a new firman had been signed, the work was to stop.

“ Under these circumstances Captain Conder, after surveying 500 square miles, and executing a large number of plans, and examining a country which yielded many most interesting and valuable discoveries, was compelled to bring his party back to Jerusalem. Here he occupied them with laying down the field work, completing the observations, etc., etc., while negotiations were going on at Constantinople with the view of obtaining the firman desired.

“ The Committee feel that they cannot sufficiently express their gratitude to Lord Dufferin, for the great trouble he has taken in this matter. His Majesty the Sultan has, we are happy to learn, promised to sign the firman granting permission to explore, within certain limits, east of the Jordan.

“ We have now only to wait until this firman is signed.

“ The present threatening outlook in Egypt and the East causes the withdrawal of the party to be a matter of some satisfaction to the Committee, as it relieves them of anxiety as to the safety of their officers.

“ The Committee desire strongly to express their opinion that, under the circumstances, Captain Conder had no choice whatever but to yield to

the imperative orders from the Sultan, and to stop the Survey. They desire further to ask the General Committee for a vote of thanks, not only to this tried and able officer, but also to Lieutenant Mantell, whose energy and zeal have made him so valuable a second. Mr. Black had, unfortunately, to come home in the autumn, being disabled by an attack of dysentery, and Mr. Armstrong, the servant of the Fund for ten years, has acted with the energy and intelligence which have always largely contributed to the success of our Survey work. The following is the report sent to us by Captain Conder :—

“ 21st June, 1882.

“ The party, including Lieutenant Mantell, R.E., and Messrs. Black and Armstrong, left England on 16th March, 1881, and reached Beyrout early in April. While awaiting our stores Lieutenant Mantell and I made a tour through Northern Syria, resulting in the discovery of the site of Kadesh on Orontes. The outbreak of a revolt of the Druzes rendered the Survey of the Hauran impossible, and the Governor of Syria refused us permission to survey under our former firman. I therefore transferred our base of operations to Jerusalem, and, while awaiting the arrival of the theodolites, we were employed in revisiting various points of interest concerning which additional information had been demanded in England. Meantime, an opportunity for commencing our operations in Moab presented itself, and on receipt of the instruments the party proceeded to Heshbon, and the Survey was carried on for nearly two months without the knowledge of the Turkish authorities. When, however, our presence became known, peremptory orders were sent to us to suspend our operations. I delayed as long as possible the stoppage of our work, but after five weeks of negotiation I found it necessary to submit to the pressure of the Turkish authorities.

“ The party went into winter quarters in December, during which time the field work of the 500 square miles' survey was worked out by Lieutenant Mantell and Mr. Armstrong, Mr. Black being invalided home in October. Meantime, I proceeded, by order of the Committee, to Constantinople, where, after three weeks of negotiation, I obtained, through the help of the British Ambassador, the promise of a new firman.

“ Shortly after my return to Jerusalem, their Royal Highnesses Princes Edward and George of Wales reached Palestine, and I was commanded to attend them during their tour, which lasted six weeks. The Royal party visited the Haram at Hebron, and I was entrusted with a report on this subject to be submitted to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales. The Princes also remained a week beyond Jordan, and additional information was obtained concerning the district of Mount Gilead north of that surveyed. By order of the Committee we left Palestine on 22nd May, 1882, but before leaving I received notice from H. E. the British Ambassador to say that the firman had been finally approved by the Minister of Public Instruction, and submitted by him to the Porte for confirmation. There

appears, therefore, reason to hope that the suspension of the Survey may be only temporary.

“The results, as submitted to the Executive Committee, include the complete examination of 500 square miles, with a volume of notes and a large number of special plans and surveys, also Lieutenant Mantell's photographs east of Jordan. The reports on Kadesh, Tyre, Jerusalem (the Siloam inscription and the new Jewish tomb, etc.), Hebron, etc., are additional results of our expedition.

“The country, when we left Palestine, was in a somewhat excited state, due to recent political events, but no outbreak of fanaticism was likely to occur.

“I must, in conclusion, report that the conduct of the party gave me the greatest satisfaction; Lieutenant Mantell distinguished himself by the rapidity with which he attained a colloquial and grammatical knowledge of Arabic, and by his general zeal and ability he must be considered a valuable addition to the officers of the Society. Messrs. Black and Armstrong showed much discretion in their treatment of natives at a critical period, and the trustworthiness of their recent work quite equals that of their former performances. The native staff also gave satisfaction, and no member was dismissed during the fourteen months in which they were employed. The instruments provided by the Committee all gave satisfaction, especially the 8-inch theodolite, by Troughton & Simms. They are on their way home, and have been insured for £250.

“The property of the Society left in Jerusalem is estimated at £170; it is all of imperishable character, properly stored, and carefully inventoried.

“In conclusion, I consider that the credit of the Society stands better Palestine at the present moment than it has perhaps ever done before, while the genuine interest shown in our proceedings by their Royal Highnesses during their tour cannot fail to be of great advantage to the Society in the future.

“CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Captain, R.E.*’

“II. The Committee have also been engaged upon the continuing of the publication of materials on their hands. Three additional volumes of the “Survey of Western Palestine” have been issued during the year, viz., the second volume of “Memoirs,” the “Name Lists,” and the volume of “Special Papers.”

“The third volume of “Memoirs” has been printed, and the proofs are in Captain Conder's hands: this may be expected in September. It will contain, in addition to the memoirs as originally written, a great quantity of additions made by that officer during his recent stay in Western Palestine. Canon Tristram's volume on the natural history of the country will be ready before the end of the year, and it is hoped that Colonel Warren's volume on Jerusalem researches, and his portfolios of plans, will appear early next year.

“As regards the maps, the reduced map was published last September. It has been followed by another issue of the same map, with the water basins and sections of the country laid upon it, by Mr. Trelawney Saunders. This eminent geographer has also prepared, to accompany the new map, an “Introduction to the Survey of Western Palestine;” proofs of the Old Testament map, also prepared by Mr. Saunders, lie on the table for your inspection; the New Testament map is in the hands of the engraver.

“The Committee have to regret the loss by death during the last twelve months of many of their most valuable and useful members. The first of these is Dean Stanley, one of the founders of this Society. The first assistance which he rendered was in May 12th, 1865, when he lent the Jerusalem Chamber for the meeting in which the “Palestine Exploration Fund” was founded. The last occasion on which he showed his sympathy and gave his assistance was when he lent us the same chamber, in which the Survey of Eastern Palestine was resolved upon.

“We have next to lament the death of the Rev. F. W. Holland, Vicar of Evesham, and one of our honorary secretaries, also for many years associated with Mr. Grove as honorary secretary for this Society. He is known as having raised the “Sinai Survey Fund,” and assisted in the accomplishment of that Survey.

“The death of Major Anderson, C.M.G., R.E., is another irreparable loss to the cause of Palestine research. He was always ready to give, not only advice, but time and active work, to the furtherance of our enterprise, and at the time of his death was the editor of the maps of Western Palestine, which ever after formed the basis of all writings and discussions on biblical geography and topography. His latest work for us was the outfit and despatch of the new expedition.

“We have also to regret the death of Mr. Samuel Gurney, for many years a member of the Executive Committee; of the Rev. Samuel Manning, member of the General Committee; and of the Rev. Dr. Barclay, Bishop of Jerusalem, member of the General Committee, both firm friends and upholders of the Society.

“The Committee regret to announce that Mr. Clermont Gameau, recently appointed to the post of French Consul in Jaffa, has been recalled and appointed interpreter at the Foreign Office of Paris. By this change the cause of Archæology throughout the Holy Land suffers an irreparable loss.

“The following is the Balance Sheet for the year 1881 :—

## RECEIPTS.

1881.		£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
Jan. 1.	Balance from 1880..	1,365	4	1			
	Less unpaid account ..	260	15	3			
		<hr/>			1,104	8	10
	Subscriptions and Lectures .. ..				2,430	5	10
	Publications .. ..				144	6	3
	Photographs .. ..				18	10	11
	Map and Memoirs .. ..				2,123	15	6
	To unpaid accounts .. ..				778	5	11
		<hr/>			6,599	13	3
		<hr/>					

## EXPENDITURE.

		£	s.	d.			
Expenditure on the Survey .. ..		2,628	12	7			
Map and Memoirs .. ..		2,647	6	6			
Rent .. ..		128	11	0			
Printing .. ..		398	5	1			
Advertising .. ..		40	14	10			
Salaries and wages .. ..		436	2	8			
Stationery, Office expenses, and Sundries..		70	18	0			
Postage .. ..		136	11	0			
Balance .. ..		112	11	7			
		<hr/>			6,599	13	3
		<hr/>					

WALTER MORRISON,

*Hon. Treasurer.*

“It will be seen that the Committee spent 6,487*l.*, of which 2,628*l.* was spent in the Survey of Eastern Palestine, while 2,647*l.* was spent in producing the maps and “Memoirs.” About 450*l.* was returned to subscribers in the shape of the Society’s *Journal*. Rent, salaries, advertising, and management generally, about 750*l.*, that is about 11 per cent.

“The Committee have to ask that a vote of thanks be passed to Professor Sayce, Mr. Isaac Taylor, Mr. St. Chad Boscawen, the Rev. W. F. Birch, the Rev. Henry G. Tomkins, and M. Clermont Ganneau, for contributions to the *Journal* of the Society, to all the Honorary Secretaries of this Society; to all the annual subscribers; and to the following donors during the past year :—G. M. E., Miss Wakeham, Mr. H. Charlewood, Mr. Oliver Heywood, Mr. Fritz Reiss, Mr. Wolff, Mr. George Burns, Mr. Mackinnon, Mr. H. Vaughan, Sir John Cowell, Mr. G. S. Gibson, Professor Watson, Mrs. Anderson, Mr. H. M. Ormerod, Mr. G. Bickerton Evans, Mr. A. W. Jones, Mr. C. F. Fellows, Rev. H. Hall Houghton, Rev. W. H. Walford, Rev. F. E. Wigram, Rev. M. T. Farrar, Mr. A. H. Heywood, Miss Edwards, Mr. James Stevenson, Rev. A. M. Morrison, Mr. R. Crewdson, Mrs. Dykes, Mr. G. W. Norman, Rev. J. Braithwaite, Mr. G. Gotto, Mr. E. Whympfer, and Mr. Dalzell.



“The Executive Committee have invited the following gentlemen to join the General Committee during the last year :—

Lord Eustace Cecil.  
 Sir John Cowell.  
 Major Grover.  
 Rev. Professor Lumby.  
 Mr. W. Aldis Wright.

“They have also invited the Rev. Dr. Ginsburg, Major Grover, and Mr. Aldis Wright to take the places vacated by the deaths of Mr. Holland, Major Anderson, and Mr. Gurney.

“In conclusion, the Committee have only to recommend that as the firman may be signed any day, in which case the field will be again open to them, strenuous efforts be continued to keep alive the interest now existing in the work, and to raise funds.

“Captain Conder is at present engaged in arranging his materials for publication.”

On the conclusion of the Report, the CHAIRMAN laid upon the table all Captain Conder's work, including the finished map of the 500 square miles, his portfolio of special plans, his field books and observations, his photographs, tracings, and his note-book, filled with sketches, freehand drawings, plans and notes taken in the field. Mr. GLAISHER, in calling the attention of the Committee to this result of the year's campaign, spoke in the highest terms of Captain Conder's energy, and the great zeal with which the whole party had worked.

It was proposed by Lord TALBOT DE MALAHIDE, seconded by Mr. HENRY MAUDSLAY, and carried unanimously, that the Report be received and adopted.

The CHAIRMAN then laid upon the table the uncorrected proof of the Map of the Old Testament, and the drawing of that for the New Testament, explaining that the work had been placed in the hands of Mr. Trelawney Saunders, who had been actively engaged upon it for the last eighteen months, the result being that the map before them was far superior to any previously existing maps to illustrate the Old and New Testaments, as the Society's map of Western Palestine was superior to any previously existing maps of the country. He explained also that Mr. Saunders was alone responsible for his identifications, and that, though students of the Bible would not probably agree with Mr. Saunders, and with each other, in all the identifications adopted or made by him, there would be but one opinion on the experience, labour, and thought brought to bear on the production of these two beautiful works.

The CHAIRMAN next proceeded to say that he would take advantage of Dr. Chaplin's presence among them that day to express personally the very deep gratitude of the Committee for the many acts of kindness and sympathy which he has shown to the Society's officers and party in Jerusalem. He tendered him personally the best thanks of the Committee.

In reply, Dr. CHAPLIN briefly drew a contrast between the knowledge of the country possessed by educated people before the foundation of the Society, and that which now exists, thanks to its labours. He also gave his own testimony to the admirable conduct of the officers under the many difficulties which surround the scientific explorers in the East.

The Rev. WILLIAM WRIGHT proposed the re-election of the Executive Committee. This was seconded by Captain CONDER, and unanimously carried.

Mr. MACGREGOR proposed, and Professor HAYTER LEWIS seconded, the election of the following new members of the General Committee :—

Bishop of Truro.  
Bishop of Melbourne.  
Colonel Locock, R.E.  
Rev. Dr. Löwy.  
Rev. H. L. Stracey.

After a vote of thanks to the Chairman, the meeting was adjourned.

THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

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NOTES AND NEWS.

WE have great pleasure in publishing in this number of the *Quarterly Statement* the Report, prepared by Captain Conder, of the Princes' visit to the Holy Land, for the Prince of Wales. It has been very kindly presented to the Committee for publication by His Royal Highness. It contains, first, the Report of the visit to Hebron, with a plan drawn by Captain Conder, from measurements taken by Sir Charles Wilson and himself, of the Mosque of Hebron, which differs in many important details from any previously published plans. The second part of the Report contains an account of the journey through the Holy Land, in which the Princes were accompanied by Captain Conder, whose knowledge of the country was placed at their service.

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As might have been expected, the outbreak of hostilities in Egypt has deprived the Committee, for a time, of their officers. Captain Conder has been ordered to join the Staff of Sir Garnet Wolseley. Lieutenant Mantell is with his company. Before starting, Captain Conder was fortunately able to finish the revision of his proofs of the third volume of the "Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine," but all thought of publishing the results of the Eastern work must be abandoned until his return.

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Besides these officers, Sir Charles Wilson is at Cairo, Colonel Warren at Suez, and Professor Palmer, who had accepted the office of Chief Interpreter, has been made prisoner by the Bedouin and carried up the country.

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We have to regret the loss by death of one of the original members of the Society, namely, Professor Pusey, who never ceased to take the deepest interest in the work, and to support it by donations as well as by personal influence.

The following have joined the General Committee :—

BISHOP OF TRURO.  
Rev. Dr. LÖWY.  
Colonel LOCOCK, R.E.  
Rev. W. J. STRACEY.

Major GROVER, R.E., has been appointed to a post in Portsmouth Dockyard, and has therefore resigned his membership of the Executive Committee.

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The Committee have resolved to continue their efforts to maintain the general interest in this work, and hope that support will be continued, and funds accumulated, so as to render the resumption of work easy as soon as an opportunity is found, and the state of public feeling in the East allows. Meantime the *Quarterly Statement* will be continued.

The third volume of the "Memoirs of the Survey of Western Palestine" will be ready in November. Canon Tristram's work on the "Flora and Fauna" is approaching completion. The volume on Jerusalem will not be kept waiting for Colonel Warren, who has given the Secretary his notes to accompany and explain the plates.

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The Old and New Testament Maps, reduced, will be ready about the middle of November. They will be issued to subscribers the same price as the modern reduced map.

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There are a few copies of the "Survey" left, which the Committee are very desirous of placing in public libraries. They would be very much obliged if readers of the *Quarterly Statement* would send them names of libraries and librarians. A circular has been prepared giving full particulars of the work and its cost, which can be forwarded to any one on application.

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Mr. Saunders's beautiful sections of the country, viz.: one from north to south, and four from east to west, have been laid down on two sheets, so that they can be had separately if desired. They are also laid down on his "Water-Basin" Map. The price of the sheets is 1s. 6d. each. The Jerusalem sheet of the great Map can also be had separately, at half-a-crown.

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The income of the Society from all sources, from July 1st to September 19th, 1882, was £482 12s. 6d.

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It is suggested to subscribers that the safest and most convenient manner of paying subscriptions is through a Bank. Many subscribers have adopted this method, which removes the danger of loss or miscarriage, and renders unnecessary the acknowledgment by official receipt and letter.

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Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly, are asked to send a note to the Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each number to all who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes give rise occasionally to omissions.

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While desiring to give every publicity to proposed identifications and other theories advanced by officers of the Fund and contributors to the pages of the *Quarterly Statement*, the Committee wish it to be distinctly understood that by publishing them in the *Quarterly Statement* they neither sanction nor adopt them.

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THE PRINCES' JOURNEY THROUGH THE  
HOLY LAND.

MARLBOROUGH HOUSE, PALL MALL,  
*September 6, 1882.*

THE CHAIRMAN OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE,  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

SIR,

The Prince of Wales desires that I should forward you the accompanying report on the mosque at Hebron, which Captain Conder, R.E., has been good enough to draw up for His Royal Highness's information. His Royal Highness has great pleasure in now placing it at the service of the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

I have ventured to make a few notes of my own on Captain Conder's report, which, of course, you will take for what they are worth.

As soon as it was determined that the two Princes should visit Palestine, one of the first objects to which I turned my attention, was that their entrance to the mosque (and if possible to the cave) at Hebron should be secured. But on arrival at Jaffa, on March the 28th, I learnt from Mr. Consul Moore that the matter was by no means certain, or satisfactorily arranged.

Application had been made, by desire of the Queen, through the Foreign Office and Lord Dufferin at Constantinople, for the same facilities of access to all places of interest in Syria which were granted to H.R.H. the Prince of Wales in 1862, including that to the mosque of Hebron.

The Sultan fully concurred, and gave explicit orders to this effect, and sent one of His Majesty's personal aides-de-camp (Colonel Ahmet Aly Bey) from Constantinople to be in attendance on their Royal Highnesses during their sojourn on Ottoman territory; and consequently, by His Majesty's orders, the deference shown to the Princes by all the Pachas, Governors, and their subordinates throughout the forty days' tour in Syria, and their readiness to permit the thorough examination of every site and everything considered worth visiting, whether small or great, were constant and unvaried.

But, with the curious ignorance that seems to prevail at the Porte respecting matters of detail at a distance from Constantinople, it was pointed out that it was impracticable now to travel from Jerusalem to Hebron, as the roads were not safe, and the Pacha at Jerusalem had not a sufficient force of military at his disposal to ensure the safe conduct of the Princes thither.

The road, however, between Jerusalem and Hebron is as secure as that between any two country towns in England, and no guards whatever are required for the passage. So this excuse was at once overruled, and the

Pacha was told we were going to Hebron as ordinary travellers, and that without any escort. Subsequently, after further telegraphic communications with the Foreign Office and with Constantinople, permission was telegraphed from the Porte for the Princes to visit the mosque at Hebron, and the cave, if the Pacha at Jerusalem considered he had sufficient military at his disposal to ensure their safety from fanatics or other disturbers of the public peace, there or on the road.

His Excellency Raouf Pacha accordingly started from Jerusalem on April 2nd, with such soldiers as he considered desirable, to make preparations at Hebron for the visit of the Princes, two days afterwards.

They left the camp at Jerusalem on the morning of Tuesday, the 4th of April, and as Colonel Sir C. Wilson happened to be staying in the city, I invited him and Captain Conder to accompany our party, in order that this examination of the mosque and cave might be made as thorough as possible. We arrived in Hebron the same afternoon. Here began the series of striking contrasts between the visit of the Prince of Wales in 1862, as described by Dean Stanley in the appendix to his "Sermons in the East" (pp. 141-169), and that of His Royal Highness's two sons in 1882.

Instead of the obstacles and difficulties which Súraya Pacha in 1862 threw in the way of the Prince of Wales, Raouf Pacha did all he could to facilitate everything for the two Princes in 1882.

Even before our tents were pitched he came at once to the camp, and explained how, during the day, he had been all over the mosque with the custodian, and that no entry to the cave could be discovered. His Excellency promised, however, that the next day's search should be as thorough as he or we could make it. Every hole and corner, every passage and door, should be opened and explored.

And in further contrast with what Súraya Pacha stated to Dean Stanley (p. 160), "that he never thought of visiting the mosque of Hebron for any other purpose than that of snuffing the sacred air," Raouf Pacha, as a devout and strict Moslem, expressed his own earnest wish to penetrate the cave. It is impossible to speak in too high terms of the liberality of sentiment, and of the straightforwardness and courtesy shown towards the Princes and party, which distinguished Raouf Pacha throughout the whole of this visit. He said that at one point only he hoped the Princes would stop short—the destruction or removal by main force of any of the stones of the building. Their Royal Highnesses assured him they hoped this last resort for obtaining entrance to the cave would not be necessary.

At half-past six on the following morning we left the camp with Raouf Pacha on foot. The inhabitants of the town showed every sign of pleasure at the visit of the Princes, and though a file of soldiers was drawn up at the entrance to the mosque, they really only served as a guard of honour, and were not at all necessary for the protection of Their Royal Highnesses. There was no "military occupation of the town," such as described by Dean Stanley on page 153.

The hereditary guardian of the mosque, and his attendants, met us at

the door, where shoes were removed, and conducted us straight through the eastern aisle into the nave of the church. At first he appeared evidently to be anything but well disposed towards the visit, and as he threw back, with the help of his attendants, the carpet that covered the point B in Captain Conder's plan, he did so with an air of dignity, despair, and resignation, as if he thought that the end of the world had arrived. His religious feelings, though suppressed, were most manifest on his countenance; he expected, I think, we should use crowbars to raise the stones, and was greatly relieved when we passed on, not having done so. The quiet persistency with which we examined the whole of the buildings was taken, I hope, as a sign of our reverence for the sacred places in his charge, and when some of the party in the afternoon revisited the Haram, he was quite pleasant and affable. His relief was great that the cave had not been entered, though our party had seen more of the mosque and buildings than any other had done since the place passed into Moslem hands.

In the plan given by Dean Stanley, the mosque marked F, with tombs of two Moslem saints, is quite out of position. It was there inserted from memory of what is shown in the Jâwaliyeh Mosque, which opens out of the passage I have marked X in Captain Conder's plan, and the other chief inaccuracy in that plan is that the shrines of Isaac and Rebecca are placed at right angles to their proper position.

On the 6th of April we left Hebron, and while riding up the rough road on the east of the town, looking back we saw, on the hillside to the southwest, low down in the valley, caves exactly similar in appearance to what Machpelah must have presented to the eyes of the patriarch in its natural state. There was a field too, and trees in it in front of the cave, that recalled the very words descriptive of Machpelah in Genesis.

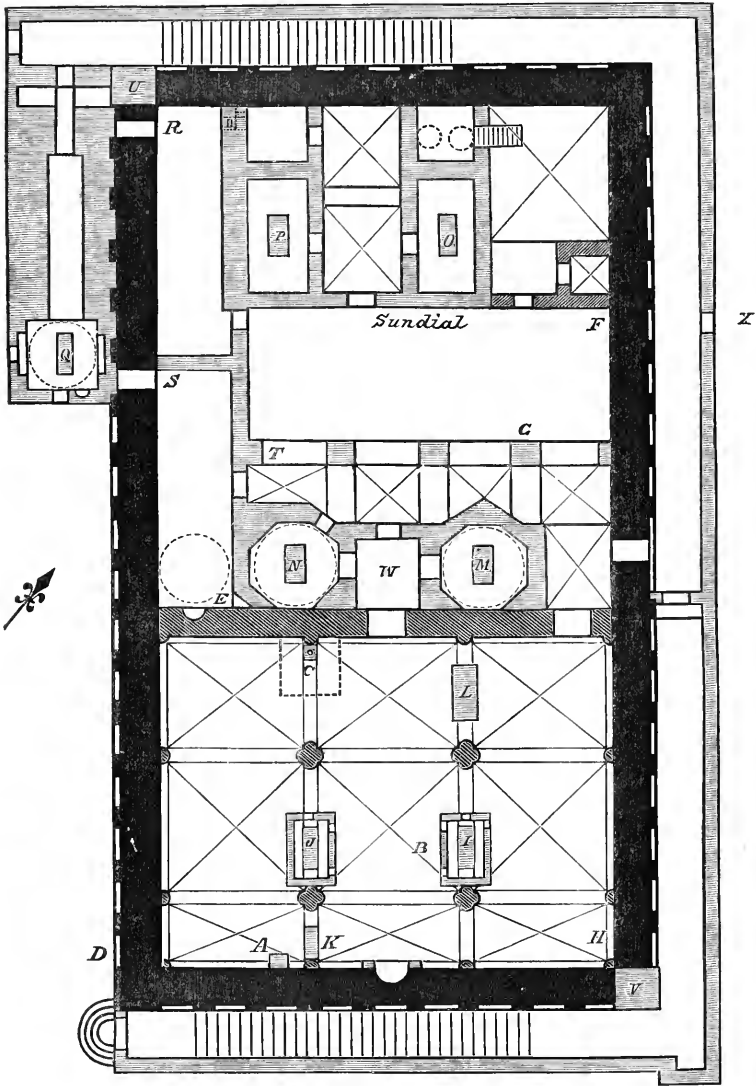
His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales desires me also to forward to you the second memoir of Captain Conder, "On Points of Antiquarian Interest," newly observed by H.R.H.'s sons in Palestine and Syria.

I remain, Sir,

Yours very faithfully,

JOHN N. DALTON.

# HEBRON HARAM.

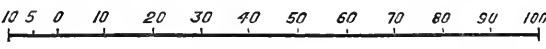


Arab work 

Herodian work 

Christian work 

Recent work 

Scale  of Feet



## PLAN OF THE HARAM OF HEBRON.

THE doors shown on the plan, *R* and *S*, lead into the upper chamber of Joseph's Tomb. The plan actually shown is that of the most important part—the tomb chamber itself—which is below the level of *R* and *S*. On Captain Conder's return he will be asked for certain additional notes and drawings, which he possesses in his note-books.



REPORT ON THE VISIT OF THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES  
 PRINCES ALBERT VICTOR AND GEORGE OF WALES  
 TO THE HEBRON HARAM, ON 5TH APRIL, 1882.

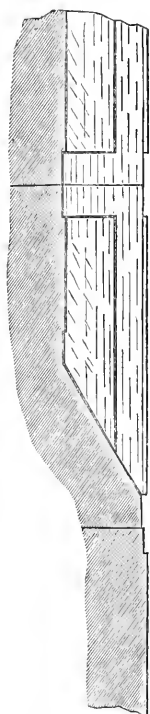
THEIR Royal Highnesses entered the enclosure at 7 a.m. on Wednesday, the 5th April, 1882, attended by Rev. J. Dalton, F.S.A. ; Sir Charles Wilson, K.G.M.G., C.B., R.E. ; Dr. Turnbull, R.N. ; Mr. Noel Temple Moore, H.M.'s Consul for Palestine ; Captain Conder, R.E. ; Sub-Lieutenant F. B. Henderson, and Acting Sub-Lieutenant H. Evan-Thomas, R.N., of Her Majesty's ship "Bacchante."

The Royal party was accompanied by H.E. Raouf Pacha, Governor of Jerusalem. They visited every part of the enclosure, and remained in the Haram until 10 a.m. In the afternoon Their Royal Highnesses revisited the so-called tomb of Joseph, adjoining the enclosure, which they entered by an entrance not opened on the occasion of the morning visit. The results of these two visits add materially to the information previously obtained as to the Haram enclosure, and the accompanying plan, made on the return of the party to camp, presents considerable additions to those made on former occasions by Mr. James Fergusson and other explorers. It may be considered worthy of reliance as regards the general arrangements ; and the walls of the church were accurately measured with a 2-foot rule, while the interior of Joseph's tomb was measured with a steel tape by the Princes themselves. The exterior walls of the enclosure are calculated from careful measurements of the buttresses, and the result agrees within a foot with that obtained by Mr. Fergusson in 1864. The remaining dimensions were obtained by pacing, and are only supposed to be approximately correct.

*The Outer Walls.*—These enclose a quadrangle measuring 197 feet in length, by 111 feet in width externally. At the four angles are buttresses, 9 feet wide on each face, and projecting 10 inches. Between these there are eight buttresses on the end walls, and sixteen buttresses on the longer side walls, each measuring 3 feet 9 inches in width, with intervals of 7 feet, and a projection of 10 inches. All these buttresses are 25 feet high, and they stand on a base wall which is flush with their faces. The top course of the base wall is bevelled between the buttresses, as shown in the attached section (No 1).

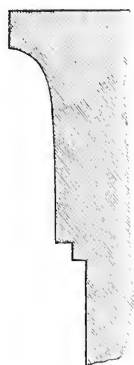
The masonry of which these walls are composed is the same throughout, including the base wall beneath the buttresses. The face of each stone (as in the older masonry of the Jerusalem Haram) is drafted on each of its four edges with a shallow and very carefully finished draft, generally about 4 inches wide, and  $\frac{1}{2}$ -inch projection of the face of the stone. The tooling of the draft is executed in exactly the same manner as in the

case of the Jerusalem Haram masonry, an adze or fine toothed instrument having been employed. A second band of similar tooling, about 4 inches wide, runs round the face of the stone, immediately within the draft, and the rest of the face is carefully finished with a pointed instrument struck with a mallet, exactly as in the Jerusalem drafted masonry. The average height of the courses is 3 feet 7 inches (as also at Jerusalem), the longest stone seen measured 24 feet 8 inches by 3 feet 8½ inches in height. The



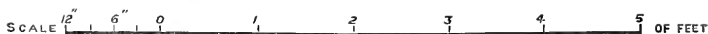
SECTION OF BUTTRESS.

No. 1.



INNER CORNICE.

No. 2.



whole character of the masonry at Hebron thus reproduces so closely that found at the base of the Haram walls at Jerusalem, that it seems certain that both structures must be referred to the same building epoch. The existence of projecting buttresses on the walls of the Jerusalem Haram, has been proved by the discovery of two still remaining *in situ*, in the north-west angle of that enclosure. They were first visited in 1873, and found to stand on a base wall, the top course bevelled between the

buttresses just as above described. In the Jerusalem example the buttresses were  $4\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, 8 feet apart, and projecting 6 inches.

The thickness of the walls thus described at Hebron is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet between the buttresses (the same as that of the Jerusalem Haram walls). The stones on the inner face of the wall are dressed plainly, without any draft. A bold cornice crowns the wall inside on the west, as shown on the accompanying section (No. 2).

The buttresses have a simple projecting cap on the outside of the wall. The level of the cornice is 25 feet above that of the interior court, which therefore coincides with the level of the top of the base wall beneath the buttresses. The same arrangement has been shown to have existed in the Jerusalem Haram, the level of the top of the bevelled course of the base wall between the buttresses coinciding with the rocky floor of the inner court of that enclosure in the north-west corner.

The inner court at Hebron is about 15 feet above the level of the street, west of the Haram, and the total height of the ancient wall, from base to cornice, is thus on an average about 40 feet.

A modern wall with battlements, plastered and whitewashed, is built on the top of the ancient ramparts. On the north, south, and east, the old enclosure is surrounded by a second of more modern masonry, forming passages with two flights of steps as shown on the plan.

The only entrance to the enclosure is through a doorway in the longer or eastern wall, at a distance of 95 feet 7 inches from the south-east angle, as measured outside the ancient wall. To this doorway the passages from the two outer gates both lead.

The bearing of the quadrangle is  $50^\circ$  true bearing, as carefully observed with a prismatic compass. The *milrabs*, or Moslem prayer recesses, inside the mosque, thus point almost south-east.

*The Church.*—This building occupies the southern part of the enclosure, and three of its outer walls are formed by the ancient ramparts. The interior length, measured with a rule, is 70 feet, the breadth is 93 feet, divided into a nave and two aisles of approximately equal width. The length is divided into three bays of unequal span, the southern—furthest from the entrance—being the narrowest. They measure respectively about 25 feet, 30 feet, and 15 feet.

The nave is lighted by a clerestorey with three windows on each side. There is a low-pitched gable at the west (or rather north-west) end, having a large window with a slightly pointed arch, above which is a round window.

The roof of the nave has a ridge lower than the top of the gable, so that the round window is now outside the roof.

The interior of the roof is groined, with flat ribs and a slightly pointed section. The aisle roofs are nearly flat outside, having only a slight inclination inwards towards the walls of the clerestorey. All the roofs are covered with lead. The nave vaulting is supported on the clustered columns of the four great piers, and the vaults of the aisles spring from brackets on the side walls. The engaged columns on the inner sides of the

piers flanking the nave, are carried up to the spring of the clerestorey vaulting. The shafts of the columns are of rather heavy appearance, the capitals are chiefly adorned with thick leaves and small volutes of mediæval character, as shown in the accompanying sketch (No. 1). Another character of capital, of semi-Byzantine appearance, also occurs, as sketched. The six clerestorey windows, the large west window, and the smaller end window in the southern (or south-eastern) wall, are all pointed with a low point. Heavy external buttresses occur between the side windows. The roof of the transept, or south-eastern bay of the church, is carried across at right angles to the ridge of the gable, with a ridge at the same level, forming a T-shaped ridge, and extending to the outer walls of the aisles.

*The Cave.*—The most important feature of the Haram is the great cave which exists beneath the floor of the enclosure. This was not entered by the Royal party, because it was found that the only known entrances are three (A, B, C,) existing in the floor of the church itself, and these are never now opened, and could only be reached by breaking up the flags of the flooring, a proceeding which would have been regarded as a desecration of the sanctuary by the Moslem custodians. The cave is described, by the Sheikh of the Mosque, as being double, and this agrees with the signification of the original name Machpelah (מִכְפֶּלֶה) “division in half”), applied to the cave in which the patriarchs were buried (Gen. xxiii). In later writings, as will be shown at the end of this report, the cave is always described as being double, and in the middle ages it was known as Spelunca Duplex (“the double cave”).

The situation of two entrances was shown, as marked at the points A and B on the plan. The entrance at A was closed with stone slabs clamped with iron. These were covered with matting, and a small cupola, supported on four slender pillars, has been constructed over the spot. This entrance is said to lead to the western cave, where, or in the inner cave, the actual tombs of the patriarchs are reputed to exist. At the point B is the entrance to the eastern cave. It is closed with flagging forming the floor of the church, and also covered over with matting and carpets,<sup>1</sup> but there is no shrine or cupola above it.

At the point C, close to the west wall of the church, is a shaft, covered by a stone, like those at the mouths of wells in Palestine, rising above the level of the church floor. The hole in this stone is rather over a foot in diameter, and a lamp was lowered through it, by aid of which a chamber was seen below, under the floor of the church.<sup>2</sup> The floor of the

<sup>1</sup> The whole floor of the mosque is so covered, and without their complete removal it is impossible to say whether the surface does not contain other clamped entrances, or even portions of the live rock protruding from beneath.—J. N. D.

<sup>2</sup> The first lamp (an oil one) that was lowered gave a feeble light, and was only lowered a short distance. But at the bidding of the Pacha a larger and brighter lamp, with candles and a longer chain, was brought. This fully

chamber appeared to be about 15 feet below that of the church, and the chamber was square, and seemed to be about 12 feet either way, with vertical walls apparently covered with plaster. All four walls were well seen, and in that towards the south-east a doorway could be distinctly perceived, which has never previously been described. It is said to lead to the western cave, and it closely resembled the square doorways which give access to ancient rock-cut tombs in Palestine. The floor of the chamber was thickly strewn with sheets of paper, which have been inscribed by the Moslems with supplications to the patriarchs, and thrown down the shaft through the well mouth in the church floor.

There were no means of ascertaining whether the walls of the chamber were of rock or of masonry, but the roof appeared to be in part at least of rock, sloping down on the north from the mouth of the shaft, like that of a cave or cistern, while in the south-east corner, a piece of rock appeared to project across the angle of the chamber. It should be noted that there did not appear to be any access to this chamber, other than that through the square-headed doorway from the cave, already described. The other walls were seemingly solid throughout.

If, therefore, there ever existed any entrance to the cave from outside the Haram, or from the courtyard of the church, distinct from the two entrances A and B in the floor of the church, as above described, it would seem probable that the communication has been closed, by building up the walls of the small chamber just described visible through the shaft at C.<sup>1</sup> It also seems probable, from the situation and size of this antechamber, that the double cave lies entirely within the limits of the church, to the south of the door seen in the antechamber wall, and that there is no cavity extending under the floor of the inner court north-west of the church. It appears, therefore, very doubtful whether any entrances other than those at A and B exist, or have ever existed, in the northern part of the Haram. The cave probably resembles many of the rock-cut sepulchres of Palestine, with a square antechamber carefully quarried, and two interior sepulchral chambers, to which access has been made at a later period through the roofs. It is, however, possible that the antechamber may be a later addition, and partly built of masonry.

illuminated the whole vestibule beneath, and by its aid the door, walls, floor, and sides of this antechamber were clearly seen.—J. N. D.

<sup>1</sup> This may have been done when the level of the inner courtyard was raised to its present height. This courtyard *probably* represented originally "the field of Mamre before the cave" (Gen. xxiii, 17), and was originally entered, as I suppose, from the exterior by an entrance at R, now blocked by the buildings which are subsequently described in the memoir, and which the Princes were the first to examine. The exterior and interior of this would thus be on the same level in Herodian times. When the level was artificially, and probably gradually (with *débris* of Byzantine Church, &c.), raised 15 feet, the present approaches round the exterior of the Haram, and at a higher level, were necessitated, and are entirely Moslem.—J. N. D.

In connection with the question of the cave, it should be noted that at the point D, outside the Haram wall, close to the steps of the southern entrance gateway, there is a hole through the lowest course of the masonry, on the level of the street. It extends some distance, and is said to admit of the whole length of a lance being passed through the wall, in which case it probably communicates with the inside of the western cave, which would thus extend up to the wall at the south-west angle of the Haram.

*The Cenotaphs.*—The enclosure contains six large cenotaphs, standing on the floor of the church and of the adjoining buildings. They are supposed by the Moslems to stand vertically above the actual graves of the three patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of their wives, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah. The monuments of Isaac and Rebecca are within the church; those of Abraham and Sarah occupy octagonal chapels in the double porch, or narthex, before the church doors, and those of Jacob and Leah are placed in chambers near the north end of the Haram.

The six monuments are thus equi-distantly disposed along the length of the enclosure, but it appears to be very doubtful whether they have any connection with the *loculi* or *sarcophagi*, which are described by early writers as existing in the cave itself.

*Isaac and Rebecca* have their cenotaphs, at the points (J and I) shown on the plan, within the church. They lie in the direction of the length of the nave, Isaac on the side of the right aisle. They are thus not buried in accordance with Moslem custom, as they would in such case lie at right angles to their actual position, on their right sides, with their faces turned to the Mihrab, or prayer recess.<sup>1</sup> The same remark applies to the four other cenotaphs, and to the two cenotaphs of Joseph without the Haram.

The cenotaphs of Isaac and Rebecca are enclosed in masonry shrines of oblong form, with gable roofs, the ridges of which are about 12 feet above the church floor. The walls and roofs of the shrines are of well-dressed ashlar, in alternate bands of yellowish and reddish limestone, of the kind now known as Sta Croce marble, found in the vicinity. At the gable ends are brass crescents. In the sides and roofs are windows, through which the cenotaphs are visible. A door gives access to each shrine, and is of wood, adorned with various patterns in brass work. The windows have heavy iron bars. The cenotaphs are covered with richly embroidered silk hangings, and have cloths hung as canopies above them. Manuscript copies of the Koran, in book form, are placed all round the cenotaphs, lying open on low wooden rests. The coverings of

<sup>1</sup> All this seems easily accounted for by the probability that the present shrines of Isaac and Rebecca occupy the positions given them by the Christians, on each side of the approach to the High Altar, which stood in front of what is now the mihrab. The shrines of the other patriarchs were doubtless also once within the church, and parallel with these, and thus really over the caves. They could not, as they do now, have stood outside, since the buildings there are all of later date and Arab work. The perforated entrance at A would thus be at the side of the High Altar, and that at B immediately in front of the altar steps, one into each cave.—J. N. D.



Isaac's cenotaph are green, and those of Rebecca's crimson, the embroidered inscriptions being in silver and gold. The same colours are used in the other cenotaphs—all the males having the deep green, which is the sacred Moslem colour, and all the females having crimson coverings. Arabic inscriptions on silver plates are fastened to the windows and doors of the shrines thus described.

*Other details of the Church.*—The *Mihrab*, or prayer recess of the Moslems, has been cut out of the end wall of the ancient enclosure. It is flanked by slender pillars, with richly carved capitals of Gothic design, and by two wax torches. Above the *mihrab* is a window of stained glass, resembling those in the Dome of the Rock at Jerusalem, which date about 1528 A.D. The glass in this instance has, however, a peculiarity in the large opaque discs, which are arranged, in the form of an hour-glass, as a border to the richly coloured pattern of the main design.

It appears probable that the *mihrab* was cut out by the Moslems at a comparatively late period; the marble veneer is in late style, and the recess is too small to have been intended for an apse. The original church had probably no apses, for, although this is very unusual in Crusading buildings, it was in the present instance impossible to form apses at the ends of the nave and aisles, without destroying the great rampart wall which constitutes the eastern (or south-eastern) end of the church.

In one corner of the left aisle, at the point H, a Greek inscription is built into the wall. It has been painted red, and was copied some time since, and published in the "Journal of the Royal Geographical Society" (vol. xvi, p. 337). It contains an invocation to Abraham to bless and protect certain individuals at whose expense it was erected, and probably dates about the time of Justinian.

The *Mimbar*, or pulpit (*K* on the plan), stands on the right of the *mihrab*. It is beautifully constructed of cabinet work, resembling that in the Aksah Mosque at Jerusalem. This appears to be the pulpit mentioned by Mejr ed Din as bearing the date 484 A.H. (1091 A.D.), which was given to the mosque by Saladin in 1187 A.D., after the capture of Ascalon. The similar pulpit at Jerusalem was also brought from Damascus, where it was made for Saladin.

The *Merhala*, or reading platform, at the point L on the plan, is similar to those in other mosques intended for the public reading of the Koran.

The walls of the church are veneered with marble inside to a height of 6 feet. Above this casing runs a band of Arabic inscriptions.<sup>1</sup> The form of the characters seems to show that these texts are not of great antiquity, and they are probably not earlier than the end of the 12th century. Above this, again, the walls are whitewashed, and the name of

<sup>1</sup> These inscriptions are made on plaster, which is laid over a miniature imitation of arcade work in tortoiseshell and mother-of-pearl. In many places pieces of this plaster have fallen off, and reveal the work beneath, which is very similar to that we afterwards saw in the great mosque at Damascus. In the vestibule which I have marked W (outside the shrine of Abraham), it is nearly complete all round the four sides.—J. N. D.

God, with that of Mohammed, Aly, and other early heroes of Islam, are painted in black, on medallions attached to the walls. The piers and pillars are whitewashed, and the capitals are painted yellow. Above the marble veneer, in places, the remains of a mosaic of small designs, with mother-of-pearl inlay, are seen, and a good deal of this also remains on the wall immediately outside the central entrance to the church.

On the west side of the right aisle a channel is formed in the floor, close to the wall, leading to a grating in the corner. This is said to be used in washing the hands by the Moslem worshippers.

*The Porch or Narthex.*—This is double, as shown, and vaulted with a groined roof resting on heavy piers. It includes the two octagonal chapels in which are the cenotaphs of Abraham and Sarah. From the irregular manner in which these are built in, it would appear probable that the chapels are older than the roofing and piers of the porch. The whole of these structures are evidently later than the church itself. A flat lead covers the porch, and three small lead domes rise from it over the two cenotaphs and over the vaulted chamber towards the west, hereafter to be described. The entrance doors of the church are concealed, and the whole effect of the façade is spoiled by these additions.

*The Shrine of Abraham* was entered. The cenotaph is about 8 feet long, and 8 feet high, and 4 feet broad. It is covered with a green and white silk covering, embroidered with Arabic texts in gold thread. Two green banners, with gold lettering, are placed leaning against the cenotaph. The entrance to the shrine is closed by open-barred gates, stated to be iron plated with silver, and bearing an inscription in silver letters, which gives the date 1259 A.D., with an invocation to Abraham. The pattern of these gates, with heavy globular sockets for the cross-bars, is exactly that found at Damascus and elsewhere, in the best Arab ironwork. The walls of the shrine or chapel are cased with marble, and have gilt inscriptions in Arabic letters running at the top of the wall near the springing of the dome. Silver lamps and ostrich-shells are hung before the cenotaph, and copies of the Koran, on low wooden rests, surround it.

A fine window of stained glass, similar to that already described in the church, lights the shrine from the side of the porch; round the coloured design are discs of opaque glass, as in the former window, the border in this case consisting of nine discs, arranged up the sides and round the head of the window, which is semi-circular.

*The Shrine of Sarah* was not entered. It resembles that of Abraham, with open-barred gates and a domed roof. The coverings of the cenotaph are of crimson silk, with gold inscriptions on a black ground, on squares let into the crimson.

The piers and arches of the porch are faced with well-dressed ashlar, in alternate bands of buff and red stone. On the pier, at G, is an inscription in Arabic, stating that the porch was restored in 1172 A.H., by the then governor of Damascus (1755 A.D.). At the west end of the porch is a small *sebil*, or water cistern, for ablutions.

*The Courtyard.*—This is the only part of the interior of the Haram

which is open to the air. On the south-east, the arches of the porch (which are pointed) open upon it. At the opposite side are the buildings enclosing the shrines of Jacob and Leah. On the other two sides the court is bounded by the ancient ramparts, and by the vaulted chamber or mosque in front of Joseph's tomb.

On this side the wall is formed by archways filled in with masonry. The arches are pointed, and the ashlar is in alternate reddish and yellowish bands, as before noticed in the arches of the porch. The north (or north-west) wall is of small masonry, well dressed, and with a tooling finished with a fine adze, but without any mason's marks, and having all the appearance of good Arab work. On the inside of the ancient rampart, at the point F, about 5 feet from the ground, is a short Greek inscription, or graffita, evidently cut after the stone was *in situ*. The form of the letters is of Byzantine period.

NEN<sup>o</sup>V  
ABPAMIOV  
MANOVC

The constructions, coloured brown, in the corner of the courtyard, appear to be more modern than any other part of the building. A straight joint divides this part of the wall of the court from the rest. Steps lead up to a small chamber at a higher level. The character of the masonry is poorer, and looks more modern.

The chambers at the north (or north-west) end of the court were, for the first time, thoroughly examined during the Royal visit, and the new plan here differs considerably from those formerly attempted.

The *Shrines of Jacob and Leah* are visible through open-barred gates from the passage between them, which has a groined roof in two bays. The cenotaphs, with green and red hangings respectively, resemble those already described. There is a small chamber behind Jacob's shrine which was entered, but proved to be only a lumber room. The corresponding chamber behind the shrine of Leah contains two circular cells or copper-like hollows, which are said to be now used for storing oil. The shafts in their roofs were seen in the floor of a chamber reached by steps from the vaulted apartment in the north-east angle of the Haram, as shown on the plan. The floor of this upper chamber is 8 feet above the level of the courtyard.

The long chamber, reached from the door in the north-west angle of the court, is empty. From it steps ascend, as shown, to the minaret, which stands on the corner of the ancient rampart (at U). A second minaret stands at the opposite or south-east angle (at V).

In the north-west angle of the long chamber a wooden door was broken open (at R). It was found to lead, through the thickness of the ancient rampart wall, into a vaulted chamber with groined, pointed arches, having a very broad, flat rib. The chamber measured about 50 feet by 20 feet, one side being formed by the outer face of the ancient rampart. It stands upon substructions, forming a passage to the lower tomb of Joseph, subsequently

explored. Near<sup>1</sup> the north end wall was a structure which at first sight looked like the head of a stairway with the steps covered over. It is said to be a place now used for melting lead. No remains of any staircase were found in afterwards exploring the passage beneath. Large windows looked down from the chamber thus described into the enclosure of the *Kud'ah*, or fortress, which has been built against the Haram on this side. The chamber, with other vaulted substructures built against the Haram wall, dates probably from the later Moslem period after the Crusades.

*The Shrine of Joseph* adjoins the exterior chamber just described. It is reached through a vaulted gallery, in the corner of which is the shrine of Adam's footprint. The cenotaph of Joseph is covered with pale green silk, having white [lettering. The chamber has a lantern of octagonal shape, surmounted by a dome covered with lead. There is a second square chamber beneath, with a domed roof, containing also a cenotaph covered with green silk. This is entered by a passage just within the north gate of the Haram—explored in the second or afternoon visit by the two Princes themselves. The lower tomb is on the level of the base of the ancient rampart wall, or 15 feet below the upper cenotaph, entered from the interior of the Haram.

The whole of the workmanship of the shrine of Joseph, and of the other exterior chambers adjoining the Haram, appears to be of Arab origin. The chamber adjoining the upper shrine of Joseph has a flat lead roof, on the same level with that from which the small dome above the shrine now springs.

The back wall of the lower chamber, containing the second cenotaph of Joseph, was ascertained by careful measurement to have a thickness of 2 feet 2 inches. It covers the ancient rampart wall, and has been conjectured to conceal an entrance through the old wall at the level of its base, leading to the cave under the church. The wall is plastered and whitewashed, and if such an entrance ever really existed, no signs of it are now visible.<sup>2</sup>

*The Prophet's Footprint.*—This sacred footprint, variously called that of

<sup>1</sup> Not "near," but projecting from. The structure consists of two small walls of smooth cut stone, about 3 feet high, jutting out for about the same distance from the north wall of the chamber. Lead, we were told, is sometimes melted there for mending the roof, but the place originally was not made at all for such a purpose, and there is no reason why lead should be melted in that particular spot rather than anywhere else.—J. N. D.

<sup>2</sup> It is scarcely to be expected that the entrance in the Haram wall would be visible through an Arab-built wall over 2 feet thick, in front of it, and erected intentionally to conceal it. If the original entrance was not here in Christian times, where it would be most suitable and convenient from the castle, when the level of the inner courtyard was 15 feet lower than now, it is difficult to see where else it could have been. The whole Haram formed a bulwark to, and was embodied as part of, the castle; and the present entrance on the outside of the castle by the *Jâwâliyh* Mosque without any flanking protection would have been most unnatural, especially at such a high level. The present arrange-

Adam, or of the prophet (قدم النبي Kadam en Neby), is preserved in one corner of the vaulted gallery leading to the upper tomb of Joseph, in the end wall of which a *mikrab*, or prayer recess, has been constructed close to the footprint.

The relic, which is said to have been brought from Mecca some 600 years ago, consists of a slab of stone with a sunk portion resembling the impression of a human foot of ordinary size. It is enclosed in a recess at the back of the shrine of Abraham, and placed on a sort of shelf about 3 feet from the floor. Such relics occur in many other Syrian mosques, as, for instance, in the Dome of the Rock, and in the Aksah Mosque at Jerusalem, where the footprints of Mohammed and of Christ respectively are shown. There is a small lead dome above the end of the vaulted gallery close to this last shrine.

*Discoveries.*—The principal new discoveries due to the Royal visit, as detailed in the preceding pages, are—

1st. The discovery of the position of the entrance B, said to lead to the eastern cave. The entrance A has been mentioned by former explorers.

2nd. The description of the appearance of the antechamber, and the discovery of the door visible leading thence to the cave within.

3rd. The exploration of the passage leading to the lower cenotaph of Joseph, and the discovery of this cenotaph, which has not been previously described.

4th. The exploration of the various chambers adjoining the courtyard, which have never been correctly represented on former plans.<sup>1</sup>

All that now remains to be done on the occasion of any future visit is to obtain access into the cave itself. This cave is, however, never visited by Moslems, and it has probably not been entered for 700 years at least. Access might be obtained either by opening one of the two entrances A or B, now identified, or possibly by removing the stone over the shaft at C, and lowering a ladder into the antechamber. The latter would probably be the most expeditious method, but either would be regarded by the Moslems with extreme repugnance.<sup>2</sup>

ment of entrances makes the Haram an adjunct of the Jâwâlîyeh Mosque; the Christian arrangement made it an adjunct of the castle, and probably utilised the original Herodian entrance. But nothing except excavations in the interior can ever set this question at rest. Sir C. Wilson's suggestion, at page 214, coincides with the above notion, that the original Herodian and Christian entrance to the Haram was at this corner.—J. N. D.

<sup>1</sup> Fifthly, we ascended the minaret at the north-west corner, and spent some time on the parapets of the Haram, and thus had the best means of verifying the accuracy of the subjoined plan of the area. There is a walk all round the parapets of the Haram, and communication thus with the minaret at the south-east corner, to which we did not perceive any door from below, neither was such to be expected, since the minaret was built on the solid Herodian wall at a much later period. Access to the minaret at U was obtained by a staircase from the roof.—J. N. D.

<sup>2</sup> Such repugnance would be, however, only temporary; as soon as entrance

## HISTORICAL NOTICES OF THE HARAM.

It is remarkable that no historical notice is known to exist of the building of the great quadrangle surrounding the sacred cave. The cave of Machpelah is not noticed in the Bible, save in connection with the burial of the patriarchs, and there is no reason to believe that any building was erected on the spot before the captivity.

In the Talmud (Tal. Bab. Erubin, 53*a*) Hebron is said to have been called Kirjath Arba (*i.e.*, city of *the four*, cf. Gen. xxiii, 2, and Neh. xi, 25), because four patriarchs with their wives were there buried, including Adam and Eve. This tradition is continually repeated by later writers, including Jerome. Arculphus, in 700 A.D., speaks of the tomb of Adam as north of the others, and many mediæval writers mention the cave near Hebron, in which Adam and Eve are supposed to have lived.

In the 12th century, however, the tradition appears to have undergone a change (probably because the tomb of Adam was then shown under Calvary).

Sæwulf, in 1102 A.D., mentions the tomb of Joseph as existing at the extremity of the castle, possibly where now shown.

It may be inferred from the wording of a passage in Josephus ("Antiq.," II, viii, 2), that some of the later Jews believed Joseph to have been buried with his ancestors at Hebron, an idea originating perhaps in jealousy of the Samaritans, who possessed the real tomb of Joseph at Shechem (Josh. xxiv, 32).

A curious tradition concerning the death of Esau is also noticed in the Talmud (Sotah i, 13). A quarrel occurred at the burial of Jacob, between his sons and Esau, concerning their right to sepulture in the cave. Hushin, son of Dan, cut off Esau's head and left it in the cave, his body being buried elsewhere. The Arab historian, Jelâl ed Din, in the 15th century, repeats this story, and the grave of Esau is still shown at Sia'ir, north of Hebron.

Josephus ("Wars," IV, ix, 7) speaks of the monuments (*μνημεια*) of the patriarchs at Hebron as existing in his own times, "the fabrics of which monuments are of the most excellent marble, and wrought after the most elegant manner."

The Bordeaux Pilgrim (333 A.D.) is the next to describe the site. He speaks of a square *memoria* of marvellously beautiful masonry, in which were placed the three patriarchs and their three wives. It appears probable that he alludes to the quadrangle of the ancient ramparts, which are therefore generally referred (by Mr. James Fergusson and other authorities) to a period earlier than the Christian era.

had been once effected and no one was one whit the worse, the feeling would be rather one of admiration, for those who had penetrated the interior in a reverent manner, than enmity towards them. This has been shown more than once before in opening up other sacred spots. Raouf Pacha said that repairs to the fabric were about to be undertaken, and that it was his full determination then, if possible, to penetrate to the cave if he found any means of entry.—J. N. D.

In 383 A.D., Sta Paula visited the "cells of Sarah," and the resting-place of Isaac, but no notice is made by St. Jerome in this narration of the other patriarchs. In connection with this account it should be noted that the Moslems attach far more importance to the shrines of Isaac and Rebecca, at the present day, than to those of the other patriarchs at Hebron.<sup>1</sup> Isaac receives among them the title of "jealous," and is thought to strike with blindness or death any who approach his shrine. The shrines of Isaac and Rebecca are the only two which seem probably to stand over the actual caves, and Jelâl ed Dîn says that Jacob was buried "before the entrance to the sepulchral cave," which agrees with the present position of his cenotaph, and with what has been already said as to the probable extent of the cave.

In 600 A.D., Antoninus Martyr describes a Basilica of quadrangular form, with an inner atrium open to the sky. Jews and Christians then entered by different gates to burn incense at the shrine.

In 700 A.D., Bishop Arculphus gives a very detailed account of the site. He mentions that "contrary to the usual custom the patriarchs lie with their feet to the south and heads to the north, and they are enclosed by a square low wall." This would apply to the present position of the cenotaphs, and possibly to the quadrangle of the ancient ramparts, before the modern battlemented wall was built above. "Each of the tombs is covered" (Arculphus continues) "with a single stone worked somewhat in the form of a church, and of a light colour for those of the three patriarchs, which are together."<sup>2</sup> This seems to indicate sarcophagi such as are found throughout Palestine belonging to the Roman period, or possibly cenotaphs like those at present existing. "Arculphus also saw poorer and smaller monuments of the three women, Sarah, Rebecca, and Leah, who were here buried in the earth."

<sup>1</sup> They are the only ones now shown within the mosque, and I believe the oldest of the six, and probably the same or like those which stood there in the Crusading and Byzantine churches. They would be each side of the approach to the High Altar; and the hearse-like canopies of stone that surround these two cenotaphs, with their open work, as represented on the plan, resemble those found in Christian buildings, and are altogether different to anything over the other four shrines. These stand, therefore, probably *in situ*. In the Christian arrangement of the church an altar probably stood at the end of each side-aisle: Abraham's in the south-east, Isaac's in the centre, and Jacob's in the south-west. This arrangement of separate altars would resemble that which existed in the church on Tabor, where Moses and Elijah each had a separate altar and side chapel.—J. N. D.

<sup>2</sup> The three patriarchs' shrines seem then to have been shown to Arculphus inside the church, Isaac where he is now, and perhaps Abraham where Rebecca's shrine now is, and Jacob nearer the door, to the south of C, "before the entrance to the cave," as Jelâl-ed-Dîn describes. The three women's shrines were then outside, apparently in the courtyard. Afterwards (1102) they were brought more comfortably inside, and in a more Christian manner each lady was placed by her husband. Rebecca would repose with Isaac under his

In 1102 A.D., Sæwulf further describes the Haram :—"On the eastern side of Hebron are the monuments of the holy patriarchs, of ancient workmanship, surrounded by a very strong castle, each of the three monuments being like a great church, with two sarcophagi placed in a very honourable fashion within, that is, one for the man and one for the woman. But the bones of Joseph, which the children of Israel, as he charged them, brought with them out of Egypt, are buried more humbly than the rest, as it were, at the extremity of the castle."

Among Crusading writers, John of Wurtzburg (1100 A.D.), Theodoricus (1172 A.D.), and Jacques of Vitry (1220 A.D.), still speak of the fourth tomb as being that of Adam.<sup>1</sup>

In 1100 A.D. Hebron was bestowed by Godfrey of Bouillon on Gerhard of Avennes, as a fief. In 1167 the town was made the see of a Bishop, having been previously only a priory (*see* "William of Tyre," xx, 3). In 1187 A.D. the place was taken by Saladin. Hebron is rarely mentioned by Crusading historians, but there is no reason to doubt that it remained for eighty-eight years in the hands of the Christians; and the erection of a church would probably have taken place during this period.<sup>2</sup>

Mejr-ed-Dîn the Arab historian, writing in 1495 A.D., speaks of the mosque at Hebron as the work of the Greeks (*Rûm*), by which terms the Greek Christians are intended. Jelâl ed Dîn about the same time says that the Moslems destroyed the church when Saladin took Hebron, but it appears probable that the destruction, as in other cases, only extended

present canopy, Sarah with Abraham in that which is now called Rebecca's, and Leah and Jacob in a similar one nearer the door of the church, but now removed. Of the two entrances to the church, that in the centre was probably the one for the Christians, and the other, on the north-east, for the Jews, who would thus readily obtain access by this side door to the left aisle, and so to the spot where it is suggested that Abraham's shrine then stood. It seems also possible that the two entrances (R and S) through the Haram wall may also have been thus appropriated, one for the Christians and the other for the Jews. That these two entrances should have been afterwards broken through the thickness of the Haram wall, merely as doors to the later shrine of Joseph and to the adjoining empty chamber, seems very improbable. The eastern cave, in which Benjamin of Tudela describes the six tablets to be, is that under B. The aisle above this would be the most revered, and at its end stood, as above suggested, the altar of Abraham; and the invocatory graffiti inscriptions, both at H and F, would seem to endorse the belief that this was the side of the church and enclosure more peculiarly invested with his tutelage.—J. N. D.

<sup>1</sup> This fourth tomb would thus take the vacant place at L, and the arrangement would be very neat: Adam and Eve reposing at L (as Arculphus describes Adam's tomb, to the north of the others), Abraham and Sarah at I, Isaac and Rebecca at J, and Jacob and Leah near C.—J. N. D.

<sup>2</sup> On almost the same lines probably as the previously existing Byzantine church over the caves, portions of which may even have worked into the present church, so ne of the capitals in which are of "semi-Byzantine character" (p. 3).—J. N. D.



to the desecration of the altars, and of the images and pictures of the Christians (and rearrangement of the shrines).

The most circumstantial account of the cave existing is that given by Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, in 1163 A.D. He visited the Haram during the period of the Christian occupation, and speaks of it as "a large place of worship called St. Abraham," a title which is commonly applied to the Haram by the Christian writers of the 12th century. "The Gentiles" (or Christians), he writes, "have erected six sepulchres in this place" (probably the existing cenotaphs<sup>1</sup>) "which they pretend to be those of Abraham and Sarah, of Isaac and Rebecca, and of Jacob and Leah; the pilgrims are told that they are the sepulchres of the fathers, and money is extorted from them. But if any Jew comes, who gives an additional fee to the keeper of the cave, an iron door is opened, which dates from the times of our forefathers who rest in peace, and with a burning candle in his hands the visitor descends into a first cave, which is empty, traverses a second in the same state, and at last reaches a third which contains six sepulchres—those of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and of Sarah, Rebecca, Leah, one opposite the other.

"All these sepulchres bear inscriptions, the letters being engraved; thus upon that of our father Abraham we read

זה מבר אברהם אבינו  
על יוהשלום.

'This is the tomb of Abraham our father, upon him be peace,' and so on that of Isaac and all the other sepulchres. A lamp burns in the cave and upon the sepulchres continually, both night and day, and you there see tubs filled with the bones of Israelites; for unto this day it is a custom of the house of Israel to bring thither the bones of their forefathers and to leave them there."

Tubs or arks like those mentioned by Rabbi Benjamin are described in the Talmud, and many of them have been found, bearing rude Hebrew inscriptions, in tombs near Jerusalem. They are generally now called osteophagi; and the mention of such a detail in connection with the Hebron cave seems to render it probable that the account is genuine, and that Rabbi Benjamin actually obtained admission to the interior. He appears to have entered through the existing antechamber, but no steps are now found in this chamber, so far as can be ascertained by looking down from above. The inscriptions on the tombs, if they really existed, were probably not of great antiquity.

After the Moslem conquest it appears to have become very difficult for even Jews to enter the cave. In 1210 A.D., Rabbi Samuel bar Simson

<sup>1</sup> Scarcely so. More probably, as described by Sæwulf, the six were in three pairs, each pair under its own canopy, and all within the church, and more or less over the caves. But even then they were only shown as cenotaphs, not as actually containing the bodies of the patriarchs and their wives. These were, of course, in the vault or cave below.—J. N. D.

claims, however, to have visited the interior. "We descended," he writes in his itinerary, "by twenty-four steps, very narrow and without means of turning to the right hand or the left. We saw there the place of the Holy House, and we noticed these monuments. This place has been erected 600 years since (*i.e.*, *circa* 600 A.D.). It is near the cavern." This account is too confused to be of much value. (By the Holy House he appears to mean the church.)

In the "Jichus ha Aboth," a tract, dating from 1537 A.D., the Haram is also described: "An admirable and magnificent edifice, attributed to King David, on whom be peace. Near the door is a little window in the wall; they pretend that it extends to the cavern: it is here that the Jews pray, as they are not allowed to go into the interior."

From the Arab historians Makrizi and Mejr-ed-Din, we learn that the buildings round the courtyard were erected in 732 A.H. (1331 A.D.), by the Mameluke Sultan Muhammed Ibn Kelawun, and that the tomb of Joseph was built by the Emir Jaghmuri in 1393 A.D. The Arab accounts of the cave are untrustworthy and unimportant. In 1322 Sir John Maundeville says that no Christian might enter the Haram. (It had then been made an adjunct of the mosque by the erection of Joseph's tomb in front of the original entrances.)

#### CONCLUSIONS AS TO THE DATES OF THE BUILDINGS.

1. The rampart walls are evidently all of one period up to the height of the cornice. The style is (as has been shown) exactly similar to that of ancient masonry of the Jerusalem Haram, and there can be no reasonable doubt that the two enclosures are to be referred to the same period. A careful consideration of the history and architecture of the Jerusalem Haram appears to lead to the conclusion that its ramparts, as now standing, were first erected by Herod the Great, and that the drafted masonry cannot be considered to date earlier than about the time of the Christian era. This view has been carefully elaborated by the Duc du Vogüé, and other authorities, and it agrees with the conclusions reached by Mr. James Fergusson as to the date of the Hebron Haram walls, his argument being based on historical rather than on architectural grounds. The Haram existed in the 4th century A.D., but there is no notice of any such structure in the Hasmonean or any earlier period. The only period between these limits to which it can be referred with any probability is the great building epoch of the reign of Herod the Great.

2. The character of the architecture of the church is closely similar to that of the Crusading churches of Palestine. The clustered columns, with the shafts carried up the clerestory walls and supporting ribbed groins, resemble those of the church of St. John at Samaria, dating between 1150 and 1180 A.D. The capitals resemble those of the Samaritan church,

<sup>1</sup> This may be the same hole described above, close to the southern entrance, resembling the little window in the bevelled stones pictured at page 200 of the second volume of the "Memoirs."—J. N. D.

and also those of the church at Birch, north of Jerusalem, which was completed by the Templars in 1146 A.D. The general style, and the roofing, closely resemble the details of the church of St. John at Gaza, dating about 1152 A.D. The pointed arches of the windows indicate that the church does not belong to the earliest Crusading period, as the round arch was used for half a century after the Crusaders took Jerusalem. It appears, however, quite safe to attribute the building of the Hebron church to the latter half of the 12th century, probably about the year 1167 A.D., when the town became a bishopric. The low pitch of the roof may, perhaps, indicate that it has been rebuilt at a later period; but, on the other hand, the vaulting of the clerestorey and aisles is much more like Crusading than Arab work.

3. The earliest Arab work appears historically to belong to the year 1331 A.D.; the tomb of Joseph to 1393 A.D., and the outer gates, with the passages and flights of steps, which have the character of the best Arab work, to the same period—the 14th century, during which, fine buildings were erected by Moslems in Jerusalem, Damascus, and other parts of Syria. The stained glass windows are probably not earlier than the 16th century. Restorations in the courtyard date from the end of the 18th century, and additional adornments of the shrine have been given by Moslem rulers at a yet later period. The chambers in the north-east angle belong to a later period than the rest of the Arab buildings in and around the courtyard. The pavement is also comparatively modern, and probably later than the Crusading work.

The accompanying plan gives in colours the various building periods thus enumerated, the original Herodian masonry being shown in black, the mediæval Christian work in red, and the later Arab work in yellow (14th century) and in brown. The attached note by Sir C. Wilson was written on reading the original rough draft, of which the present report is an amplification.

CLAUDE REIGNIER CONDER,  
*Captain Royal Engineers.*

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NOTE BY LIEUT.-COLONEL SIR C. WILSON,  
C.B., K.C.M.G., R.E.

I HAVE read through Captain Conder's report on the Hebron Haram, and have much pleasure in bearing testimony to the accuracy of his remarks.

A close inspection of the masonry of the Haram showed that it was identical in character with that of the Wailing Place in the wall of the Jerusalem Haram, and therefore almost certainly Herodian. This may throw some light on the character of the exterior wall of the Temple of Herod. Both at Jerusalem and Hebron, a level platform is obtained by massive walls of large stones, with marginal drafts. At Hebron a

surrounding wall, ornamented with pilasters, rises to a height of 25 feet above the platform, and it is probable that Herod's Temple enclosure was surrounded by a similar wall, which has long since disappeared, with the exception of a solitary fragment which was discovered by Captain Conder a few years ago. It would indeed almost seem as if the Hebron Haram were a copy in miniature of the Temple enclosure at Jerusalem.

As regards the question of an entrance to the caves, it may be remarked that the whitewash on the walls of the chamber (at C on the plan) was white, clean, and apparently of no great age; and that the papers on the ground did not seem to be old. From this it may be inferred that the chamber, whence there is an entrance to the cave, is periodically visited and cleaned by the guardians of the mosque.

It appeared to me that access to the chamber might be obtained by removing the perforated stone at the point C on the plan. This stone rises above the floor of the mosque, and is pierced by a circular hole a little more than 12 inches in diameter; I noticed, however, that beneath the floor the hole became larger, and, if the stone were removed, I believe a man could be lowered by means of a rope.

It is possible that the original entrance was similar in design to that at "Barclay's Gateway," in the Jerusalem Haram, and that the portal in the massive masonry is concealed by the buildings known as Joseph's Tomb. It seemed quite clear that some entrance to the caves beneath the level of the platform was closed by the wall of the chamber at C, opposite the small square doorway. The pavement at A, which is secured by iron clamps, and which is said to cover a flight of steps, did not seem to have been disturbed for many years. The arrangements for reaching the cave by a flight of steps in one corner of the church is similar to that adopted by the Crusaders when building the church at "David's Tomb" at Jerusalem.

C. W. WILSON, *Lieut.-Colonel.*

Jerusalem,  
*April 8th, 1882.*

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## TOUR OF THEIR ROYAL HIGHNESSES PRINCES ALBERT VICTOR AND GEORGE OF WALES IN PALESTINE.

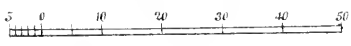
THE Royal party reached Jaffa on Tuesday, 28th March, and re-embarked at Beirut on 6th May, having thus passed forty days on shore, during thirty-one of which they were travelling. The total length of the route



# MAP SHEWING THE ROYAL TOUR.



Scale of Miles.



was approximately 585 English miles, giving an average of  $18\frac{3}{4}$  miles per diem. The longest distances accomplished were 28 miles on the 13th and again on 17th April, and 32 miles on the 25th April. The length of the route east of Jordan was about 115 English miles.

The following notes refer only to such points of antiquarian interest as were newly observed during the Royal tour, some of which are of considerable importance. A short memoir is also attached, concerning the antiquities from Palmyra, presented to Their Royal Highnesses by Sheikh Mijwel at Damascus, one of which is considered to be of considerable value.

*Jerusalem.*—While visiting the chapel of Calvary in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, special attention was directed to the so-called “rent in the rock,” which is shown on the right side of the Greek altar. The metal slide here covers a long slit in the marble flagging, and this was removed, and by aid of a light the live rock was distinctly seen, with a crevice which appears to extend downwards to that which is shown in the chapel of Adam, a cave beneath the Calvary chapel. The fact that the chapel of Calvary stands, in part at least, on a high rock, rising 15 feet above the general level of the church, is thus demonstrated, and the level of the rock at this point is determined as 2,495 feet above the level of the Mediterranean. The demonstration thus obtained of the existence of a natural hill or cliff at this point is not, however, sufficient to prove the genuineness of the tradition which identifies the spot with Calvary; but it has considerable importance in connection with other topographical questions in Jerusalem archaeology.

*Tomb of Esau.*—In travelling from Hebron to Bethlehem the route led through the small village of Sia’ir, situated in a valley. On the south side of the village is a modern Moslem building, sacred to *el’Lis*, who was stated by the local Sheikh to have been the son of “Isaac the jealous,” that is to say, his eldest son Esau. This place has been rarely visited, but the tradition is of considerable antiquity. According to a common Moslem tradition, which is derived from a Jewish source, the head of Esau was buried in the cave of Machpelah, but his body in the tomb now under consideration. It appears probable that the idea may have arisen in consequence of the resemblance between the name Sia’ir and the Hebrew Seir, the country of Esau. The village has, however, been identified with the Zior of the Book of Joshua (xv, 54), and Mount Seir was really situated much further south, in the vicinity of Petra.

The tomb shown as that of Esau is a cenotaph, 12 feet long by 3 feet 6 inches wide, and 5 feet high. It is covered with a dull green cloth, having a border of red, yellow, and white; above it is a canopy. The cenotaph stands in a bare whitewashed room, 15 paces by 8 paces, having on the south wall a mihrab, and on the north side a door to a vaulted outer chamber of equal size; on the east is an open courtyard, with another tomb, said to be that of Esau’s servant. A fig-tree grows beside it. An ostrich egg and numerous rags are placed near Esau’s tomb as offerings. The place is greatly venerated, and it is usually difficult to

obtain access to the interior, as the village lies in a remote district, where the Moslems are still, to a certain extent, fanatical.<sup>1</sup>

*Kasr Hajlah.*—This interesting monastery in the plains of Jericho was visited on 8th April, and was found to be undergoing repair by the Russian Greeks, after having remained nearly eight centuries in ruins. It is worthy of notice that all the ancient frescoes which adorned the walls of the two chapels, within the precincts of the monastery, have been entirely destroyed by the monks. These frescoes were among the most interesting in Palestine. They included figures representing John Eleemon, Patriarch of Jerusalem (630 A.D.), Andrew of Crete, Silvester Pope of Rome (probably the famous Silvester II, 998 A.D.), and Sophronius of Jerusalem. A curious representation of the Resurrection of the Saints also occurred in the smaller chapel. The character of the inscriptions indicated that these frescoes belonged probably to the 12th or 13th century. Not a vestige of them now remains, but the inscriptions and the principal designs were copied by Captain Conder in 1873, and are to be published in the third volume of the Memoirs to the Survey of Western Palestine.

This incident is mentioned as showing the way in which many interesting and valuable monuments have been rescued from oblivion by the Palestine Exploration Fund during the last ten years, and also as showing the necessity of extending the operations of the Society, before the destruction which is rapidly overtaking many important monuments in Syria shall have had time to do more mischief.

*'Arâk el Emîr.*—This fine ruin, the ancient Tyrus, where a palace was built by Hyrcanus, son of Joseph Tobias, about 180 B.C. (Josephus, "Antiq.," XII, iv, 11), was explored on 10th April. A curious Arab tradition was collected on the spot, according to which the palace now known as Kasr el 'Abd ("the slave's house") was erected by a certain black slave, who was in love with the daughter of the Emîr, from whom the place is now named 'Arâk el Emîr, or "the Emîr's cliff." The princess had promised, during the absence of her father on a pilgrimage, to marry the slave if he would build her a palace to live in; but while he was engaged in the work the Emîr suddenly appeared, the slave committed suicide, and was burnt by the Emîr, who placed a stone upon his body. The place where the Emîr, mounted on his horse, first reappeared is shown: it is a knoll due east of the palace, and is still called *Mutull el Hisân* ("the rising of the horse").

The interest of this story lies in the fact that it is probably a well-defined solar myth, surviving among the Arabs. Taken by itself, this conclusion might be considered doubtful, but during the year 1881 the Survey party collected many other tales of similar character among the Arabs of Moab, which serve as contributions to a subject as yet little studied, namely, the folk-lore of Semitic races. In the present instance the horseman appearing in the east recalls the Vedic Asvinau brothers, and the Persian Mithra—the sun, or daylight. The black slave burnt up

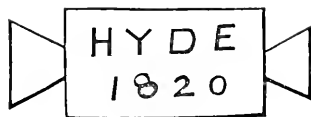
<sup>1</sup> Several green-turbaned folk were sitting by the entrance when we visited it, and at first objected grumblingly to our approach till they saw the Turkish escort, and were addressed in Arabic by Captain Conder.—J. N. D.



on his appearance is evidently an emblem of the night, and the princess who is thus freed from him is probably, like the Phœnician Andromeda and many other mythical maidens, an impersonation of the dawn, or of the moon. The great size of the masonry of the ruined palace of Hyrcanus probably accounts for the supernatural agency which is thus supposed to have conduced to its construction, and for the localisation of the myth. Many of the tales related by the Arabs east of Jordan are evidently of Persian origin, but it is known that in the 6th century A.D. the Persians had already translated Indian folk-lore stories, and that these were again rendered into Syriac and Arabic from Pehlavi. Persian buildings of the 6th century have also been discovered in Moab and Gilead, and the survival of Aryan myths among a Semitic people is thus less difficult to explain than might at first appear.

*'Ammân.*—The Royal party explored the principal points of interest, and examined the group of magnificent dolmens discovered by the Royal Engineers a few months previously. The citadel at 'Ammân includes a very interesting building, apparently of Persian origin, which is ascribed by Professor Hayter Lewis to the 11th or 12th century. During the Royal visit the remains of a second building of the same kind were examined, near the north wall of the citadel. They had been already planned by the Survey party, but several pieces of architectural detail, which serve to throw light on the style and date of the structure, were now newly discovered and sketched.

*Es Salt.*—This small town is the seat of a Kaimakâm, or Lieutenant-Governor. The remains of a strong castle, with a rock-cut fosse, dominate the place; the foundations seem clearly to belong to the Crusading period. The present name of the place is a corruption of the Latin *saltus* ("a grove"), and is supposed to have been given in consequence of the neighbouring woods. South of the town a curious Byzantine building was examined, on the right of the valley of 'Ain Jaidûr. It was evidently first constructed as a tomb, rock-cut, with loculi at the sides, and a front wall of masonry having a heavy lintel to the door. At a later period it seems to have been used as a Christian chapel, the walls being covered with stucco and painted in fresco, while small niches were cut in the eastern wall opposite the entrance. The remains of a nimbus, once surrounding the head of a frescoed saint, are still visible. Many human bones were lying in the loculi. A native Christian gave the curious information that, a massacre of martyrs having once occurred here, drops of blood still distil at intervals from a crack in the lintel of the entrance door. This superstition belongs to a very common class of religious ideas among the native Christians of Syria. A small tablet, painted in red with the name of an early explorer, was observed on the side wall of this monument—



About a hundred yards east of this tomb, a second, of ruder characters, was visited, and on the back of one of the six loculi which it contained was found a rude bas-relief, representing two busts. In general character it resembled the remains of similar sculpture found at Sûk Wâdy Bârada, and in other places, dating about the 4th or 5th century of the Christian era.

*Jerâsh.*—This ruin, which is one of the finest in Syria, excepting Palmyra and Baalbek, was visited on the 13th of April, and several Greek inscriptions, which do not appear to have been copied by any previous explorer, were found by the Princes, one, especially, being in four lines of great length. Jerâsh is the ancient Gerasa, mentioned by Pliny ("Hist. Nat.," v, 18), and by Josephus ("Wars," III, iii, 3). The buildings appear to belong mainly to one period. They include three temples, two theatres, a stadium, a circus, propylea, and a basilica, baths, a triumphal arch, a fine street of columns, ending in a circular peribolos, a bridge, and a complete circuit of walls with gateways.

Owing to its remote situation this fine ruin is rarely visited. The last Royal personage who appears to have journeyed to Jerâsh was the Crusading King Baldwin II, who attacked a castle here, built by the Sultan of Damascus in 1121 A.D. The Roman ruins are attributed to the 2nd or 3rd century of the Christian era, but the newly found inscription, with its crosses, seems probably to belong to a somewhat later period, and may serve to throw light on the history of Gerasa.

It is worthy of notice that fine pillars of red granite are found in the ruins of Jerâsh, while granite columns are also used at 'Ammân. The nearest place whence they could have been brought is probably Alexandria, in Egypt, and the transport of such heavy materials to so great a distance proves the wealth and power of the Roman and Byzantine rulers of Eastern Palestine during this period.<sup>1</sup>

The newly found inscriptions are given below. Another, almost illegible, was observed near the peribolos. Four other short inscriptions were previously copied by Burekhardt, making nine in all now known at Jerâsh.

No. 1, found on west wall of Southern Temple, on the stylobate near north-west angle :—

ΠΕΡΤΗ  
ΑΓ

No. 2, in the southern theatre :—

ΙΙΤΗΕΝΧΘΟΝΙΚΠΟΝΤΩ  
ΑΧΟΡΕΙΗΣΕΡΚΟΕ  
ΕΘΕ . . . Λ . . . ΘΙ  
Ο ΘΝΟΕΤΓ

<sup>1</sup> They would be brought with comparative ease in any wheeled vehicle along the fine Roman road which ran direct from Jerâsh to the Jordan, crossed it by bridge above Damieh Ford, and ran direct from there by Nablûs to Cæsarea, where they were unshipped from Alexandria.— J. N. D.

Nos 3 and 4, in a building south of the Great Temple, appear to belong to a single text, which ran along the wall under a cornice. Part of the first line of No. 4 is covered with earth, and in other lines the letters are too much obliterated to read.

No. 3.

ΟΥΘΕΟΙΧΕΟΣΟΥΚΛΕΘΣΕ  
 ΨΜΕΤΑΗΟΤΜΟΝΑΕΙΜΕΤΕΧ  
 ΙΣΙΠΟΛΙΤΑΙΣ ✠ ΧΑΡΙΤΓ . . .  
 ΘΥΡΑΕΝ <sup>Μ</sup>ΛΙΩΤΗΣΕ . . .

No. 4.

ΟΜΟΣΕΙΜΙΑΕΘΛΟΦΟΡΟΥΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ . . . . .  
 ΙΚΕΑΝΟΙΟΨΩΜΑΓΑΡΕΝΓΑΗΨΥΧΗΔΕΙΣΟΥΡΑΝΟΝΕΥΡΥΝΑΣΕΕΛΙΚΕ  
 ΙΤΕΛΕΘΕΙΚΑΓΗΡΑΟΝΕΡ . . . . . ΓΤΕΙΚΑΙΝ ΑΕΤΗΣΚΑΙΕΣΟΜΕΝΟ  
 ΡΤΥΡΙ . . . . . ΜΔ ΙΩΤΗΣ . . . . . ΕΙΝΛΚΑΝΗΛ . . . . . ΘΕΝΤΑΥΠΕ . . .

This inscription was copied rather hastily, in a bad light, and some errors may have consequently occurred in the transcription.

The text refers to a certain Theodorus, whose "soul is in heaven," and who was probably the founder of the building where the text occurs.

The remaining inscriptions are as below :—

No. 5, on a broken block in the propylea of the Great Temple; seen also by Burekhardt :—

ΟΝΡΑΤΟ  
ΟΥΑΔΡ  
ΠΚΑΙΑΥΡ  
ΚΑΙΤΟΥΣ  
ΔΗΜΟ  
ΣΤΟΛ  
ΤΙΣΤ

No. 6, near the last, also copied by Burekhardt. The large letters in the last line are 5 inches high :—

ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙ  
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΤΩΝ  
ΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ : ΕΡΑ  
ΤΟΠΡΟΠΥΛ  
ΟΡΝΗΑ

No. 7, on another fallen block near the preceding, written round a central disc :—

Ρ Τ Η Σ Α Υ Ρ  
Τ Α Ι                      Λ  
Π                      ○  
Ν  
Λ  
Σ Ε Β Α

No. 8, copied by Burekhardt, close to No. 5 :—

ΤΗΡΙΑ  
ΔΙΣ

No. 9 is stated by Burekhardt to exist in the Basilica on a broken pedestal between two columns :—

ΡΩΝ . . . . . ΝΟΥΛΗ  
ΓΡΙΟΝΗΣΠΟΝ

There are probably other inscriptions yet uncopied at Jerâsh, and the site demands more careful exploration than it has as yet undergone.

It would seem, from inscriptions Nos. 3 and 4, that part of the

buildings belong to the Christian period, since the Greek cross is used to divide the sentences. From the occurrence of the name *Antonci* on inscription No. 6, it seems that the Great Temple probably belongs to the time of the Antonines, or to the 2nd century A.D. The other pagan buildings of the site are, judging from their architectural style, of the same date.

*Shechem.*—The Royal party ascended Mount Gerizim on the 16th of April. The buildings on the summit, including the church of Zeno (474 A.D.) and Justinian's fortress (533 A.D.) have been thoroughly explored; but no remains of the Samaritan Temple, built, according to Josephus, by Sanballat ("Antiq.," XI, viii, 7), have been recognised with certainty as yet. According to the Samaritans, it stood close to the Sacred Rock which they still venerate—a large smooth slab of the natural surface of nummulitic limestone, with a dip westwards. On the west, or lower edge, is a sunk cavity, like a cistern, which is traditionally the cave in which the Tabernacle was made. A very interesting note by Mr. Dalton was made on the occasion of the Royal visit, in connection with this site: for on the surface of the rock was observed a cup-shaped hollow, evidently artificial, about a foot in diameter, and 9 inches deep. The Samaritans explained that this hollow marked the spot where the *Haud* (حوض), or Laver of their temple, answering to the Laver in the Court of the Tabernacle, or to that in the Priest's Court of the Jerusalem Temple, had formerly stood. Such cup-shaped hollows are occasionally found in flat rocks in other parts of Palestine, and their use was not understood; but during the recent Survey of Moab, similar hollows have been found in or on flat rocks, close beside the fine dolmens discovered by the Exploration party. There can be little doubt that the hollows were intended to retain libations poured on the stone, and the dolmen stones are often tilted, as though to cause the libation to flow to the hollow, while the rocks in which such hollows occur have, as in the case of the Sacred Rock on Gerizim, a natural inclination. The existence of the cave here, and also beneath the Sacred Rock of Jerusalem, and the hole in the roof of the Hebron Cave, are interesting. In the two former cases, it seems possible that the blood of sacrifices, offered on the sacred rocks, was allowed to run off the surface (through a hole leading to the cave at Jerusalem) into the cistern beneath. The inclination of the sacred Samaritan rock seems to indicate that the worshipper would have faced eastwards, pouring out his libation to the rising sun. It appears probable that El Eliun, the Phœnician sky god, was once worshipped on Gerizim (the Samaritans, indeed, at one time claimed Phœnician origin); and the connection between this worship and the Samaritan belief that Gerizim is the mountain of the land of Moriah (rendered "high land" by the Septuagint version), where Isaac's sacrifice by Abraham was commanded, is suggestive. The exact site of this sacrifice is still shown close to the Sacred Rock. The discovery of the cup-hollow in the rock is of peculiar interest, therefore, in respect to the history of the mountain.

*Hajâret en Nasâra.*—This spot was visited on the 21st April, on the

way from Nazareth to Tiberias. The name signifies "stones of the Christians," and modern tradition makes this the site of the miraculous feeding of the five thousand, which, however, took place, according to the Gospels, on the other side of the Sea of Galilee. A rude circle of basalt blocks, ten paces in diameter, here occupies the edge of a shelf looking down Wâdy Abu 'Ammîs, and commanding a view of the lake through the gap, and of the Jaulân mountains beyond. The largest stone is about 5 feet long, and the Russian pilgrims are in the habit of taking home chips of this stone, which they believe to have been used by Christ as a table.

It seems possible that this much venerated circle may be a prehistoric monument, similar to those east of Jordan; and the fine view towards the sunrise seems to countenance this supposition, since stone circles generally occur in Syria in similar positions.

*Capernaum.*—Antiquaries are at present divided in opinion between two sites towards the north-west end of the Sea of Galilee, which claim to represent the town of Capernaum. These are *Tell Hum*, an important ruin with a synagogue,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles west of the Jordan inlet, and *Minieh*, a less conspicuous ruin,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  English miles further west, at the north end of the Plain of Gennesaret.

It has been conclusively shown by Sir C. Wilson, and other writers, that Tell Hum has been considered by the Christians, since the 4th century, to be the true site of Capernaum. The ruins of the synagogue belong, however, probably to the 2nd century of the Christian era. A great difficulty also arises in accepting this tradition, because there is no spring at or near Tell Hum, whereas Josephus ("Wars," III, x, 8) gives a particular description of the spring of Capernaum, a "most fertile fountain," watering the country of Gennesaret. The New Testament narrative also connects Capernaum with Gennesaret (cf. Matt. xiv, 34; Mark vi, 53; John vi, 17, 24, 25). The spring of Capernaum contained a peculiar fish, called *Coracinus*, found also in the Nile ("Wars," III, x, 8), and this fish has been identified by Canon Tristram as the *Clarius Macracanthus*, or cat-fish, found in Egypt, and also in the great spring which waters the Plain of Gennesaret, now called 'Ain el Medawerah, "the Round Fountain."

The arguments in favour of the site at Minieh are briefly: 1st, that Jewish tradition *seems* clearly to indicate this spot as the ancient Capernaum; 2nd, that its situation in the Plain of Gennesaret *appears* to agree with the New Testament account; 3rd, that it is sufficiently near the Round Fountain to allow of the latter being named Capernaum, which would seem impossible in the case of Tell Hum, situated, as it is, 5 miles from the Round Fountain.<sup>1</sup>

The advocates of the Tell Hum site have endeavoured to meet this last objection by supposing that the fountain called Capernaum by Josephus is to be identified with a group of fine springs found at Tâbghah, between Tell Hûm and Capernaum (if placed at Minieh). These springs are, it is true, not in the Plain of Gennesaret, from which they are separated by a

The Round Fountain is  $2\frac{1}{2}$  miles at least from Minieh—rather too far off to be "sufficiently near."—J. N. D.

rocky promontory. They do not contain the *Coracinus*, the water being brackish and unfit for the habitat of this fish, and even if this fountain were the one intended by Josephus, the argument cannot be considered to tell very forcibly in favour of Tell Hum, because Tâbghah lies considerably nearer Minieh ( $\frac{3}{4}$  mile) than near Tell Hum (nearly 2 miles off).

Nevertheless, it has been supposed that the water of the principal Tâbghah spring was dammed up, in a masonry reservoir, and conveyed by an aqueduct, partly rock-cut, round the Minieh cliff and into the Gennesaret plain, which it thus irrigated artificially.

It may appear curious that such a labour should have been undertaken, since there are several good springs in the plain itself. The Round Fountain contains a supply of water which might be much more easily used in irrigation. The 'Ain et Tin, close to Minieh, might be dammed up to the required height and used, without entailing the additional labour and expense of nearly a mile of aqueduct, partly cut in hard rock: and a great supply of water might be collected at a high level in the streams of Wâdy 'Amûl, Wâdy Rubudiyeh, and Wâdy Hamâm.

As, however, this controversy is still considered to be unsettled, the occasion of the Royal visit was seized in order most carefully to examine the neighbourhood of Minieh, Tâbghah, and Tell Hum, and especially to collect information concerning the character of the irrigatory works connected with the Tâbghah springs. The results appear to have an important bearing on the question.

The total length of the rock-cut passage, in the cliff near Minieh, is 150 yards, the width is from 4 to 6 feet, and the depth of the channel is in places about 30 feet, but generally not more than 3 to 6 feet on the lower side. The direction and dimensions of the various sections were carefully noted. The channel is not quite level at the bottom, and descends at either end with a slope of about a quarter of a degree from the horizontal. To the east, a paved path continues from the rock-cut portion, and gradually descends to the shore of the lake. There are no remains of any cement on the sides or bed of the channel, such as would be expected in an aqueduct, for the cement often remains almost perfect in water channels older than that at Minieh.

The east end of this channel is more than half-a-mile from the spring. The level, as far as could be judged by observations taken with an Abney's level, seems to be possibly 10 or 20 feet above the top of the reservoir at the Birket 'Aly (the chief fountain at Tâbghah). Between this spring and the passage there are no traces of any aqueduct. It would have to run on a wall, or on piers of masonry of considerable height, and not any indication exists of such a structure. The natural conclusion, which seemed to result from this examination, is that the spring and the rock-cut channel have no connection with one another. It seems far more probable that the passage was intended for a road, in order to avoid the necessity of climbing over the promontory. The cutting of the passage saved an ascent of more than 200 feet, and without it there was no possibility of rounding the cliff which runs into the lake.

The cutting resembles several other rock-cut paths in different parts of Syria, as, for instance, at Râs-en-Nâkûrah, south of Tyre, at 'Ain Fiji, and at Sûk Wâdy Bârada, where the Roman road passes through a passage 17 feet wide, with walls 30 feet high, cut by the 16th Legion in the reign of Antoninus and Verus. The rock-cut aqueducts are generally much narrower, having a cross section of about 2 feet on an average, and traces of cement are almost always found along their course.

If the above conclusion be correct, the channel was never an aqueduct, and the Tâbghah spring can never consequently have irrigated the Plain of Gennesaret by it. An examination of the springs leads, moreover, to the same conclusion. They issue from a limestone rock some 30 to 40 feet above the level of the lake. The spring head is enclosed in a circular tower of masonry, some 15 feet high, whence it was originally conducted to a polygonal pool called Birket 'Aly, built against the face of the cliff, and enclosing another spring. The water tower has, however, been undermined, so that the stream flows through a breach at the base of the wall, and runs below the level of the Birket to a dam, probably more modern, where the water is collected and carried by an aqueduct entirely of modern construction to a modern mill, now working close to the shore of the lake. The water tower walls are built of coarse rubble of basalt in white mortar.

Birket 'Aly is an octagonal reservoir about 100 yards west of the water tower. The walls are built of basalt masonry, the stones being generally of small size, except where the pressure of the water was greatest, and the wall required to be of more solid construction. There is no indication that any part of this wall is older than the rest. A double channel leads from the reservoir to a pair of vertical shafts, which evidently formed shoots for a small mill, now destroyed.

The mortar and plaster of the Birket appear to be modern, and contain pieces of new-looking glazed pottery. The second coat of plaster is pink and full of pottery, as in the plaster now used for cisterns in Syria; the third coat is fine and white.

The original intention which caused the construction of this reservoir was evidently to obtain a head of water for a mill, and there is no reason to suppose that any aqueduct, other than that leading to the mill, ever existed. The name, Birket 'Aly, is said by the natives to be given because this work, with the other constructions at Tâbghah, was made by 'Aly, son of the famous Galilean Arab chief, Dhahr el 'Amr, about a century ago. The descendants of this chief still state that the Tâbghah mills were built by their family, and the work has all the appearance of having been executed by Arabs. There is, therefore, no good foundation for the belief that the Tâbghah springs were dammed up to a level even higher than that of the present reservoir at so remote a period as that of the Christian era.

There are two other mills near the shore, the channels to which are now in ruins, the mills being disused. Some 200 yards east of the water tower above noticed is a second of similar character. It is called 'Ain Eyûb or Tannûr Eyûb, "Spring (or oven) of Job." It is 10 feet in diameter and



15 feet high, with walls about 4 feet thick, and an internal flight of fifteen steps. The water, like that of the other springs, is saline. Similar water towers occur at the 'Ain-el Barideh, near Mejdcl, south of the Plain of Gennesaret. The object of the structure is not very clear, but it was probably a method of obtaining a reserve supply of water. The Tannûr Eyûb is now breached near the base of the wall, and the stream runs free. The place is evidently still sacred, as small offerings (blue beads and strings of shells) are attached to the wall, emblems in ancient mythology of female deities who presided over water.

The results of the exploration were, therefore :—

1st. That there are no indications of any connection between the Tâbghah springs and the rock-cut passage at Minieh.

2nd. That the level of the passage *appears* to be higher than even the top of the reservoir of Birket 'Aly.

3rd. That the passage resembles a road rather than an aqueduct.<sup>1</sup>

4th. That the reservoir is modern, and that there are no remains of any ancient similar constructions.

From these considerations it seems safe to conclude that the water of the Tâbghah spring has never been used to irrigate the Plain of Gennesaret, and that the spring is consequently not the fountain of Capernaum mentioned by Josephus.

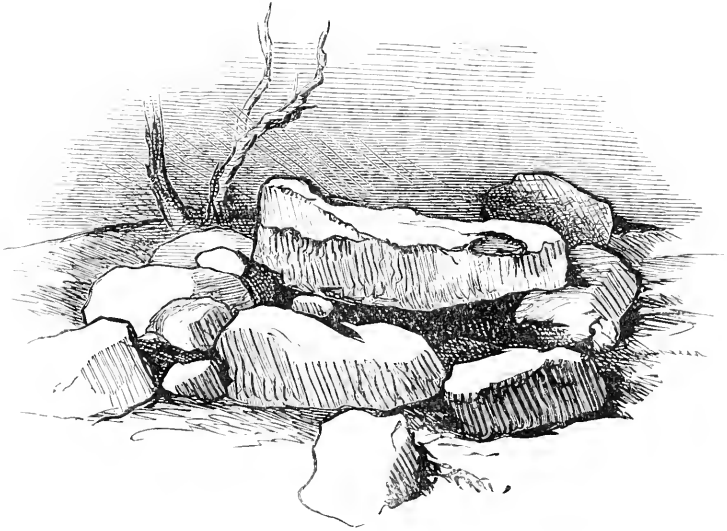
*Bâniâs.*—The sources of the Jordan were reached by the Royal party on the 25th April, and a very important discovery was made on that day. The great mound at Tell el Kady has long been recognised as the site of the town of Dan, where one of the golden calves is related to have been set up by Jeroboam (1 Kings xii, 29). Josephus mentions a "little temple" in which the golden calf was placed ("Antiq.," VIII, viii, 4). In another passage he mentions this sanctuary as situated near Daphne, at the junction of the great and lesser Jordan ("Wars," IV, i, 1). Daphne is the present ruin of Dufna, close to Tell el Kady, and between the two streams: one, the lesser Jordan, flowing from Bâniâs; the other, the greater Jordan, descending from Hermon on the west.

Immediately north-west, nearly a mile distant from Tell el Kady, a low hillock, covered with blocks of hard black basalt, commands an extensive view on all sides. On the south the Hûleh lake and its marshes is backed by the narrow gorge, through which Jordan enters the Sea of Galilee. On the east are the volcanic peaks of the Jaulân; on the north-east the snowy Hermon, and the fine castle of Banias, rising high above the groves which surround the foaming Jordan. On the north-west is Abel beth Maachah, and the spurs of Lebanon; and on the west the Galilean ridges, crowned with sacred shrines, which no doubt preserve the memory of ancient places sacred to the Setting Sun. This view is one of the most picturesque in Syria, and the natural sanctuary thus formed, in the centre of the hills close to the great streams, is just such a site as is found, in Moab or in Gilead, to present a field of dolmens and menhirs, which it can

<sup>1</sup> But at Ain-Fijeh precisely similar rock cuttings, made for aqueducts, were afterwards used for roads. I had the privilege of hearing Captain Conder

hardly be doubted were erected as places of sacrifice to a local divinity. Seven such centres were discovered in 1881 by the Survey party in Moab, and the experience thus gained led to the recognition of another centre on the basaltic knoll close to Tell el Kady.

The knoll is known only to the Arabs as "the ruin of the little palm" (Nukheilch), but it has clearly been a dolmen centre, the monuments having been all constructed of hard blocks of black basalt. The great weight of this material causes the monuments to be smaller than most of those found

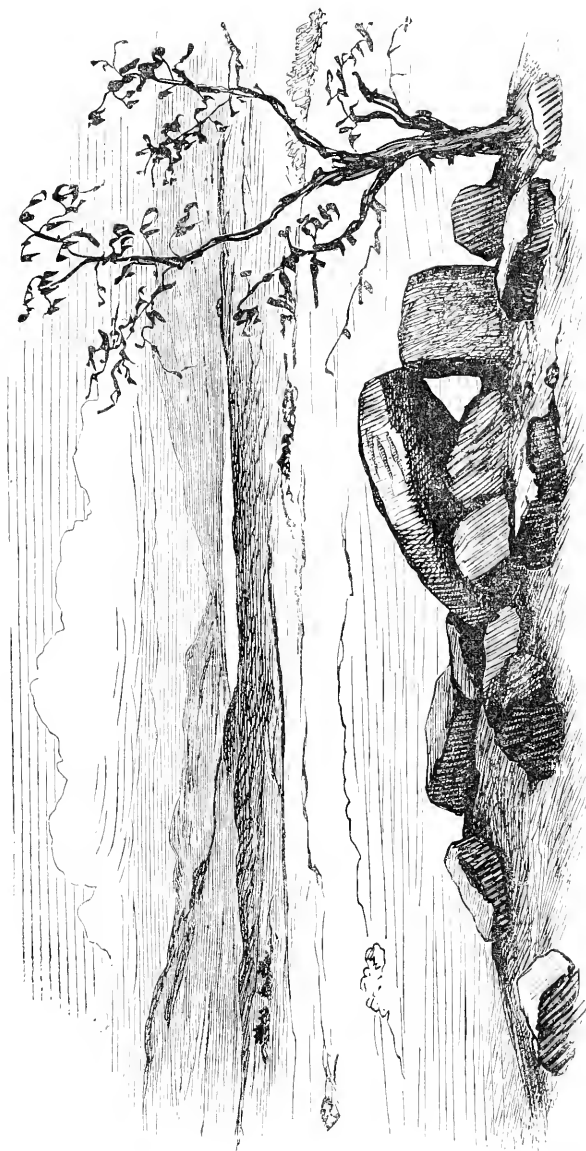


NO. 1 SKETCH.

east of Jordan. On the south-west side of the knoll, just above the road from Abl to Tell el Kady,<sup>1</sup> two of the dolmens stand close together. The explain at some length, on the spot, the several points he has touched upon in this note, concerning the site of Capernaum, and also of reading on the spot Sir Charles Wilson's paper on the opposite side of the same question, as published in "Recovery of Jerusalem," pp. 375 to 387. I humbly venture to think that the arguments there set out are uncontroverted, and that the cautious conclusion of those clearly written pages will still commend itself to the judgment of most. "It is very desirable that extensive excavations should be made, both at Khan Minyeh and Tell Hum, as, until this is done, it is impossible to say with certainty which is Capernaum. I think, however, in the present state of our knowledge, the evidence is in favour of the latter place, and I would place Capernaum at Tell Hum, . . . and the Galilean Bethsaida (if there were one distinct from Julius) at Khan Minyeh."—J. N. D.

<sup>1</sup> Immediately on crossing the stream without a name that flows mid-way between the Nahr-el-Hâsbâny and the Nahr-el-Leddân. (Survey Map of Western Palestine, Sheet II.)—J. N. D.

most western (No. 1 sketch) presents a table stone, 5 feet long, 3 feet broad, supported on three stones, and surrounded with several others. The

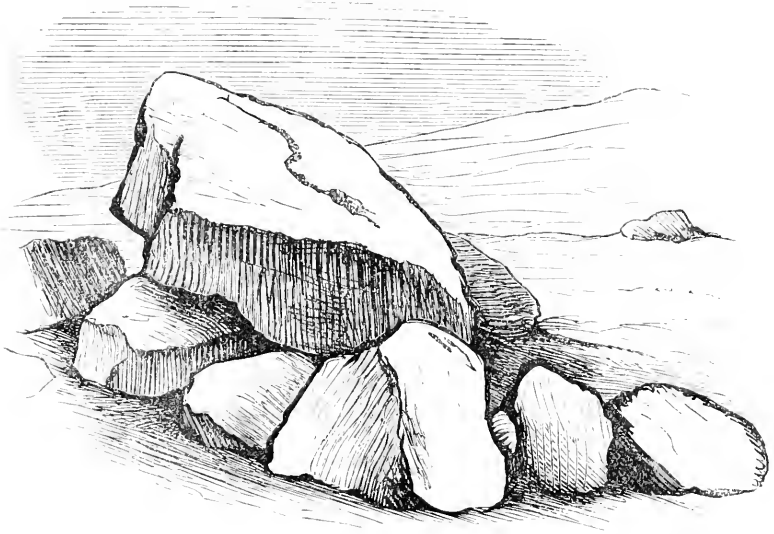


No. 2 SKETCH.

artificial character of the structure is marked by the small pebbles which have been inserted between the top stone and the supporting stones, so as to make the former steady ; and a hollow is found in the top stone, which, though not so well defined (in consequence of the hardness of the material) as in many of the limestone dolmens, is yet evidently not a natural feature. The top stone is only raised about 2 feet from the ground, but this is often the case in the Moabite examples.

The second dolmen (No. 2 sketch), south-east of the preceding and not far from it, resembles the monuments found in India or in Europe, which have been called semi-dolmens by Mr. James Fergusson. A block of basalt, 5 feet long, is supported on a cubical pillar,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, the eastern end of the stone resting on the ground.

On the south-east side of the knoll two other examples, well marked, but of somewhat different structure, were found. One consists of a block (No. 3 sketch) 5 feet long, supported by a stone beneath, so as to form an inclined

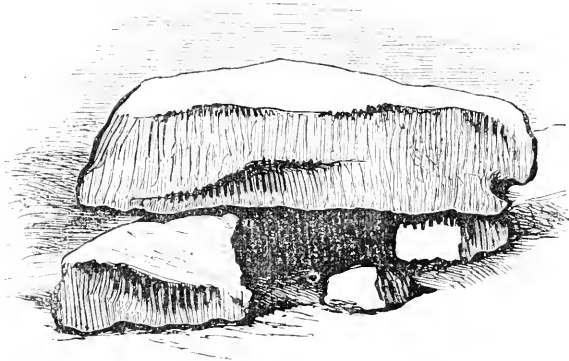


NO. 3 SKETCH.

table stone, the highest part of the top surface being 4 feet from the ground. The great weight of the basalt makes the erection of this structure a work which must have required very considerable labour. The stone is surrounded with a rude circle of smaller blocks, and, as in the first specimen, it is kept steady by a small pebble inserted beneath it on one side, a detail which makes yet clearer the artificial nature of the structure.

The fourth example, a little further east, presents a square stone about 4 feet across, supported on three other stones. All four of these monuments are closely similar to examples found in Moab, where they occur in

connection with specimens so large as to allow of a man walking erect, in some instances, under the table stone.



No. 4 SKETCH.

In addition to these unmistakeable examples, there are many other fallen dolmens and single blocks strewn over the hill; in some cases the monuments seem to have been purposely destroyed, especially those most conspicuously placed; and in one instance, as observed by Mr. Dalton, the table stone appeared to have been deliberately shattered into at least three pieces, which evidently at one time formed a single stone. It seems probable that most of the dolmens were surrounded with a circle of small stones, and this arrangement has also been noticed among other groups east of Jordan.

The great interest attaching to this discovery lies in the connection existing between this group of dolmens and the historically sacred centre of Dan, close beside. The investigation of the Moabite dolmens seemed to point to their original use as altars; and modern critics have recognised several allusions in the Old Testament to such monuments erected by the Canaanite tribes, and by the early Israelites. It is possible that, in the specimens now under consideration, we may have the remains of the sanctuary erected by Jeroboam to the calf idol; but if Josephus is to be credited, and if a small temple, not mentioned in the Bible, was erected over the image, it is possible that the dolmens mark a yet older religious centre of the Hittites or Ammorites.<sup>1</sup> In the case of the Bethel

<sup>1</sup> Jeroboam's calf worship must have been mingled with reminiscences, at least, of what he had seen of the bull Men at On, in Egypt, venerated as the earthly representative of Ra the Sun, the daily renewer of life; and the little temple mentioned by Josephus probably stood on the little plateau on the summit of the apparently artificially constructed Tell el Kâdy. Thus in one centre we now see combined the remains of five forms at least of nature worship: the Phœnician, on Mount Hermon; the Canaanite dolmens, at Kh. el-Nukheileh; the Egyptian, at Tell el Kâdy; and the Greek and Roman, at Paneas.—J. N. D.

sanctuary, Jeroboam only reconsecrated an ancient religious centre, and it appears probable that the shrine at Dan had in like manner been a local religious centre long before the time of Jeroboam. The name Hermon is supposed to signify "the Great Sanctuary;" and the mountain was a sacred spot from a very early period, and may be said still to be so considered by the Druzes, whose principal shrines are found on its slopes, while in the 2nd and 3rd centuries temples were erected on all sides of the summit, and on the highest peak itself.

The discovery of dolmens in so interesting a locality has therefore an important bearing on the history of rude stone monuments. In Judea, these structures seem to have been purposely destroyed, and not a single well defined example has been found. In Galilee, on the other hand, where the iconoclasm of the Jerusalem school was less powerful, several good specimens have been found, notably *Hajr ed Dumm*, or "stone of blood," erected on a high point north of the Sea of Galilee. In Moab, some 700 dolmens are now known to exist, and probably many others remain to be discovered. The exploration of the group at Dan is, however, perhaps the most important discovery yet made in connection with rude stone monuments in Syria.

In connection with this subject a few notes may be added as to the remains of calf worship in this district. At an early period, the site of Abel beth Maachah appears to have been much venerated as containing an oracle (2 Sam. xx, 18), and it is remarkable that the great mound south of this town (the modern village of Abl, west of Tell el Kady) is still called Tell el 'Ajjûl ("the hill of the calves"). A flat plateau at the top seems to have been artificially levelled, as though to form a site for a temple or a town. The situation of Abl is such that from the mound the sun would appear, at the summer solstice, rising behind Hermon, while the direction in which it would set at the same season is marked still by the shrine of Neby Aweideh, standing against the sky-line. His name represents the Hebrew *Uz*, and signifies "a substitute."<sup>1</sup>

It is generally recognised that the golden calf was a symbol of the sun, and of the young or rising sun more especially. The ritual of the Israelite calf worship appears to have included human sacrifice, according to the correct translation of a passage in Hosea (xiii, 2), "sacrificing men they kiss the calves."

The erection of numerous altars, in connection with these rites, is specially mentioned by Hosea (xii, 11), "their altars are as heaps in the furrows of the fields."

It is also curious to observe that calf worship may be said to survive to the present day in this district, for the Druzes are well known to preserve a brass image of a calf in their chapels, or *khâlwehs*, on Hermon. It is true

<sup>1</sup> There is another shrine on the same western ridge, "Neby Maheibib," equivalent to that of "the darling," or "the beloved," which may stand for Adonis and the departing sun. From the Tell el Kady platform Subeibek, the Mizpeh under Hermon stands out due east, and Neby Aneideh due west; they are clearly in line with its axis for rising and setting sun.—J. N. D.

that they now treat it with contempt, as an emblem of Derâzi the heretic, whom their great teacher Hamzeh pronounced (by a play on the Arabic words 'Ajl (عجل) and 'Akl (عقل), both sometimes pronounced by Egyptians—and he was for many years an inhabitant of Cairo—almost indistinguishably, as 'Ajl), to be, not a “wise man” ('Akl), but a calf ('Ajl). Nevertheless, the Druze religion spread in the 11th century among the Isma'ileh peasantry of Hermon, who preserved many remnants of the old Canaanite religion, and it is possible that Hamzeh at first tolerated the calf idol, just as Muhammed tolerated the stone worship of Mecca; and that the contempt with which the brass image is now regarded is really a later outcome of the development of the Druze philosophy.

'Ain Hashbey.—Very little remains to be added to these notes, as the discovery of dolmens at Bâniâs was the culminating point of antiquarian interest in the Royal tour. As, however, every inscription recovered in Palestine is considered of interest, the following is noticed. It was pointed out, on the 4th May, on the arched façade of a vault, whence a fine spring issues on the west side of the great Baalbek plain, north of Zahleh. It appears to be a Latin dedication to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, and, in common with the temples of Baalbek, and others in the same plain, it is probably to be attributed to the 2nd century A.D. :—

## IOMHORAP =DEV RVEVS

The vault is 9 feet in diameter, with nine *voussoirs*, and a round section, the keystone being narrower than the haunch stones, as in most work of the later Roman or early Byzantine period in Syria.

The following note refers to a collection of seals presented to Their Royal Highnesses, during their stay in Damascus, by the Arab Sheikh Mijwel, and entrusted to my care in order to obtain information from competent authorities with regard to their value.

### SEALS FROM PALMYRA.

The string of seals includes seven in all, as follows :—

No. 1 is merely a bead, possibly of glass, and without any design.

No. 2 is a small cylinder, such as is commonly found in Assyria. These cylinders were used as seals for signing the clay tablets with cuneiform inscriptions, the seal being rolled round in the wet clay. The present specimen is about  $\frac{3}{4}$  inch long and  $\frac{1}{4}$  inch in diameter. The design represents a nude female figure, holding a crook or crozier, and standing between two figures in long robes: that to the left having the hands raised, as though in prayer, and that to the right exactly corresponding, with its face turned to the central figure. The two outer figures seem to have either feathers on their heads, or else hairy ears, projecting like horns. Behind the right-hand figure are well designed representations of

a lion and a winged griffon, with an S-shaped pattern or coiled snake between them. The griffon is at the top, and the lion below the serpent.

This seal is pronounced by Mr. J. G. Pinches, the well-known Assyrian scholar, to be Assyrian, and to date about 1500 B.C. "It evidently illustrates," he says, "the descent of Ishtar into Hades. To the right is Ninkigal, Queen of Hades; in the middle, Ishtar, deprived of her clothing and ornaments; on the left, a divine attendant, in an attitude of worship."

Ishtar, or Ashtoreth, is the Assyrian moon goddess. A well-known myth, reported on the cuneiform tablets, relates her descent to seek Dumzi, "the son of life," in the infernal regions. This is a Semitic parallel to the seeking of Osiris by Isis, and is founded on the worship of the sun and of the moon, which is alternately separated (when full) from the sun, and joined to him (when new). Mulge, the King of Hell, and his consort Ninkigal, answer to the Greek Aidoneus and Persephone, the Indian Yama and Durga, or the Egyptian Set and Nephthys. The Accadians also believed in four kinds of genii, or demons, who were personified under the form of different beasts; and this idea was adopted by the Assyrians after their conquest of the Accadians. Of these, the *Lamas* resembled a lion, sometimes with a human head, or with wings, while the *Nattig* was like an eagle. These deities resemble the four assessors who accompany Osiris in Hades, according to the Egyptian religion, and who are represented with the heads of animals.

It is possible that the animals represented on the seal under consideration, in connection with the infernal goddess, are intended to represent the two kinds of demons above described. The figure behind Ishtar may perhaps be Mulge himself, the Assyrian Pluto. The crook in the hand of Ishtar resembles the sceptre of Osiris, and also appears in India in connection with Krishna (the Indian Apollo). It is given to the beneficent deities, represented as shepherds guiding their flocks, and is the prototype of the Christian crozier.

No. 3, a red stone, with a design of a lion, is considered to be of Pehlevi origin, and is of no particular interest.

No. 4, a reclining bull, with holes for eyes, possibly once filled with stones, is very similar to the representations found in India of Nanda, the earth bull who supports Mahadeva. It is sometimes of colossal dimensions, and made of brass, generally represented couchant. Nanda also sometimes supports the Linga, in the worship of Siva.

Small representations, like the one in question, have been found in Assyria. Their date is uncertain, and it is not impossible that they may be of Indian origin.

No. 5 is of inferior workmanship, but apparently Assyrian. It represents two figures facing one another in prayer. That to the left bears a quiver, and perhaps represents a king. That to the right has a long beard, and may represent a priest. Above them, in the centre, is a sun or star, and between them a pair of stakes or spears, apparently joined together. A similar pair is shown behind the left-hand figure; possibly



it is intended as a representation of the sacred tree of Asher, which was an important religious emblem (the biblical Asherah, or "grove"). The general design is like many others found on Assyrian bas-reliefs, representing a royal sacrifice.

No. 6 is a cylinder like No. 2, but larger, measuring 1 inch in length by  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch in diameter. The designs are not so well preserved as in the former example.

The design is thus described by Mr. Pinches:—"To the left is the moon god Sin, in the middle the owner of the seal, on the right a divine attendant in an attitude of worship." The date is supposed to be about 1500 B.C. Sin was recognised by the crescent over his head.

Careful inspection seems, however, to show a cross within the crescent, as though the design, when less worn, represented the *litu*, an emblem of the god Marduk, the Assyrian Jupiter.

Close to the central figure, on the right, is a small monkey-like figure seated, and at the top of the seal, above this, is a figure somewhat like a pig. The boar on Assyrian reliefs is used as an emblem of the sun, and the owner of the seal may thus perhaps be supposed to stand between the two great deities of sun and moon.

No. 7, a yellow jasper in the form of an Egyptian scarabæus,  $\frac{7}{8}$  inch major diameter, and  $\frac{5}{8}$  inch minor diameter. This is the most valuable of the group, and is a well cut and well preserved specimen of a Phœnician seal. The figure and symbolism, as is usual in Phœnician gems, are of Egyptian type, while the inscription of five letters beneath is in Phœnician characters. The figure in Egyptian dress is crowned with the *pechent*, or double crown of Upper and Lower Egypt. The left hand (or the right in an impression) is raised in benediction, the other holds a sceptre with an inverted crescent on a ball at the top. In front of this figure is the Ankh, or Crux Ansata, common to Assyria and Egypt as a symbol of life; behind him is an owl, or a hawk, seated on a sceptre like that in his hand. A star is represented on each side of the head. The same design is rudely repeated at the back the seal, about half size.

The inscription is fairly legible, and when reversed on the seal it appears to read—

which in square Hebrew would read  $\text{לְמַנְסָר}$ . This, no doubt, is the name of the owner of the seal, the  $\text{ל}$  signifying "belonging to." The name  $\text{מַנְסָר}$  comes evidently from the root  $\text{נְסָר}$ , whence the word  $\text{נְסָרִי}$ , Chaldean or Magnus.

Dr. S. Birch, of the British Museum, to whom this seal was submitted, gives a description similar to that above, but calls the supposed stars "crucial emblems," and mentions that the sceptre is intended to be of papyrus.

Another Assyrian seal was purchased in Jerusalem by Rev. J. Dalton. It represents a man holding a bull up by the hind leg, and a knife in the other hand. Probably it is an early representation of the Mitiraic sacrifice of the bull.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Captain, R.E.*

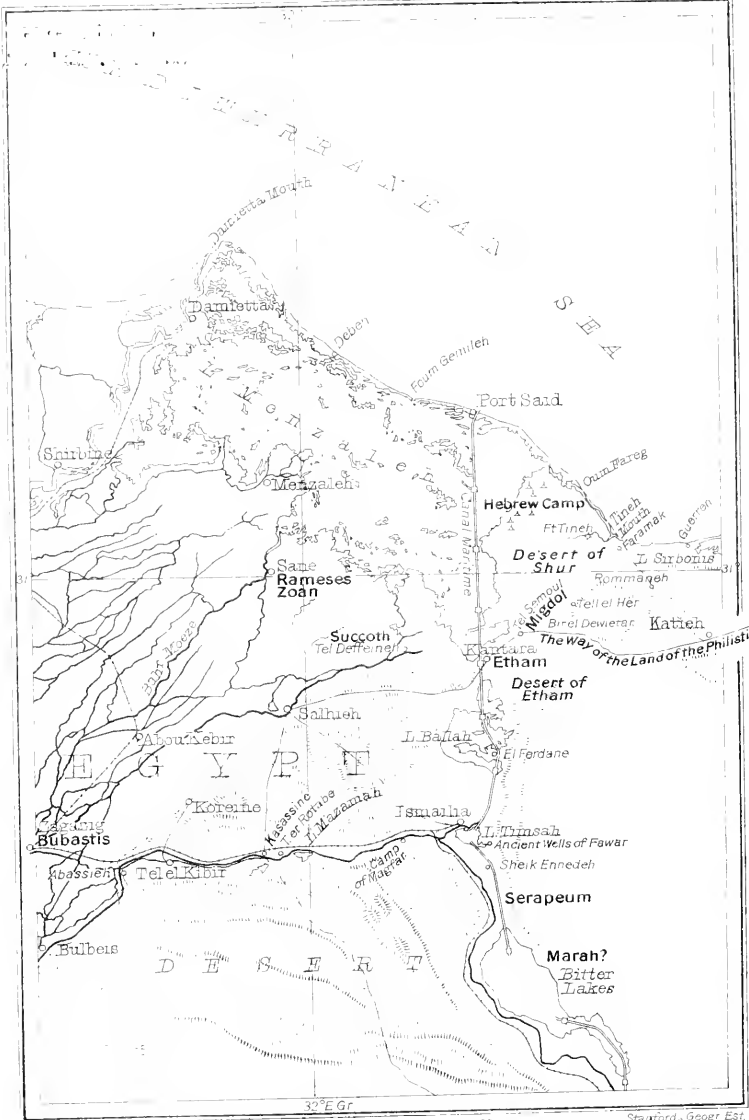
17th July, 1882.

ITINERARY OF THE ROYAL PARTY.

28th March,	Jaffa to Lydda	....	....	....	11 English miles.
29th "	<i>viâ</i> Bethlhoron to Gibeon (up and down Neby Sannib)	....	....	20	" "
30th "	" Bethel to Ai	....	....	11	" "
31st "	" Michmash to Jerusalem	....	....	13½	" "
4th April,	" Solomon's Pools to Hebron	....	....	24	" "
6th "	" Tekoa to Bethlehem	....	....	19	" "
7th "	" Herodium to St. Saba	....	....	15	" "
8th "	" the Dead Sea to Jericho	....	....	21	" "
10th "	across Jordan to 'Arak el Emir	....	....	20	" "
11th "	to Rabbath Ammon	....	....	18	" "
12th "	" Es Salt	....	....	22	" "
13th "	" Gerasa	....	....	28	" "
14th "	<i>viâ</i> Râjib to Jordan	....	....	25	" "
15th "	to Shechem	....	....	23	" "
17th "	<i>viâ</i> Samaria and Dothan to Jenin	....	....	28	" "
18th "	" Jezreel to Carmel	....	....	26	" "
19th "	" Kishon River to Nazareth	....	....	13	" "
20th "	to Mount Tabor and back	....	....	14	" "
21st "	" Tiberias	....	....	17	" "
22nd "	" Mimieh by water	....	....	16	" "
24th "	<i>viâ</i> Safed to Kedes	....	....	21	" "
25th "	" Humin to Banias	....	....	18	" "
26th "	" Hibbariyeh to Hasbeiya	....	....	14	" "
27th "	to Rasheiya	....	....	11	" "
28th "	<i>viâ</i> Meithalun to Damascus	....	....	32	" "
1st May,	<i>viâ</i> 'Ain Fiji to Zebdány	....	....	26	" "
2nd "	to Baalbek	....	....	20	" "
3rd "	" Yammûneh	....	....	13	" "
4th "	" Zahleh	....	....	20	" "
5th "	" Khân Sheikh Mahmûd	....	....	16	" "
6th "	" Beirut	....	....	10	" "
Total					585½ English miles.



PART OF THE ISTHMUS OF SUEZ



English 0 5 10 15 20 Miles

Stanford, Geogr. Est.

CAIRO

Suez  
RED  
SEA

## A FEW THOUGHTS UPON THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS.

ALTHOUGH much has been written upon the Exodus, I venture to offer these remarks simply to tell how I arrived at what appears to be the true explanation of the facts of one of the most remarkable events in the great history of God's providential care of His people.

I have read many of the various suggestions, and have received help notably from the Rev. G. J. Chester's articles in the July 1880 number of the *Palestine Exploration Fund's Quarterly Statement*, from Dr. Brugsch's "L'Exode," and from Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole's thoughtful papers on "Bible Cities ;"<sup>1</sup> but as I resided on the borders of the land of Goshen for four months, have crossed the Isthmus of Suez ten times in various directions, and have visited some of the most important sites connected with Israel in Egypt, I have had unusual opportunities for observation. Perhaps I enter upon a thankless undertaking when I point out views which exactly tally in every respect with the Bible narrative of the Exodus, though they do not agree with the generally received opinion. There is indeed a vagueness and uncertainty about that opinion, for the route of the Israelites has never been satisfactorily laid down, and some of the most important Hebrew words in connection with it have been translated with a bias incident to preconceived conclusions rather than in strict accordance with the text. This is natural, but when sceptics attempt to cast even ridicule upon the scriptural record, it becomes a duty to look boldly into the facts to see how they bear the most searching criticisms. When once I arrived at what seems to be the true route, it was only what I expected, but it was a great delight to find that the closer the investigation the clearer did the story appear.

The Church has not hitherto accepted any particular route, nor is that necessary, but it is important that there should not be the obstinate adherence to Mohammedan tradition with regard to sites, when the subject has been studied in maps, as insignificant in size as they are incorrect in geography. No wonder that with data entirely contrary to Scripture, and with ideas utterly incompatible with the geographical facts, many have arrived at false conclusions.

To confirm my personal observations, I take the Admiralty charts, Wyld's and Keith Johnstone's best maps, and the French map published at the inauguration of the Suez Canal. I have had Brugsch Bey's map, and the sketch map of the Rev. Greville Chester (*Quarterly Statement*, July, 1880) before me, but it will be seen that in the main point I differ from all preconceived ideas ; yet the various circumstances which serve to

<sup>1</sup> "Day of Rest," 1881. See also Mr. Dunbar I. Heath's very interesting paper on "Jannes and Jambres," in *Quarterly Statement* for October, 1881.

prove the extreme accuracy of the Scripture record tend to show that just at a very critical time the exact place of the miraculous deliverance has at last been found.

I was passing through the Suez Canal one day at the beginning of this year with a sceptic whose stumbling block was the miracle at the Red Sea. I explained my views; he saw the truth, and confessed that he never could sufficiently thank me. He begged that I would publish a simple note of the facts as I had explained them to him. I have since had opportunities of mentioning them to one of the most learned Egyptologists and Bible students of the day, and have had the advantage of the kindly criticism of one of the first Hebrew professors, as well as that of one of the most profound Greek scholars, of the age. But I cannot expect that this new sketch of an event so grand and so majestic will be generally accepted until it has been carefully wrought out into a perfect picture that can be looked into closely; but even this sketch, as it is, may interest many more than those who have persuaded me to let it be published.

I take the "field of Zoan" as the place where the great wonders were set forth before Pharaoh (Psalm lxxviii, 13, v), until he would let the people of Israel go. *There* is the Zan of to-day, the great city of Rameses II, the place where splendid monuments are still to be seen scattered and shattered on the hill side, but with inscriptions as sharp cut as if finished yesterday—Zoan, "the place of departure," is represented now by an insignificant village on the Tanic branch of the Nile. There are no mounds in all Goshen<sup>1</sup> equal to the hills of Zoan. From the top of these hills all the land of Goshen can be seen. When the bond slaves were free to go forth, from all the plain they would be pressing towards the point where the roads centered upon the one which led to the Promised Land. All the Hebrews had been well warned (Exodus xii, 4, 6), and would be ready to move on the very day when the first Passover feast was done. That very night they were thrust out by the Egyptians. Their rendezvous was the wilderness, and their goal was the Promised Land. "Three days' journey" would take them to the "wilderness." This was all that Moses had first asked for, that they might worship. The exact place in the wilderness is defined. The road across the desert was before them, "but God led them not that way." "By strength of hand the Lord brought us forth out of Egypt, and it came to pass when Pharaoh had let the people go, that God led them not the way of the land of the Philistines, *although that was near*, for God said, lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt. But God led the people about through the way of the wilderness of the ים־סוּף (*Yam Suph*) 'Sea of Reeds,' and the children of Israel went up harnessed out of the land of Egypt."<sup>2</sup>

God caused them to turn and not go by the direct route, lest they might have been harassed by the Egyptians all the way, and might have

<sup>1</sup> Goshen, "the land of shepherds."

<sup>2</sup> Ex. xiii, 17.

given up their flight in despair. They were to go in a direction where they would, by the power of God, be delivered, and the whole army of the pursuers be destroyed. The Egyptians, *not the Philistines*, were the enemies they had then to fear.

I might here refer to other authorities, but as Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole, one of the best of all, accepts Zoan as the starting point, and appears to be quite clear that the way by the western side of the Red Sea, south of Suez, was not the route taken,<sup>1</sup> I will now try to define the exact course. I quite acknowledge that we may well say: "Thy way is in the sea, and Thy path is in the great waters, and Thy footsteps are not known,"<sup>2</sup> yet as it is not God's footsteps, but those of His people we are attempting to trace, the effort to arrive at the truth is not presumptuous when we take the Holy Scriptures as our guide.

The Israelites under Moses set out from Rameses<sup>3</sup> the royal city, which is identified with Zoan. Their first camping place was Succoth (*booths*);<sup>4</sup> in that district the people dwell in booths at the present day; the next, Etham, identified by the Khetham of the Egyptian papyri, translated by Brugsch Bey. The Royal Palace at Rameses, the halting place in Succoth, and the border "fortress" Etham, are all mentioned in extant documents, one day's journey intervening, and at Etham the way to Syria is in front. Here "the Lord spake unto Moses saying, speak unto the children of Israel that they turn and encamp before Pi-hahiroth, between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal Zephon" (Exodus xiv, 2). This Migdol is mentioned in the Roman itinerarium. Baal Zephon is the "*northern Baal*," so is to be sought for on the *north* coast of Egypt. Pi-hahiroth is "*the place of Gulfs*," or quicksands, therefore close to the sea.

I visited Zoan by way of the Yam Suph;<sup>5</sup> I passed through Succoth, and afterwards, by the Suez Canal *viâ* Kantara, went to the place where Etham on the borders of the wilderness ought to be found. There were ruins of a large city: some Arabs with a herd of young camels were resting near. I copied the frieze of part of a completely ruined temple, on which was the cartouche or shield with the name of Rameses II rather rudely cut in red granite. I inquired of the different Arabs who went with me "Where is Migdol?" They all agreed in the direction, and pointed towards the sea, and said it was distant about half a day's journey. This only confirmed what others have mentioned. In the French map of the Suez Canal it is called "the Migdol of the Bible."

Many a time had I gazed over the desert between Migdol and the sea, and watched the mirage lift up the land into little islands on the horizon. It was difficult to tell where the land ended and the sea began. On the verge of the great sea there is a *long narrow bank of sand*, stretching for many miles along the coast westward, and always dry excepting at one point,

<sup>1</sup> Lecture at Kensington, 1882. See also *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, April, 1881, page 107. By Rev. G. J. Chester.

<sup>2</sup> Psalm lxxvii, 19.

<sup>3</sup> Numbers xxxiii, 4.

<sup>4</sup> Here they may have cut the reeds for shelter.

<sup>5</sup> ים-סוף

where, in strong westerly gales the sea washes through. This bank of land could readily hold the whole host of fugitives. Within this bank was a great inland sea. On the eastern shore the Israelites would, as directed, encamp. Then came the alarm that the Egyptians had followed them to cut off their retreat, and thus "entangled in the land," for "the wilderness shut them in," Moses and his followers were caught in a trap. "And when Pharaoh drew nigh the children of Israel lifted up their eyes and behold the Egyptians marched after them, and they were sore afraid, and the children of Israel cried out unto the Lord."<sup>1</sup>

The map herewith explains the probable position of the Hebrew camp. The Scripture narrative explains the rest. There is the terror in the evening, the strong east wind, the sea going back, the night made dark to the pursuers, and light to the pursued. There is the midnight march through the midst of the sea, the disastrous pursuit in the early morning. The dry land, with the sea as a defence on the right hand and on the left, safely reached by the Israelites, and then the great catastrophe to the Egyptians. All this happened near the sea, the great sea, and yet it was in the Yam Suph, which is translated Red Sea, that the miraculous deliverance took place. Exodus xv, 4; Joshua ii, 10; Psalm cvi, 9—all "Sea of Reeds" in the Hebrew.

The Suez Canal has cut off the east end of the Yam Suph, and has cut through the bank of sand. The Arabs tell of the remains of buildings on the east shore of the sea near to where Pi-hahiroth was. Cities have been built there, and have become ruins,<sup>2</sup> other armies in the pride of conquest have been overwhelmed at this very place.

There have been many changes, no doubt, within the last 3,196 years;<sup>3</sup> but still at this same sea, even west of the canal, when there is a "strong east wind," the sea goes back, so rapidly, indeed, that shoals of fish are left dead on the shore, the sea is changed into dry land, and the waves flow back, and a way is opened through the midst of the sea, a practicable roadway for a host. "The Lord caused the sea to go back by a strong east wind all that night, and made the sea dry, and the waters were divided." The Hebrew word<sup>4</sup> here used for divided is the same verb as that employed in reference to two other memorable miracles connected with water, namely, when all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the windows of heaven were opened at the time of the flood,<sup>5</sup> and when mention is made in the Psalms<sup>6</sup> of the water flowing from the rock. Bearing this in mind we can understand how this sea was put under the power of Moses's rod, for the very same word is used by Isaiah<sup>7</sup> when he mentions the same miraculous interposition of Providence at this

<sup>1</sup> Exodus xiv, 10.

<sup>2</sup> Pelusium, Sin; both names mean "mud," and may refer to one city.

<sup>3</sup> Taking the Exodus at 1314 B.C.

<sup>4</sup> בקע

<sup>5</sup> Gen. vii, 11. נבקעו

<sup>6</sup> Psalm lxxiv, 15. וּבְקַע  
Isaiah lxiii, 12.



very crisis. The Lord's words to Moses were, "Lift thou up thy rod, and stretch out thine hand over the sea and divide it, and the children of Israel shall go on dry ground through the midst of the sea."

On the spot one can quite imagine the scene, and the joyful surprise of the despairing fugitives when they saw the waters flow back and the bed of the sea quickly become dry; then they took courage. "And the children of Israel went *into*<sup>1</sup> the midst of the sea upon the dry ground." The sea would, we may suppose, go back so far as to secure the safety of all the fugitives, and enable them to march through the midst of the sea, and deploy upon that long bank of sand. The rearward would see those in front bend towards the west, and in a long long line be marching between the seas, with the great blue horizon of the Mediterranean filling up the distance. For just when the first of the fugitives had passed through the midst of the sea at this place to which we have traced them, they would find—and this is very remarkable—that they had arrived at a very sanctuary, where the sea became a wall of defence to them on the right hand and on the left. So God protected them from their enemies. "Judah was His sanctuary, and Israel His dominion. *The sea saw—and fled!*" Thus the Psalmist *exactly* describes what I have endeavoured to explain, and this Psalm (the cxiv) was used by the Jews in their service of the feast of the Passover, and is a proper Psalm appointed by our Church for Easter Day!

The Israelites had passed from before Pi-hahiroth, the sea had fled before them, they had walked on dry land in the midst of the sea; the sea became a wall unto them on the right hand and on the left; every circumstance tends to confirm the probable identification. We can see how the chariot wheels broke, and how they drave heavily. We can see how the one sea was driven back, and how the great sea broke through, and how the earth swallowed them up.

I have walked in the midst of the sea near this very Pi-hahiroth, "the place of abysses." When the sea was gone, the ground was so dry it scarcely took the impression of a camel's foot; I pressed the ferrule end of a walking stick into the ground, suddenly, after going in a few inches, the stick was swallowed up nearly to the hilt. This shows the character of the ground to be exactly such as we find in the sacred record, for when the Egyptians deliberately followed the Israelites into the midst of the sea, "even all Pharaoh's horses, his chariots, his horsemen. And it came to pass that in the morning watch the Lord looked into the host of the Egyptians through the pillar of fire and of the cloud, and troubled the host of the Egyptians, and took off their chariot wheels that they drave them heavily; so the Egyptians said, Let us flee from the face of Israel, for the Lord fighteth for them against the Egyptians." The miracle of destruction begins, the waters return to their place in their strength. "Thou didst blow with Thy wind, the sea covered them, they sank as lead in the mighty waters." Thus does Moses in his song describe the

<sup>1</sup> The word *into* should be rendered through, as  $\beth$  is not used of motive either to or in a place, it is used of the means or instrument. See Exodus xiv, 16, quoted above, where  $\beth$  is translated "through."

catastrophe ; and in the 12th verse he adds : “ The earth swallowed them ; ” so the locality is very closely defined, and Pi-hahiroth is indeed the place of gulfs ! Joshua (xxiv, 6, 7) very distinctly recognises the position and the action of the two seas—the Mediterranean and the Yam Suph. “ I brought your fathers out of Egypt, and ye came unto *the* sea ; the Egyptians pursued after your fathers with chariots and horsemen unto the Red Sea (Yam Suph). And when they cried unto the Lord, He put darkness between you and the Egyptians, and brought *the sea* upon them, and covered them.” It is precisely at this place the Mediterranean breaks through.

Moses and his people were safe on the dry ground, the sea was a wall unto them on their right hand and on their left ; they could see the utter overthrow of their enemies ; they could see how the wind not only carried back the waters over the midst of the sea, but how the foaming billows stood upright as a heap. It is grand to see the great waves from this place of refuge, the narrow bank, where the sea is a defence upon the right hand and upon the left, when there is a strong gale from the west, the surf runs very high, and threatens to overwhelm the long strip of land where the Israelites found themselves so secure. The great sea itself was a new wonder to these bond slaves, who had been accustomed to look out through a forest of reeds upon the placid sea which borders the plain of Zoan. The very reeds make a natural breakwater, so that there can be no surf upon the southern shore of Lake Menzaleh. Their first impression of the mighty waves that appeared to threaten them, but were kept within bounds and spent their strength upon the open beach of “ the great Sea ” must have astonished the Israelites as much as when the sea went back and became a way for the ransomed to pass over !

Excepting on Chesil Beach, and on the south coast of Ceylon, I never saw such a glorious surf. Indeed, at one point, and that just about where the Army of Pharaoh would feel its effects most terribly, when there is a west wind the sea breaks through, and adds its force to flood the very land which the east wind made dry.<sup>1</sup>

But what is still more remarkable, this region of these miracles has become, in these modern days, under the overruling providence of the Most High, the very spot where people from all nations are being led. From the west side of the outer bank of the Suez Canal, where it passes through the Yam Suph, that sea can be *seen going back* when there is a strong east wind ! Is it at the scene of the miraculous deliverance that a great central port is being formed, with every probability of its becoming the chief port for the Holy Land ? Is this to be the very place to which the scattered people of God will come when the time of ingathering arrives ? They are already coming in increasing numbers each succeeding year. *Will the place of the Exodus be the open gate of the return ?*<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The place where the sea breaks through is marked on the Admiralty chart of Port Said.

<sup>2</sup> See Jeremiah xxiii, 7, 8, where the great miracle of the return is made to eclipse entirely the miracle of the Exodus.

What is to be the future of Port Said and the Canal? Were it not that I saw the beginning of this new wonder, the opening up of this way for all nations to pass through, this centre for all, and especially for God's people who are scattered abroad, I would not have dared to scrutinise so closely this story of the Exodus; but when I thought I saw signs of a great miracle that has only now begun, I was led to look out for any signs there of God's doings in the past, and I think that it is not only possible but probable that the one event points inevitably to the other: for He "who knoweth our thoughts long before, has made His plans from the beginning." This new view of the scene of the Exodus takes nothing away from its miraculous character as a providential interposition prepared and carried out, and as every detail tallies with the Scripture record as to when, where, and how, it seems to me to become even more extraordinary that before this elucidation of that which has been hid for more than thirty centuries, the greatest highway for all nations had been made, the preparations for the still greater miracle of the incoming had been actually going on at the very place where Moses sang his prophetic hymn, which is one of the songs of heaven, "Thou shalt bring them in, and plant them in the mountain of thine inheritance, in the place, O Lord, which thou hast made for Thee to dwell in, in the sanctuary, O Lord, which Thy hands have established. The Lord shall reign for ever and ever!" (Ex. xv, 17, 18).

I believe that those maps which confine their information to geographical facts will best help in clearing up the difficulties that have perplexed for centuries the searching after truth. Much may yet be discovered by painstaking explorers, for Lower Egypt is fallow ground in the great field of research. Even where we follow up the Exodus from the place where everything serves to prove that the miraculous deliverance happened, we at once come upon the names of deserts, not of towns. There is first the wilderness of Shur, close to Pi-hahiroth (*compare* Numbers xxxiii, with Exodus xv, 22). Shur means "wall." In Wyld's map the site of this wall is given. At the time of the Exodus it had already been built nearly 150 years, and as no trace of it is visible on the surface, it was probably built only of crude bricks, or of mounds of sand, as a breastwork defence against the Shepherd Kings, perhaps the Pharaohs of Joseph's day, who were driven out before Moses's time. The oppressors of the Israelites knew not Joseph. Rameses the Great had become a mighty conqueror; he had his chariots and horsemen, his fortresses and towers (his Ethams and Migdols). The wall would soon become useless as a defence, for the sands in the desert of Shur are constantly on the move. However, from that desert the Israelites went onward to the wilderness of Etham (Numbers xxxiii, 8), so that they went back by the same way they had come, after they turned as God commanded, so as not to go by "the way of the land of the Philistines." Their enemies were destroyed, they had seen them dead on the sea-shore. When the Israelites returned, the signs of deliverance were seen in the tokens of God's victory, on the very verge of the field of battle, where the natural forces were His weapons of destruction.

Some had perished in the quicksands where God had led them, some had been overwhelmed by the sea which God had brought over them.

God guided and God protected; the Israelite host kept straight on instead of turning now into the "way of the land of the Philistines." They would probably get water at Etham from canals of the Pelusaic branch of the Nile, if that existed then. But in the wilderness of Etham they marched three days without meeting with water; then they would arrive at Marah, or the present site of the Bitter Lakes. Much of deep interest might be said of this region; but first there are some points in the Bible narrative more important to be noted with special reference to the name—Red Sea.

We are all familiar with the terms "Sea of Galilee" and "Dead Sea;" we read even of the brazen sea within the Temple Court, and the crystal sea in heaven, so we can understand the bias of the Hebrew mind in respect to the distinguishing, by special designations, the seas they wished to define. The first mention of the sea where the miracle of the Exodus took place occurs in Exodus x, 19, where we read that the locusts that had plagued the Egyptians were blown by a west wind: "a west wind" blew them into what the Hebrews called the Yam Sufh. A north wind would be needed to blow them forty or fifty miles over the desert to reach the Red Sea at Suez. Yam means sea. "Sufh" is exactly the same word that we find in the Book of Exodus to describe the reeds or flags amongst which the infant Moses was found. The Israelites on the plain of Zoan could see the locusts fall into the Yam Sufh, or sea of reeds. Sufh is used in the margin of the English version in the first verse of Deuteronomy, where mention is made of the plain near Jordan; in the Hebrew the word "Sufh" alone is used, and some well known bed of reeds is probably meant, but our translators, being ignorant of the locality, add the word "sea," and make the Red Sea there! The Germans, however, always translate Yam Sufh as Schilf Meer, or "sea of reeds." The Greek of the Septuagint does not thus translate Yam Sufh, but *makes* it, as our authorised version does, *ἐρυθρά θάλασσα* or Red Sea. Hence many misunderstandings; but we must not try to clear these up by accepting comparatively modern designations; we must look at things as they were.<sup>1</sup> The Greeks knew the beauty of the Mediterranean blue, and when they first came to sail on the Yam Sufh (Sea of Reeds), they need

<sup>1</sup> Geography was little known even at the time when the Septuagint was written, and it is possible that the local name of Yam Sufh was forgotten. The Jews, who translated the Hebrew into Greek, had to accept the Grecian name of the sea, which had already a Greek designation. No local tradition had satisfactorily defined the place of the miracle which was wrought more than 1,000 years before the Septuagint was written. The translators may have accepted the modern Red Sea as the scene, to make the wonder appear the more gigantic, but the real miracle is the way in which God guided His people *in the right way to the very place* where they would be safe, and where their enemies would be destroyed, and there He ruled the winds and the seas according to His will.

not accept the name by which the Hebrews had called it—these had gone centuries before the Greeks came—nor need they adopt the name the Egyptians gave it, which had the same signification as that of the Hebrews (the Coptic Bible has the same); but by whatever channel the Greeks entered Egypt, and especially if they entered through the strip of sand into this inland sea, they would find their galleys floating on a coloured sea, *red*, with sand of a reddish colour, and more and more red at the time of the inundations of the Nile. (Sharpe in his History of Egypt says “the Nile reaches the Delta red with Ethiopian soil.”) The inner border next to Goshen is lined with reeds, so that at the present day the entrance to the Tanic branch, which leads to Zoan, is invisible from the Yam Suph; but, thanks to floating buoys of reeds, the channel can be traced and the river entered. On my way to Zoan I crossed this sea with a glorious breeze; it is quite a sea, for from its centre its own horizon bounds it, but the broken edges of mirage-like islands tell that land is near. Its waters are salt; the hundreds of beautiful lateen sails that are its only ornament show what a busy place it might be, were there myriads of slaves to keep up the embankments that in Egypt’s golden days held back this salt water from the land of Zoan when the Nile mingled its flood with the lagoon of this Sea of Reeds. That long narrow strip of dry ground before mentioned prevented the ready exit of the water of the Nile into the Mediterranean, and still prevents it; so when the inundations come, part of the once fertile field of Zoan becomes a brackish marsh, for the waters of the sea and river intermingle and flood the plain. The exits to the sea are few and shallow.

There is yet another way to account for the Yam Suph being called the Red Sea. Although Herodotus and others mention the Red Sea, and carry the same name to the Persian Gulf, and even confound it with the Indian Ocean, we can trace the Grecian title into earlier times, and perhaps it was not from the colour of the water but from the name of the kingdom of a mythological king, the “Erythrian Sea” received its Grecian name. The story goes that the parents of Andromeda ruled in Ethiopia and claimed for their daughter a purer type of beauty than even that of the loveliest nymphs of the sea. Neptune was petitioned to punish such presumption; he sent a terrible flood over the land (the inundation of the Nile perhaps), and this could only be assuaged by the sacrifice of Andromeda; but Perseus, returning from his victory over Medusa, recovered the Ethiopian princess, and she became his bride. Erythras, the son born of this union, became the sovereign of the kingdom, and the sea upon the coast was known thereafter as the *ἐρυθρά θάλασσα*. When the mythological story was forgotten, the sea bordering upon Egypt kept the same name, and more modern translators called it the “Red Sea;” but as the limits of the kingdom of Erythras were never known, we can see how the name eventually was given to all the seas beyond even the limits of Cleopatra’s power. But, after all, the mythical king might have received his name from the veritable sea, just as the Yam Suph may have got its Grecian name from its veritable colour.

In the direct narrative of the Exodus the one word sea (ים) is generally used. But when the plan of the route is given for the Israelites to take—they were not to go by “the way of the land of the Philistines,” although that was near—we are told that God led the people about, made them to turn towards the wilderness of the Yam Suph, which we choose to translate as the Red Sea. Moses in his song uses the same words, as well as the single word for sea. To the Hebrews *the sea* is always the Mediterranean, just as to Job, who dwelt in Arabia, we may suppose the sea he so frequently refers to was the modern Red Sea; it was the great sea to him, therefore one that needed no special local designation. But this special designation was needed for Moses at Migdol, because the Mediterranean was in front, the Sea of Sarbonis to the east, the Yam Suph, or Sea of Reeds, to the west, and by *that* he was to move to the encampment to which God had commanded him to go. I look at the Old Testament and I find places where Yam Suph is translated Red Sea, some undoubtedly referring to the place of the miracle of the Exodus. In the New Testament there are only two places where the Red Sea is named: those of course are found in the Greek, but that Greek is in both places the natural translation of the Septuagint words, for Yam Suph had come to be accepted as *ἐρυθρά θάλασσα*, wherever that might be. The word was unintelligible to the Greeks, but intelligible to the Hebrews, and in accordance with the Hebrew text, was probably, in both instances in the New Testament, first used *in Hebrew*; for in one case St. Stephen was speaking in Hebrew to the Jews, and in another case the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews was trying to convince his countrymen of the truths of Christianity and the power of faith. There are doubts about whether the Epistle to the Hebrews was originally written in Hebrew, although Clement of Alexandria says it was;<sup>1</sup> but there can be no doubt of this, that when we offer to the Jews the New Testament in Hebrew, we tell them that the miracle took place at this same Yam Suph! In the Hebrew translation of the New Testament we do not translate the English or the Greek words: we go back to the ancient Hebrew, so that there may be no mistake, and adopt the words that Moses used, which are ים-סוף (Yam Suph).

But there are places in the Holy Scriptures which doubtless refer to the modern Red Sea, or rather to the Gulf of Akaba, for in most cases that seems to be the point referred to when the modern Red Sea is mentioned.<sup>2</sup> Here we must go back to the Hebrew, and also to the Greek text. The latter is a guide to the former, for in one place (Judges xi, 16) we find *Ζιφ θάλασσης*, and in another (1 Kings ix, 26) *ἐσχάτης θαλάσσης*, the localities being identical; the first is an attempt, perhaps,

<sup>1</sup> See Wordsworth's introduction to the Epistle to the Hebrews.

<sup>2</sup> Elim, the encampment after Marah, has not been accurately defined. It seems to be probable that Elim (Numb. xxxiii, 9, and Ex. xv, 27), Elath (Deut. ii, 8), and Eloth (1 Kings ix, 26), are identical. The meaning is the same in Hebrew, high trees.

to distinguish one sea from the other, the יַם־סוּף (Yam Soph), from the יַם־סוּפָה (Yam Suph), while the second is a translation of the first, namely, "the end or head of the sea," near Eziongaber.

I can only state these facts to show that the view I take of the Exodus while fully coinciding with the Scripture narrative, almost forces us to accept the simple truth without having to be troubled with inconclusive conjectures as to localities; for these must continue to be inconclusive when they do not tally with the truth and have no satisfactory foundation. I have read the facts written, as it were, before me indelibly upon the very ground, though they were originally written on water and on sand, yet they cannot be blotted out if true. I have not been looking at a mirage, for I have had firm hold of the Bible, and have been looking at that which is most real and true. My view has not been confined to the history that is past, I am watching what is passing now, and I am waiting for the fulfilment of events that have been foretold in Scripture relative to God's loving care for His people. Our faith in the future is strengthened the more clearly we can see the Lord's goodness in events that have passed by. It was by that very "way of the land of the Philistines" where the Israelites were forbidden to travel, that our Saviour probably was carried, in the helplessness of infancy, into Egypt, and although tradition may fix the place of sojourn far away in the interior, beyond the land of Goshen, would He not find a ready shelter on the frontier, not far from the very place where Moses, as an infant, was rescued from the waters which flowed into the sea wherein the enemies of God's people were overwhelmed, and where that first great victory was won?

Whatever may have happened in that region may yet be excelled by signs more wonderful, and by events which will still more add to God's glory. There will be no doubt then as to the place; it is identified in prophecy of the last days: it is there called "the tongue of the Egyptian sea," a name which may still be a mystery, but the mystery will be revealed "when men go over dryshod, and when the Lord shall set up an ensign for the nations, and shall assemble the outcasts of Israel and gather together the dispersed of Judah from the four corners of the earth."<sup>1</sup>

How quickly they are now learning the way, we can see at Port Saïd, and when the time of wandering is over the journey to the Land of Promise will be short, for the way thither, "by the way of the land of the Philistines," is nigh!

"I will cause them to walk by the rivers of waters in a straight way," is the prophecy of Jeremiah (xxxix, 9); this may prove to mean the straight canal going through the streams of the Delta, not far from the southern border of the Holy Land, as defined by Joshua (xv, 4, 47): supposed by some ancient translators (says Gesenius) to denote El Arish, the boundary between Syria and Egypt (*vide* the Hebrew text).

This sketch may be filled up more perfectly by those who have time and opportunity for research in different versions of the Bible. I only

<sup>1</sup> Isaiah xi.

venture to put it forward as pointing, perhaps, to the right direction for further research, and exploration on land.

Political events of great importance attract much attention to these regions, but this paper is meant rather for thoughtful students than for the casual glance of those who are merely interested in the events of the day. It is sent as a contribution to the *Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statement*, as it attempts to clear the way for other and perhaps more interesting discoveries that may throw light upon events in Bible History, and serve to prove the accuracy of the narrative, especially at the very points where, from want of knowledge or from want of faith, some have been led to doubt.

Holy Trinity Vicarage,  
Milton-next-Gravesend,  
September, 1882.

JOHN SCARTH.

## THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION.

### GEOGRAPHY.

Mr. GLAISHER presented the report of the Committee, consisting of himself, the Rev. Canon Tristram, and the Rev. F. Lawrence, appointed for the purpose of promoting the Survey of Eastern Palestine. It was as follows :—

We have to report, as regards the Survey of Eastern Palestine, that the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund were able, in the spring of last year, to organize and equip an expedition for the execution of this important work. They were able to secure the services of Captain Conder, R.E., formerly in charge of the Survey of Western Palestine, and they were granted by the War Office the services of Lieutenant Mantell, R.E., a young officer who had recently left Chatham. They were also able to re-engage Messrs. Black and Armstrong, now pensioners of the Royal Engineers. The party left England on March 16th, 1881, arriving at Beyrout early in April. Their instructions were, on receiving the instruments, which were not quite ready when they left England, to begin the Survey in the north, and to make as much use of the friendly Druzes as possible. Unfortunately, a revolt of these people made work in the Hauran impossible, and it was finally decided by Captain Conder to commence in the south, where it appeared probable that operations could be conducted with safety. Accordingly, he led his party across the Jordan, and commenced and carried on the Survey for some months. Unfortunately, it had been discovered by the Turkish authorities that the Firman with which our party worked was one issued by a former Sultan, and that it did not convey the



power of working east of the Jordan. Peremptory orders were received from Constantinople that the work was to be stopped immediately. But by this time 500 square miles of the Survey had been accomplished. Efforts were made by the Foreign Office, by Lord Dufferin, and by Captain Conder himself, to obtain a new Firman. The matter is so far advanced that a Firman has been promised ; but it is not yet signed. Captain Conder kept his party in winter quarters at Jerusalem, where they were employed in laying down the works and calculating the observations and making fair drawings of the plans. In the April of the year Their Royal Highnesses Princes Edward and George of Wales reached Palestine, and Captain Conder was commanded to attend them on their tour, which lasted six weeks. In the course of the journey the Mosque of Hebron was visited, and an accurate plan taken by Captain Conder. The party also spent a week on the eastern side of the Jordan. Captain Conder retired from the country on May 22nd of this year. Before leaving Palestine he received notice from his Excellency the British Ambassador that the new Firman had been finally approved by the Minister of Public Instruction, and submitted by him to the Porte for confirmation. He has brought home with him the finished map, on the scale of one inch to the mile, of 500 square miles, together with many new photographs taken by Lieutenant Mantell, and volumes of notes, special plans, drawings, etc. He is now occupied in working up for publication the notes and information collected by him. This will occupy him about five months. The results of this campaign have been, among other things, the discovery of a vast number of cromlechs and rude stone monuments. Many of them had been discovered previously by Canon Tristram, but Captain Conder has established the fact that this part of Moab was a great centre of the form of religious worship of which these monuments are the remains. He suggests that among them are the altars of Balak. He has proposed identifications for Baal Peor, the field of Zophim, the Ascent of Luhith, Jazer, Sibmah, and Minnith—six biblical places previously unknown ; he has collected a great quantity of Arab folk-lore, with tribe marks and traditions ; he has found a most remarkable building of Persian character at Ammân ; and he has made a collection of sketches and plans of the greatest value. In fact, the work done on the east of the Jordan will be found to be in every way equal to that done in the west and already published ; he has also made numerous geological observations. But besides the Survey, Captain Conder found time to do a great deal of work on this side of the river. He discovered Kadesh, the ancient capital of the Hittites ; he has measured and planned the Siloam Tunnel, and make a copy of the inscription ; and he has discovered and planned what he suggests may be nothing less than the real Holy Sepulchre. It is hoped that the party may again, before long, take the field, without fear of obstruction or opposition, in a work which has no political significance, but is of extraordinary interest to all who are interested in the lands and people of the Bible.

Mr. CYRIL GRAHAM said : I am glad of this occasion, when a great number of those engaged in the pursuit of knowledge in its widest sense,

are come together, to urge, as I have repeatedly urged at various other times, not only upon those whom I see around me, but upon the outside world—by which expression I wish to designate the great mass of our clergy of all denominations, scattered throughout Great Britain, and a vast number of the laity, who, though not able to attend our meetings, take a lively interest in our proceedings, and would take a still livelier interest were they subscribers to it—the great claims of our Fund upon all those who thirst for a more and more minute knowledge of the countries, places, and scenes referred to in the Scriptures.

For the moderate sum of one pound per annum, the contributor obtains four numbers, published quarterly, embodying an official account of the most recent explorations made in the Holy Land, and affording food for all kinds of minds. A glance at one of our little volumes will show that while one who is versed in the science of oriental literature, languages, and research, may well have his attention taxed, the next page may contain the description of a site or of a building, comprehensible and deeply interesting to the millions who, with a less technical training, read the Old and New Testaments.

Now in spite of all that has been done, from the commencement of our operations in 1865 until the present date—and I wish to call your attention to the fact, that within this comparatively short period of time we have not only verified many sites and excavated them, made several series of photographs, and in the face of great difficulties completed a Survey of Palestine to the west of Jordan, the results of which appear in the maps which are now at your disposal, the whole of this great work, be it remembered, having been carried out by the Royal Engineers, and at our expense—we have a still harder task before us.

In the beginning we had a slight financial assistance from the Government; but, as far as I am aware, this has long since ceased, except perhaps in the form of the loan of a man-of-war who might be cruising off the coast of Syria, and be willing under orders to carry home certain objects of inestimable archaeological value, which, from time to time, have been presented to the British Museum. A list of the officers and men who have worked for us deserves special recognition. All of them, without exception, regardless of climate, and the many dangers to which explorers are otherwise subjected in the East, exposed themselves until either sickness compelled them to leave Syria, or the command of duty to leave us for other work. Our honoured President (Mr. Glaisher) has told you of the difficulties we have recently encountered with regard to the Imperial Ottoman Firman, the purport of which was to give us leave to do what we liked in the matter of excavations to the east of Jordan. I will not enter into this subject just now, as we are at the present moment bankrupt, if I may use the expression, in officers. The other day we had four ready, with their men, to take our field at an hour's notice; yet so valuable were they, so distinguished were they in their own service, that at a minute's notice they were taken from us and impounded by Sir Garnet Wolseley. All these delays and unavoidable accidents—for I neither grudge my friend Sir

Garnet Wolseley the assistance of such men, nor the gallant officers their great opportunity of winning new honours in their noble profession; besides which I have complete confidence that the Egyptian affair will not occupy many weeks, and that they may then be restored to us—have paralyzed our resources, and I can only entreat those who are hearty in our work to come to the front and support us. We want to do for the eastern side of Jordan what we have done for the western. As it is, we have “probed” the eastern side, but we have a farlarger area of research before us there, and the exploration of those regions will be attended with very much greater expense, danger, difficulties, and probable hindrances than any of the like kind which we have hitherto encountered.

Mr. T. SAUNDERS, of the India Office, enlarged upon the additions which had been made by these explorations to biblical and other knowledge, and mentioned many interesting points which might still be cleared up if the means were supplied.

Mr. R. C. JOHNSON gave an instance to show the importance of an early completion of the Survey on the eastern side of the Jordan. In 1872 he had visited, in the company of Canon Tristram, the well-preserved ruin of the façade of a palace built by the Sassanian monarch, Chosroes the Second, at Mashita, 30 miles north-east of the Dead Sea, but regretted to inform the meeting that at a visit paid to these parts by Canon Tristram last winter, he had found that during this interval the façade had been very materially injured by the Arabs.

Sir E. OMMANNEY moved the reappointment of the committee, which was agreed to, and some of the members handed donations to Mr. Glaisher for the prosecution of the work.

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### ADDRESS BY CAPTAIN CONDER.<sup>1</sup>

THE Western Survey required a very large amount of work in England, and I was engaged by the Society for several years in preparing it for publication. When its preparation was considerably advanced, it was proposed that a survey of the country on the east side of the Jordan, including Moab and Gilead, and the country up to as far as Damascus, should be undertaken on the same scale, with the same accuracy, and with the same objects as those for which the Western Survey was undertaken. Those objects are not merely the production of a

<sup>1</sup> This address was given at a meeting held at the town residence of Mrs. Greer, Regent's Park.

map, which might perhaps be considered to be rather a dry matter, but the map was undertaken in order to ensure that every square mile of the country should be gone over, and that no ancient monuments of any kind that might throw light on the study of the Bible might by any accident be left behind in the course of taking the ordinary travelling routes through the country. It was felt that if the surveyors were obliged to go down into every valley and up every hill they would hardly fail to see whatever there was of archaeological interest in the country.

The Society sent us out in March of last year ; we reached Syria, and having some little time to wait before our stores and instruments arrived, Lieutenant Mantell and myself made a journey into northern Syria, with a view of exploring the site of one of the great Hittite cities, and I have every reason to believe our explorations were very satisfactory. I purpose to say something more about that later on.

When we got back from this preliminary exploration and arrived at Beyrout, we ascertained from the local authorities, who were extremely kind to us, and had special orders to do all they could to help us, that the Governor of Syria had informed them that no operations in the way of explorations of any kind were to be allowed to English or other officers, or any European, without express orders from Constantinople. They had received very stringent orders to that effect, and the Lieutenant-Governor stated he not only could not give us any assistance, but should be obliged to prevent our working. With regard to that I may say it occurred more than fifteen months ago, and we have been working ever since. I will say a few words as to how we managed to do it. In the first instance we found that the Druzes, who inhabit the land there, were all in rebellion against the Turks, and a cordon of Turkish soldiers had been drawn round the district, making it impossible to enter it, although, of course, it was one we resolved to enter. Of course the further you get from the centre of Government, the less is known by the central authorities as to what is going on, and as we were anxious to get as far off from the central authorities as we could, we transferred the base of our operations to the south, and entered into some preliminary negotiations to see if the local authorities were willing to assist us. We found, however, they were very wide awake indeed. They would not only not recognise us, though they knew us well as old explorers, but they telegraphed the fact of our presence to Damascus, and set spies over us to prevent our proceeding with the work. Our work lay on the opposite side of the Jordan, and the Governor of that province resided on the east, so that if we had gone over immediately we should have fallen into his hands. I was very much afraid the chance of our doing any work would be but a small one ; but we had fortunately some good friends in the Government, some Christians who were informed we were in the country, and were very happy to do all they could to help us. Having got our instruments, we proceeded as far as Heshbon, and made arrangements for camping and so on. By that time I got information that the Governor had heard we were living in the district of

Moab, and it being impossible to go on there, we thought it better to remove further to the south, and to make arrangements with the local Sheikhs in Moab.

The Sheikhs were not aware of any disagreement between us and the Government, and the Government were not aware we were in Moab, so for a time we had it all our own way. We pitched our camp at the bottom of a ravine where we could not be seen from a distance, and worked for two months in that way. At last Turkish troops came down on the east of our district. We moved as far as we could from them, but unfortunately, though we had subsidised one tribe that ruled over the country, we forgot to subsidise the opposition tribe, whose territory we wished to enter, and of course would have paid for living in their country. There had been a very serious fight between these two large tribes, one of the principal Sheikhs had been killed, and the feeling was very bitter, and consequently in order to avenge themselves one tribe wrote off to the Waly of Damascus, and informed him that the rival tribe were no longer loyal subjects of the Sultan, that they were receiving into their country English officers who were surveying it, and that they intended to occupy the country and proclaim English rule. The consequence was the whole thing was blown about our ears, and orders were issued all through the country to every Governor that soldiers were to be sent, and that we were to be turned out of the country and not allowed to stay there. In pursuance of that threat the Mutessarif came after us. We heard of his coming and removed the camp further east some distance, and established it again at the bottom of a ravine; and he came to the old camping-ground and found we were flown. He sent soldiers after us, but the soldiers were induced to say they could not find us. However, they were still determined not to allow us to go on, and consequently they sent soldiers down southwards to intercept us; we heard through our Christian friends that the soldiers were coming, and so we made a forced march up towards the north. The soldiers went down to the south, looked about for three or four days, could not find us, went back and so reported.

In the period of quiet which followed the explorations went steadily onwards; we were for some time in hiding in the ravines; but at last when we got to one of the most interesting sites in the whole country they found us, and served notice to quit upon us, and said we must leave the country. We remonstrated, and pointed out that we had been guilty of no crime, that we were well known, and had never done any harm; but it was of no use; and it ended by my referring the matter to the English Consul at Jerusalem.

The operations had been going on for under three months, during which time we surveyed about 160 square miles, and got a large number of notes. Then they came back with peremptory orders that we were to go at once; so I sent the instruments and so on back to Jerusalem for the winter quarters; and while in winter quarters Lieutenant Mantell worked out the field work of the 500 square miles' survey.

By those means, after having been in the field for three months, we succeeded in doing 500 square miles, or rather the field work for it, and in collecting a larger number of really interesting notes than we probably have ever done in similar work in Palestine before. It was a very unfortunate thing we were stopped, but it would have been very foolish to have gone on, after we were actually in the hands of the Government, as it would have compromised the Society, and made it almost impossible for them to hope to get any firman or any assistance from the Turks in future. We therefore thought it better to stop, when we could no longer avoid the Turks, and come back with the results; and I am happy to say we do not appear to have fallen much into the bad graces of the Turks, who are very much accustomed to think that as long as you can avoid the Government it is all perfectly fair. Then as I say, when we arrived at this state of things, we started for Jerusalem, went into winter quarters, and proceeded to work out the results. During the winter the Society sent me up to Constantinople to represent our case there. I was received with great kindness by Lord Dufferin, who did all he could for us, and at last succeeded in getting a promise that we should have a firman. The firman was actually drawn up, signed and submitted to the Porte for ratification, but it has not yet been received. In the present crisis it is impossible to suppose the British Ambassador can employ himself to advance such a comparatively small matter from a national point of view; but we hope when the crisis is over, we shall get the authority we want, and shall be able to go on with the survey of Eastern Palestine very satisfactorily indeed. The Arabs are very well disposed towards us, the country is an extremely interesting one, and comparatively easy to survey as compared with the west, and the party that has been sent out have hitherto succeeded in getting their results so rapidly, that I should hope in two or three years at most it would be possible to complete the survey on the eastern side on the same principle as that on the west. What we have done hitherto has gone to show that the country on the east, though it has been visited by several well known explorers, contains an immense amount of new material; and that whereas our work on the west might be said to be merely completing the work of other travellers, our work in the east is in an almost entirely new field, and full of monuments of the greatest interest in the elucidation of Bible history.

We have also laid the foundation of the survey, which is a great point in its speedy execution.

We have measured our base lines, established our triangles, and ascertained the positions of the different tribes, and having got all that information, when we get to work I feel sure we could with great rapidity finish off the work if we get the necessary firman to do it, and there is reason to suppose we shall.

On my return from Constantinople, it became extremely doubtful what we were to do; but almost immediately, within a week after I came back to Jerusalem, the two sons of the Prince of Wales (Prince Edward and

Prince George) arrived in Palestine, and hearing I had been a long time in the country and knew something about it, they commanded me to escort them through the country, and they did what no European Prince has done for at least 600 years, they crossed the Jordan and spent a week in Mount Gilead, and travelled over some of the most interesting parts of the country east of the Jordan. It seems to me to have been a very plucky thing on their part to do, and no doubt it will be a great thing for the Society in showing the interest taken by the Princes during their stay there in the work of the Society.

Several very interesting discoveries were made during their tour, which extended over a part of the country which had been surveyed, and over part not surveyed.

They also visited the Haram of Hebron, which is built over the tombs of the patriarchs, and has not been visited by Europeans, I believe, since the Prince of Wales visited it about twenty years ago.

We were able to make further discoveries in the Haram, and to see certain portions of it which were not seen by the Prince of Wales and Dean Stanley, and also to make an accurate plan of the internal arrangements, and to form a very good idea of the extent and position of the great caves underneath. In reference to that I think the Princes showed a great deal of good feeling with regard to the Moslems in not insisting upon entering the caves, it being understood that if there was an entrance to the caves, they would be allowed to go there. When in the Mosque, the Sheikh of the Mosque represented to us that entrance could only be obtained by taking up certain flooring of the Mosque, and the Princes said they would not wish to do anything that would be considered a desecration of the Mosque, and therefore they gave up the idea of actually descending into the caves.

The description of that visit, and of the discoveries made during the course of that tour, have formed the subject of a long report which is to be submitted to the Prince of Wales, and will afterwards, I hope, be published by the Palestine Exploration Fund; it will be one of the very interesting results of the last campaign out in West and East Palestine.

With regard to the work we have done, the question of course arises whether the results have been worth the amount of trouble that has been expended on them. I am inclined myself to think that the results of this last year's work have been more important in some respects than any we have yet obtained.

In the first instance the name of the great Hittite city I alluded to in commencing my remarks, may perhaps not be very familiar to you, though it is mentioned in the Bible: it is the city of Kadesh on Orontes. It was a very large city of the Hittites; it is mentioned on the Assyrian monuments, and there are *bas reliefs* which represent this city with the Orontes flowing round it. Of all the translations that have been published, there is nothing more interesting than the account of the attacking of this great Hittite city, when Pharaoh was separated from his army, and the Hittites came out in large numbers and surrounded him in his

chariot, and the prayer he offered up is given in a remarkably striking piece of poetry. There is a description of how the Hittites came out and the Pharaoh drove them into the Orontes; but this monarch was suspected of great exaggeration as to his own prowess, and a little guilty of taking out the names of his predecessors from the marbles, and putting his name in in places where their adventures had resulted successfully.

The question was the position of the city. It is mentioned in the Bible as being on the north of the boundary of David's dominions. When he took his census of the population he went as far as Zidon on the north, and then stopped, for he had come into the district of some independent people mentioned as Hivites. The question was, where the city was to be found. It was to be found within five or six miles in every direction, but no one had exactly hit on the spot. Lieutenant Mantell and myself travelled up into the district, and learnt the names of every place we could; and one evening, in calling on one of the local authorities, they advised us to go to a place called Neby Mendeh, close by; they said, "there are some very important ruins you ought to look at."

This was an entirely unexpected piece of information, for I expected myself it was several miles further off. As I say, we heard the name from the authorities of the district; and we afterwards found that several other people had heard the name applied before to this very ruin, though they had not seen there was any great archaeological value in the discovery. Not only did we find the name of the great Hittite city still remaining on the ground, but standing on the top of the great mound we could see the Orontes running round us; we could see the northern ditch shown on the Assyrian marbles, and the bridge, in almost exactly the same position as they are shown on the *bas relief*, and we seemed to see the whole of the city almost as it was in the time of Rameses. We could trace exactly where the Egyptians came down from the mountains; we could see the Orontes into which he drove the Hittites on the occasion when the Prince of Aleppo was thrown into the water, as shown in one of the most curious portions of the *bas relief*. The attendants are shown holding him up by the legs and letting the water run out of his nose in order to restore him; but the inscription says he died.

Not only that, but we fancied we could find even the Hittites themselves on the ground. It was known the Hittites were a people belonging to the Mongol or Tartar races. On the Egyptian monuments they are represented with extremely different complexions, and with pigtailed almost like the Chinese, and wearing a particular dress, such as is worn by the Turcomans in many cases to the present day; and when we got to the spot we found not only was there a race of fellaheen who represented the Assyrians very much in the type of their countenances, but also a large Turcoman tribe living in the district. This was entirely an offshoot of our work, and was only undertaken to fill up time till we got our instru-



ments ; but it has been received at the British Museum as being one of the most interesting things the Society has yet found out.

As soon as we could we went into Moab, and began surveying there, and up in the north into the mountains of Gilead, and made some discoveries of the most interesting kind on the other side of Jordan. We made there one discovery which we had been disposed to hope we should make, but the extent and importance of it we were not at all prepared for : that is with regard to the rude stone monuments on the other side of Jordan. It had been found by Canon Tristram in passing through the country and making a map of that district, that there were a certain number of dolmens, something like those you find at Stonehenge, but we found over 700 of them altogether—some so large that a tall man could walk under them—consisting of two large stones with a table stone on the top ; and some so small that we should probably have passed them over if they had not been in connection with the large ones. The question was what these monuments were, who they were erected by, and whether they had any connection with Biblical history. There are, I believe, two parties with regard to these stone monuments : some believe they are the graves of ancient prehistoric people, and some believe they are the graves of very modern people, and others think they are ancient altars or places of worship.

There is, curiously enough, very good evidence on both sides of the question. There are instances in which such rude stone monuments are sepulchres, and instances in which it is almost equally clear they belong to large temples or altars. I think when you come to consider the subject, you will see it is rational both parties should be right, because the fact is these monuments represent, as it were, the architecture of the age. If a man wished to build a house, the only way he knew of building it was to erect these enormous blocks and cover them over with a flat roof formed by another stone. If he wished to build himself a grave he could only construct it of two rough stones—he would make a sort of stone box in which the corpse was placed ; and if he wished to construct an altar, in the same way he erected a table stone on large stone pillars.

With regard to the Moabite monuments which occur in such enormous numbers, I think there can be very little doubt they represent ancient places of sacrifice. We found instances in which there was very good reason to suppose they were altars. It was impossible in some cases that any grave could exist underneath ; in other cases there were cup-shaped hollows in the large table-stones at the top with channels connecting them, and the table-stone was carefully tilted in such a direction that anything poured on the stone would run down and be received in the hollows, and a study of the hollows and the channels connecting them led me to suppose they had been used as old places of libation—either libations poured on the stone, or sacrifices offered on the stone and the blood collected in the hollows. They appeared to be erected for such purposes, and in addition to that, curiously enough, the monuments occur in places mentioned in the Bible as being ancient places of sacrifice. That appears to be very strong confirmation of our view ; and it seems to me very interesting we should

discover these old monuments in the old Canaanite places of sacrifice. The first instance of importance was on the side of Mount Nebo ; there was there an erection of four stones, with a large flat stone something like 10 feet square placed on the top of them. There is no doubt it was artificial, and there were the cup-shaped hollows in the stone which seemed to indicate it had been used for libations. This was on the side of Mount Nebo ; and it struck us immediately that probably it was one of the places where Balaam had erected his altars. Balaam erected seven altars on Mount Nebo, but the altars were not on the very summit of the hill, because it is recorded Balaam left the king and went to the top of the hill, the king remaining apparently by his altar at a lower level ; and we found these altars on the side of the hill just below the highest point.

When we came further south we came upon groups of these monuments, and they also occurred in places where Balaam is supposed to have erected altars. I should not like to go so far as to say we have actually found the altars erected by Balaam : but the great number of them (in some cases there being three or four hundred of these stone monuments together) seems to me to suggest that on any important occasion a new altar was erected. I certainly think they are the sort of altar that is likely to have been erected at that time.

When we went to the north we found a very interesting one which is mentioned as the iron bedstead of King Ogg, but that I think is hardly a correct translation. It seems to me it should rather be translated the throne bedstead, or the Prince's Throne.

Then what is still more interesting is that during the Princes' Tour we came quite unexpectedly on another group of these ancient monuments on the site of the city of Dan. Dan was one of the cities where Jeroboam restored the ancient Canaanite worship of the calf. The site of Dan is quite undisputed, and it is one of the few sites in Palestine almost certain. These rude stone monuments were standing on the hill-side above the place where Jeroboam's temple of the calf must have stood. Not only that, but these monuments differed somewhat from those in Moab : they were smaller, and made of hard black basalt, whilst many had been purposely overthrown. I went over them carefully with Mr. Dalton, the Princes' Governor, and he was of opinion they were rude stone monuments, that they had been purposely overthrown, and had been in some cases slashed with hammers or broken to pieces ; and when we read how those altars were thrown down and destroyed, I cannot help thinking but that in those rude stone monuments we had come upon the remains of a great destruction of the idolatrous altars in the time of Josiah. Another curious feature that has puzzled many writers is that of the rude stone monuments found on the east side of Jordan, not a single example has been found on the west side of Jordan. We have found some cup-shaped hollows, but not a single monument remains to the present day. As you go northwards to Gilead, you find a few of the monuments still remaining on the hill-side. Still it is very interesting to find what we have done, the stones with cup-shaped hollows which I mentioned before as being

probably used as places of libation, and others overthrown or "pushed over," that being the meaning of the word used in the Bible. These old stone monuments exist in many places mentioned in the Bible, and therefore I think we may really say we have discovered the altars of the Canaanites. This will throw a great deal of light on the study of the Bible; but much work remains to be done on the east side of Jordan. Some of the most interesting places mentioned in the earlier books of the Bible are yet to be found, and there is also a great deal of work in the north that will throw light, I feel sure, if it can only be done, upon the early Christian settlements in the country.

As regards the work still to be done in Palestine, I consider there is some extremely important work remaining to be done, though I think the work of the past year far from unimportant. As regards the discovery of the city of the Hittites, I may say it is regarded as one of the most important archaeological discoveries that have been made of late years. It is now exercising the minds of the great scientific authorities at the British Museum. To a great extent the land of the Hittites has been surveyed, the monuments which were thrown down have been found, and measurements too have been made of them; but there is one thing we have not got—we have not got the key to their language. However, we do not despair, and hope to be able to discover that.

The work before us is full of interest, and if we can only succeed in removing the scruples of the Turks, we shall get on very well. I hope, myself, for many reasons, that the Princes' visit may be advantageous towards our obtaining some assistance in that direction.

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## THE BODIES OF THE PATRIARCHS.

IN reference to the above subject brought forward by "Clericus" in the *Quarterly Statement* for July, I should like to ask him for a better authority than the one quoted (Acts vii, 15, 16) respecting the removal of the bodies of the Patriarchs. Why may not St. Stephen in speaking of their being transferred be understood to mean from Shechem to Hebron? is there any positive reason (assuming that they were moved) that it was as he states from Hebron to Shechem? The words in that passage, that give Abraham as the purchaser of the ground, are incorrect; he purchased the cave of Machpelah of Ephron, the son of Zohar (Gen. xxiii). Jacob bought ground at Shechem of the children of Hamor (Gen. xxxiii). The word Abraham, though given in ancient MSS., is by commentators supposed to be an interpolation by an early transcriber.

Turning to Josephus ("Ant.," II, viii, 2), we read respecting the death of Joseph and his brethren, "Now the posterity and sons of these men, after some time, carried their bodies, and buried them at Hebron; but as to

the bones of Joseph, they carried them into the land of Canaan afterward when the Hebrews went out of Egypt, for so had Joseph made them promise him upon oath."

We thus have, first on the authority of Scripture, the proof that Abraham bought land at Hebron, and that he, with Sarah ; Isaac and Rebekah ; and Jacob and Leah were here buried. Also that Jacob bought land at Shechem in which Joseph was buried.

Secondly, on the authority of Josephus the above is confirmed, and Hebron is claimed as the burial place of the sons of Jacob ; a Mohammedan tradition asserts that Joseph was removed from Shechem to Hebron, his tomb is shown in the Cave of Machpelah, a plan of the Cave may be seen in "Those Holy Fields," by the Rev. S. Mauning, marking the positions of the seven graves.

The above will, I think, appear clear by the revised version : "Himself, (Jacob,) and our fathers ; (his sons ;) and they were carried." Jacob we know was taken alone to Hebron by all his sons—they—our fathers, his sons, may be assumed to have been taken at one time (Joseph excepted), to Canaan and buried either at Shechem or Hebron, I think at the latter place ; but if it may be allowed that they were first buried at Shechem, then at a subsequent date removed to Hebron, both St. Stephen and Josephus will be correct.

T. FORSTER.

YOUR correspondent, Mr. Forster, asks for a better authority than St. Stephen's language in Acts vii, 15, 16, for the removal of the bodies of the Patriarchs from Hebron to Shechem

Commentators doubtless assume that the passage, as we have it, is inaccurate. The MSS., however, all agree in asserting the sepulchre at Shechem was bought by Abraham. We have no choice, therefore, but to accept it, and must take it as an inspired statement.

There were in fact three distinct purchases :—

Purchase A, by Abraham, Gen. xxiii, 16, 17 ; xlix, 30

A field, ἀγρός, and a cave, σπήλαιον.	For 400 shekels.	At Machpelah.	At Ephron.
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Purchase B, by Abraham, Acts vii, 15, 16.

A sepulchre, μνήμεια.	For a sum of money.	"At Shechem" Revisers, τοῦ Συχέμ.	Of the sons of Hamor.
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Purchase C, by Jacob, Gen. xxxiii, 19 ; Josh. xxiv, 32.

A parcel of ground, ἡ μέρος τοῦ ἀγροῦ.	For 100 pieces of silver, ἀγενῶν.	At Shechem.	Of the sons of Hamor.
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At C Joseph's bones were laid.

Since we know the Patriarchs were originally laid in A, St. Stephen's language must mean, I think, they were transferred to B.

As regards Josephus, he states no doubt Joseph's brothers were buried at Hebron, "Ant.," II, viii, 2. His silence as to the removal of their bodies cannot surely be set against St. Stephen's statement that it did take place; any more than his saying ("Jewish War," IV, ix, 7) that "the monuments of Abram's posterity are to this day shown in Hebron, of excellent marble and of most elegant workmanship." Perhaps the monuments remained, although the bodies were removed.

I readily admit the removal of the bodies of the Patriarchs is very mysterious. Who carried it out, and when, and why he did so, I am utterly at a loss to conjecture. Moreover, so far as we know from Genesis, Abraham was not at Sichem more than once (ch. xii, 6, 7), and did not then make the purchase St. Stephen mentions. And further, Josephus asserts ("Ant.," XII, vi, 7) that not only Abraham, but his descendants, built themselves sepulchres at Hebron.

On the other hand, regarding St. Stephen's language as inspired, and observing an absolute agreement of the MSS. in Acts vii, 15, 16, I hold to my opinion that the bodies were transferred from Hebron to Shechem: *μετετέθησαν*, translati sunt, Vulgate. And I repeat my suggestion, that search should be made at Shechem, not at Joseph's Tomb, now shown near Jacob's Well, but elsewhere.

CLERICUS.

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September 12th, 1882.

I CANNOT understand how "Clericus" (p. 177) can make out from Acts vii, 15 and 16, "that the bodies of the patriarchs, with Jacob—if not those of Abraham, Sarah, Isaac, Rebekah, and Leah—were *transferred* from Hebron to Shechem."

In those verses, no mention is made of Hebron at all, but "Egypt," into which "Jacob went down, and died," is evidently the locality whence "he and our fathers" "were carried over."

This *carrying over* is surely the same as spoken of in *contemplation*, in Genesis xlvii, 30, where Jacob gives the charge to Joseph, followed by Genesis xlix, 29-31, where he renews it to the patriarchs; and in *execution*, in Genesis l, 12, 13, where the fulfilment of Jacob's desire is described.

The other *carrying over*, viz., of Joseph, which *was* to Shechem, was likewise a carrying over from *Egypt* to *Canaan*, and not at all a translation from Hebron or any other place of sepulture in Canaan.

Has not "Clericus" noticed that the wording of verse 16 in our version must be erroneous?

For this reason, that the "parcel of ground" at Sychem was bought by

Jacob, not by Abraham, while the "sepulchre which Abraham bought" was purchased from the "sons of Heth," and not from "the sons of Emmor, *the father* of Sychem!"

In the text, the two places, purchasers and sellers are mixed up, but yet there is, I venture to think, no room for any transference from Hebron to Shechem.

H. B. S. W.

## MIZPEH.

"A city set on a hill cannot be hid."

To reject Neby Samwil as the site of Mizpeh, because it is not close to the great north road, and to place this city, so famous in sacred history, on any other hill in the Holy Land, seems to me to be straining out the gnat and swallowing the camel.

The topographical notices of Mizpeh, instead of being vague, as might at first sight appear, prove on careful examination to be so distinct that I would defy even the discoverer of the philosopher's stone to point out any spot, except the hill of Neby Samwil, that satisfies the five following conditions required by the Bible and I Maccabees:—

1. Mizpeh was in Benjamin, and on a hill, as is implied in its name, which means "the watch-tower."
2. It was "over against," *i.e.*, in sight of Jerusalem.  
Further, it was in such a position:—
3. That it made a desirable fortress for Judah against Israel, when Asa dismantled Ramah.
4. That Ishmael on leaving Mizpeh, "to go over to the Ammonites," *naturally* passed near "the great waters that are in Gibeon."
5. That from Mizpeh Ishmael could without difficulty meet the eighty pilgrims on their way from near Shiloh to Jerusalem.

After fortifying Neby Samwil on these five points, I invited an attack (*Quarterly Statement*, 1881, p. 91), and hoped that any assailant would direct his line of fire right on my position; but the demonstration made against Neby Samwil (p. 258) ends only in smoke. For while Captain Conder both urges that Jer. xli, 5-7 has been the main objection, and adds that the notices of Mizpeh are "so vague that it seems impossible to decide between the two high places of Nob and Gibeon, to one of which the name Mizpeh appears to have been applied," he makes no attempt whatever to show *how* Neby Samwil fails to satisfy any one of the necessary conditions, or *how* any other place fulfils them.

It is not desirable to allow the spoilers thus to disquiet the country, and therefore we are obliged to descend from "the watch-tower," and by

cutting them off in whatever places they may be found, to show how each has swallowed the camel in whole or part.

(a.) In Sinai and Palestine it is said that Scopus immediately north of Jerusalem "meets every requirement of the notices of Mizpeh;" but while quoting Jer. xli, 6, Dr. Stanley overlooks the context, which enforcing condition 4, makes it impossible for Mizpeh to have been at Scopus.

For Ishmael (Jer. xli, 10) departed to go over to the Ammonites, and could not thus in going *eastwards* from Scopus pass near the great waters of Gibeon, which are more than two miles *west* of the longitude of the former place. Josephus it is true in this passage substitutes Hebron for Gibeon; but being more imaginative than observant, he also elsewhere interchanges these places, stating in his "Antiquities" that Asahel was slain in the battle at Hebron. The same condition is equally fatal to the suggestion about the high place of Nob (at whatever point that place can have been on the road to Jerusalem from Geba), and indeed to any position on the Mount of Olives.

Some unable to swallow the whole camel, cut it into two by supposing that the Mizpeh of Samuel and that of Jeremiah were two distinct places. This Alexander-like stratagem may be shown, however, to be equally ineffectual.

(b.) Umm Saffa has been proposed (1876, p. 171) as a "very suitable position for the Mizpeh of Jeremiah, being on the road from Samaria to Jerusalem." It seems, however, to be five miles distant from that road, near Ain el Haramiyeh; to be quite out of sight of it; and being many miles north of Bethel, to be in the kingdom of *Israel*, and therefore in a position quite impossible for the Mizpeh fortified by Asa, King of *Judah* (Jer. xli, 9).

(c.) Again it has been proposed to place the Mizpeh of Samuel at Sôba or (D) at Karbet Shûfa, making it in both cases distinct from the Mizpeh of later times, but unfortunately for these suggestions, the Maspha (*i.e.*, Mizpeh) of I Macc., iii, 46: "The place where they prayed aforetime in Israel," was obviously the Mizpeh of I Sam. vii, and was also "over against" Jerusalem. Since this last characteristic has not been claimed for either Sôba or Khurbet Shûfa, I conclude it has no existence in either case.

Thus these five conditions seem to me to make "a heap for ever" of all rival places, and Neby Samwil alone remains to be identified with Mizpeh.

Simply stated, the problem in this: To find a hill top, south of the latitude of Ramah, north of that of Jerusalem, and not east of the longitude of the waters of Gibeon, which is visible from Jerusalem, and also suitable for a fortress, and commands a good view of the north road.

Here we may say, "solvitur ambulando," any one at Jerusalem may settle the question for himself in a five minutes' walk. If only one place satisfies all these conditions, as Neby Samwil does, that place *must* be Mizpeh. Let us therefore "rest and be thankful," and have no misgivings because the ancient name is now wanting. Perhaps in forty years some

educated Gibeonite will say that Neby Samwîl was also called Shûja, or even Mizpah.

For had not Dr. Robinson, while forced, not by luck, but by discrimination, to assign as the probable site of Ai the place with ruins south of Deir Diwan, also to make this sad admission: "The name, however, has utterly perished. We inquired diligently after it throughout the whole region, but without finding the slightest trace?" And now forty years after we have the name Kh. Haiyan applied to this very spot, which after Mr. Trelawney Saunders' explanation about *the valley (ge)*, seems to me without question to represent the long lost Ai. Supply will finally overtake demand as to names in Palestine; so that too much importance must not be attached to the absence or even presence of any ancient name, especially after it has been often advertised for, as is the case with Ai.

W. F. B.

### EBENEZER.

AFTER Mizpah comes Ebenezer, which seems to me to fix itself beyond question (as already noticed, 1881, 100) at Kh. Samwîl, one mile south of Neby Samwîl. As however this site is viewed with suspicion, and the early Christian site at Deir Abân, supported by M. Clermont-Ganneau, is adopted in preference by Captain Conder, it is desirable to demolish the claims of this rival site by sifting the notices about Ebenezer.

Deir Abân is two miles east-south-east of Ain Shems (Bethshemesh), and twelve miles west-south-west of Mizpah.

M. Ganneau thinks that the name refers to the great stone (*eben*) in the field of Joshua (1 Sam., vi, 18.) If so the name must have moved at least two miles to the east, as the princes of the Philistines only went "unto the border of Bethshemesh." He also is of opinion that the Ark was restored at the very same place at which it was captured, and that therefore Deir Abân represents Ebenezer, which he takes to have been the limit of the pursuit of the Philistines (1 Sam., vii, 12).

But (1) The battle near Ebenezer was, however, apparently an attempt of Israel to free themselves from the Philistines (1 Sam. iv, 1, 9), and would therefore be more probably fought in the heart of the country, like the battle of Michmash, than at the foot of the hills near Bethshemesh.

(2) Ebenezer was between Mizpah and Shen (1 Sam. vii, 12). This is a common Biblical way of describing a position:—"Between Bethel and Ai" (Gen. xiii, 3) was a distance of two or three miles; "between Ramah and Bethel" (Judg. iv, 5) five miles; between "Zorah and Eshtael" (Judg. xiii, 25; xvi, 31) two miles, if the latter be at Eshna. In these cases "between" is certainly of use in fixing the position of the particular



spot referred to. But as Mizpeh is *twelve* miles from Deir Aban, then if the latter represented Ebenezer it would have been very unlike Biblical exactitude to have described it as between Mizpeh and Shen: for some place *nearer* than the latter would assuredly have been named. For instance, if Kirjath-jearim had been (which it was not) at Kh. Erma, why not have said that Ebenezer was between that city and Bethshemesh? The distance between the two is just four miles, while Deir Abân is half-way between the two and only half-a-mile out of the direct line.

Further, Captain Conder in support of his view that Deir Abân represents Ebenezer, brings forward the existence of other required names in its neighbourhood. He proposes to identify Mizpeh with Kh. Shûfa; Beth-Car with 'Akûr; and Kh. el Haj Hasan, two miles west of Surah (Zorah) with Shen. But again there is a serious objection to these identifications. Deir Abân is more than two miles south of the line joining his proposed sites for Beth-Car and Mizpeh; and again why should a more distant place be chosen when the well known Zorah was two miles nearer, and exactly on the same line? Besides we have shown that Mizpeh was not at Kh. Shûfa, and no importance need be attached to the name Deir Abân, as it occurs elsewhere, *e.g.*, six miles west of Samaria and a mile north of a village called Shûfeh.

Ebenezer has apparently been placed at the foot of the hills, because the expression, "*Hitherto* hath the Lord helped us," has been wrongly taken to mean, *up to the point where the men of Israel ceased to pursue the Philistines.*

"Hitherto" seems to me rather to signify, "up to this day," unless it can simply mean "here," the spot where the Philistines were first discomfited by the storm.

The Philistines would naturally approach Neby Samwîl from the south, and also flee in the same direction.

The examples of the use of "between" given above, would lead us to place Shen from two to five miles' distance from Mizpeh, and we actually find a place called Deir Yesin (answering well to the Hebrew Ha-shen) *three miles south* of Neby Samwîl; while further down the valley along which the routed army must have fled, there is an eminence with the name Airo Kârim, resembling Beth-Car. Farther, Kustril, an old Roman castellum, "a fortress like village," three and a half miles south-west of Neby Samwîl, answers well in position, distance and name, to the Aphek (fortress) where the Philistines encamped when Israel pitched beside Ebenezer (1 Sam. iv, 1).

Two miles south of Mizpeh the Philistines in their flight would reach the valley, so that Ebenezer must have been somewhere near this line of two miles. It is a most remarkable circumstance that on or close to this line, just a mile from Neby Samwîl, and on no other side of the hill, we meet with the name Khurbet Samwîl, or the *ruin of Samuel*, a very probable name to be given to a memorial erected by the prophet, just as the cairn of stones at Ras es Sherijah raised by Captain Conder has been named by the natives "Captain's Cairn."

This indefatigable explorer thinks, however (1881, 258) that the ruin Kh. Samwil got its name from the hill Neby Samwil, and not the hill from the ruin. Why so? The name of Samuel was certainly attached to the hill in the fourth century, as in the time of Procopius the convent of St. Samuel stood there. Had the name of Ramah suggested that of Samuel, then the title ought to have been attached to Er Ram. The name of Mizpeh cannot have attached that of Samuel to Neby Samwil, for the early Christians (as Captain Conder points out) placed it near Deir Abân, probably at Kh. Shûfa.

The only explanation that can be given for this conspicuous hill having at so early a date acquired the name of Samuel, is that "the stone of help" on the southern slope preserved in some form or legend the name of the prophet, and subsequently gave it to the summit of the hill. Thus there seems to be every reason for regarding the ruin called Kh. Samwil as marking the site of the world-wide Ebenezer.

I may point out that Captain Conder's experience leads him to this conclusion (1881, 271), "the only really permanent and ancient names are those of villages, ruins and springs . . . the ancient names of hills and valleys have, as a rule, been utterly lost."

He further adds (p. 152 *supra*), "the names of hills and valleys, as a rule, are either purely descriptive, or else taken from the village, ruin or spring." Precisely so, therefore I maintain that Neby Samwil got its name from Kh. Samwil, and the latter monument was so called from Ebenezer, Samuel's great monument.

W. F. B.

## THE HIGH PLACE AT GIBEON.

As Neby Samwil undoubtedly represents Mizpeh, it is impossible for it to have been what is commonly called "the high-place of Gibeon." Mizpeh and Gibeon were (1) distinct places (Josh. xviii, 25, 26; Neh. iii, 7), and (2) more than a mile apart, separated by a wide valley, and the great high place is always in the Bible said to have been *at* Gibeon, which would have been a curious way of describing a spot situated *not* at Gibeon, but at a distance in another no less well known city.

W. F. B.

## HIDING PLACES IN CANAAN.

## IV. THE ROCK RIMMON.

THIS has been already treated of (p. 50 *supra*), but I gladly reply to the remaining objections urged by Captain Conder.

1. "Six hundred men cannot have lived in the cave (p. 156) four months without ventilation" (1881, 250). But the cave is *not* without ventilation. Mr. Rawnsley reported that in the cave "the wind well nigh blew our torches out." Perhaps it will now be objected that the cave is too draughty. If it is meant that "they cannot have remained in it for four months *without ever coming out*, then I ask, who ever supposed they did? The cave was *only a hiding place*, and yet it allows more square feet per man than is required for each child in an elementary school.
2. "It is not mentioned in the Bible." Neither is the making of Jacob's well at Sychar mentioned in Genesis.
3. So far is Gesenius from stating or implying that *selā* does not mean a precipitous rock, that (as observed or unobserved by Captain Conder) he actually suggests the identity of the *Rock Rimmon* with Saul's *Migron* (precipice).

The solitary objection that "the Hebrew word (*selā*) has not the meaning of precipice," is in direct contradiction to Captain Conder's own writings previous to, simultaneous with, and subsequent to this objection on page 248; *e.g.* :—

- (a) "Joktheel (*cliff* of). 2 Kings xiv, 7 = Selah." "Handbook," 416.
- (b) "The south *cliff* of the Michmash valley." (1 Sam. xiv, 4, *selā*) p. 248.
- (c) In this passage the Bible gives the title of *the selā* to both the northern and southern sides of this gorge, but Captain Conder in his interesting report applies to them the terms of *cliff* or *precipice* no less than *thirty-three times* in seven pages (247—253).
4. Lastly, his too exacting canon (p. 151) would make the identification of the *Rock Rimmon* with the cliff in Wādy Suweinit near the cave of El Jai into a vague conjecture, "unless the ancient name can be proved still to exist." It will therefore be satisfactory to all concerned, to see Mr. Rawnsley's vindication (177) of Rummān (*Rimmon*) as a genuine name and above suspicion. It is probably by this time that Benjamin's stronghold is still, as of yore, a most dangerous place to attack.

W. F. B.

6th July, 1882.

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## VARIETIES.

*The Garrison.* Captain Conder's proposal (p. 141 *supra*) to make Jonathan into an iconoclast, does not seem to me to be borne out by the passages referred to.

**נָיִב** not **מַעֲבָה** (as quoted by that writer) is the Hebrew word used for *garrison* in 1 Sam. xiii, 3, 4: "Jonathan smote the garrison in Geba;" and in xiv, 14: "There was a slaughter of twenty men." In 15 it is said "the *garrison* trembled;" surely the vibrations of a pillar cannot here be recorded. Bones not stones are doubtless what Jonathan broke on both sides of the passage of Michmash.

*Ai θ.* On page 140 it is suggested that the great stone heap of *et Tell* may be the cairn raised over the body of the King of Ai. As however Ai was a small place (Josh. vii, 3) and Kh. Haiyan is nearly a mile from *et Tell*, the latter could hardly be described as being "at the entering in of the gate of the city," the place where the king's body was cast (viii, 29).

Mr. Trelawney Saunders points out that the valley south of Deir Diwan and not that on the north of it, is the *valley (ge)* of viii, 11, and thus he removes the difficulty hitherto attaching to the identification of Ai with Kh. Haiyan.

W. F. B.

## THE SEPULCHRES OF THE KINGS.

## WHO WERE BURIED IN THEM?

DAVID, the first King of Israel who reigned in Jerusalem, after his conquest of the Jebusite stronghold, is said (1 Chron. xv, 1) to have "made him houses" in the "city of David," an expression which has by some been thought to refer to these "sepulchres," where he and some of his successors found their last resting-places.

However this may be, the number of those who were buried in them has been referred to in the course of the controversy that has arisen over the actual position of these so-called "tombs of the kings," and has apparently been a matter of uncertainty.

In the hope, therefore, of settling this particular question, I have brought together, in a succinct form, all the direct statements which are made in Scripture respecting the various Kings of Judah, as follows:—



2 Chron. xxiv, 25,	(Joash)	died	and they buried him	IN THE CITY OF DAVID.	{ but they buried him not in the sepulchres of the Kings.	
2 Kings xiv, 20,	(Amaziah)		{ and he was buried at Jerusalem with his fathers			
2 Chron. xxv, 28,	( " )		and buried him with his fathers	(or, Judah).	{ in the field of the burial which belonged to the Kings.	
2 Chron. xxvi, 23,	Uzziah	slept with his fathers	and they buried him with his fathers	IN THE CITY OF DAVID	his father.	
2 Kings xv, 7,	Azariah		" "			" "
2 Kings xv, 38,	Jotham		and was buried with his fathers			and was buried with his fathers
2 Chron. xxvii, 9,	"		and they buried him			and they buried him
2 Kings xvi, 20,	Ahaz		and was buried with his fathers			and was buried with his fathers
2 Chron. xxviii, 27,	"		and they buried him			and they buried him
2 Chron. xxxii, 33,	Hezekiah		" "			" "
2 Kings xxi, 18,	Manasseh		and was buried			and was buried
2 Chron. xxxiii, 20,	"		and they buried him			and they buried him
2 Kings xxi, 26,	(Amon)					and he was buried
2 " xxiii, 30,	(Josiah)		and buried him		in his own sepulchre.	
2 Chron. xxxv, 24,	( " )		died, and was buried		{ in one of (many) the sepulchres of his fathers.	

A careful comparison of the parallel expressions used will, I think bring into prominence several interesting points.

Thus it will be found that the phrase "slept with his fathers" is only used of those kings whose end was peaceful.

Those of whom it is not used, which are distinguished by the passages being in *italic* type,<sup>1</sup> all met their deaths by violence.

All the kings, from David to Ahaz inclusive, as well as Jehoiada the priest, are said to have been buried in the "city of David," but it is also distinctly stated that three of these, Jehoram, Joash, and Ahaz, were not buried in the "sepulchres of the kings," and the same may be presumed of Uzziah, who, on account of his having been a leper, was interred in the field of the burial which belonged to the kings.

In regard to Hezekiah, who appears by the authorised version to have been laid in the "chiefest of the sepulchres of the sons of David," but is not said to have been interred in the "city of David," it seems probable that the alternative rendering of "in the ascent to," etc., is the more correct, and may point to a different place of sepulture from the actual "sepulchres of the kings."

The words used of Manasseh, "in his own house," may, perhaps, be comparable with "in his sepulchres" of Amon, and Josiah's burial "in his own sepulchre."

H. B. S. W.

## THE HOLY ANOINTING OIL.

On page 105 of Conder's "Handbook to the Bible," occurs the statement that the preparation of the Holy Anointing Oil "was performed only once in the whole history of the nation, the curse of Keritoth, or penal death, being held (Ex. xxx, 33) to apply to its repetition, even in extreme need." Also on page 106, line 6, it is said, "the holy oil failed in the reign of King Josiah."

What authority is there for these statements? None is given, while in Smith's Bible Dictionary, article "Ointment," page 597, we are told that the rabbinical writers said that it lasted 900 years, *i.e.*, to the Captivity; and 2 Kings xxiii, 30, actually records the anointing of one king later than Josiah, *viz.*, his son Jehoahaz.

Then too, the mode of interpreting Exodus xxx, 32, 33, as being intended to apply to the mere *repetition* of the composition of the oil, though for the same holy uses as it was first made for, instead of (as usually understood) as applying to its manufacture by any of the people and for common use, seems to require confirmation, and appears to be contrary to the

<sup>1</sup> See passages tabulated.

statement in 1 Chron. ix, 30, that "some of the priests made the ointment of the spices," as well as to the analogous case of the holy incense (Ex. xxx, 34, 35), respecting which an identical prohibition is given (in verse 37), and the same penalty is denounced (in verse 38).

If, as is well known, the making of the incense was frequently repeated by duly authorised persons, the prohibition, which applied to both, cannot rightly be held, in the case of the holy oil, to mean that no more of it was to be made under any circumstances.

Yours truly,  
H. B. S. W.

*September 26th, 1881.*

## THE CROMLECHS OF CORNWALL AND MOAB.

*August 22nd, 1882.*

HAVING taken great interest in the account of cromlechs and circles recently discovered by the officers of the Palestine Exploration Fund, I send you a brief description of some of the principal in Cornwall, which I have taken the measurement of. They appear to me to claim a close relationship with those discovered at Amman and Minyeh.

### I. The Trethevy Cromlech near Liskeard.

This cromlech has three supporting stones, whose respective heights are—9 feet, 7 feet 6 inches, and 5 feet 3 inches. There are also three huge stones abutting against the supporters. In the interior is a flat stone 6 feet in length, in a slanting position, on a bed of slate rock. The cover stone is 13 feet 9 inches long, 8 feet 6 inches wide; the thickness varying from 16 to 22 inches. At the north-east corner of this stone is a small round hole about 6 inches in diameter, whether artificial or not is uncertain.

Within two miles of this, on Linkinhorn Downs, are three stone circles, called the Hurlers. They lie from N.N.E. to S.S.W. The northernmost circle is 120 feet in diameter, the centre 144 feet in diameter, and the southern 100 feet in diameter. The stones are about 18 inches in thickness, 24 inches wide, and stand 4 feet 6 inches above ground. Several of the stones are fallen. About 60 yards westward of these circles are two large upright stones, which may have formed part of an avenue or approach.

### II. The Lanyon Cromlech in the parish of Madron.

This has three supporting stones—two at one end, and one at the other, each of these being about 4 feet 6 inches in height. The cover stone is 16 feet 8 inches long; the form is irregular, but the width across the centre is 8 feet 6 inches. It is 18 inches in thickness, and its girth is 47 feet.

III. The Zennor Cromlech is about one mile from Zennor Church, on the summit of a granite strewn hill, looking out on the sea.

This cromlech is probably the most gigantic in Europe. The stone



forming the south support is 9 feet high, and 11 feet wide at the base. The stone on the north side is 7 feet high, 4 feet 6 inches wide at the base, average thickness 15 inches.

A smaller stone on the same side is 3 feet 6 inches in height, and 4 feet 3 inches wide at the base. The stone at the east end is 8 feet 6 inches high, and 4 feet wide at the base. The stone at the west end, serving as a barrier to the entrance, is 4 feet high and 3 feet broad. Stones separate from the former, and at the east end, height 6 feet 6 inches, width at base 11 feet; and a smaller one 3 feet in height. The cover stone is 17 feet long, 9 feet broad, and 16 inches thick. The area enclosed by the supporting stones is about 6 feet 6 inches by 4 feet 6 inches. The cover stone has unfortunately slipped from its uprights, its west end now resting on the ground.

IV. The Chywoon or Chûn Cromlech, in the parish of St. Just, and about five miles from Penzance, and considered to be the most perfect specimen in England.

It has four large supporting stones, two of which are 8 feet in height, the others between 5 and 6 feet in height. The cover stone is a rough slab of hard grained granite. It is 12 feet long, 11 feet wide in the centre, and varying from 14 inches to 2 feet in thickness. The measurement within is 6 feet by 4 feet.

Tregascal Circle, also in the parish of St. Just. It is 66 feet in diameter. The stones are 18 inches wide, 11 inches thick, and about 3 feet in height.

I think it very probable that these cromlechs, &c., were in the first instance erected by the Phœnicians, who traded thither from a very early period, and that afterwards they were erected by the ancient Britons in various parts of the kingdom as we now find them. Doubtless they were sacrificial altars, many of them at an after day being made available as burying places for chiefs among the people.

G. W. PHILLIPS.

## THE CUBICAL STONES OF MOAB.

In the *Quarterly Statement* for April, Lieutenant Colder suggests that the cubical stones found in Moab, of which a representation is given on p. 72, are identical with the Asheroth of the Bible. Permit me to draw attention to a few passages which are in, at least apparent, opposition to that view.

Deut. xvi, 25 : "Thou shalt not set up an Asherah of any tree near to the altar of the Lord which thou shalt make to thyself. Neither shalt thou rear a pillar, which the Lord thy God hates."

Judges vi, 25 : "Thou shalt overthrow the altar of Baal, which belongs to thy father, and cut down the Asherah which is oy it, . . . and

thou shalt offer up a burnt-offering out of the wood of the Asherah, which thou shalt cut down. . . . And the men of the city rose up early in the morning, and behold, Baal's altar was broken to pieces, and the Asherah which was by it cut down."

2 Kings xviii, 4: "He removed the high places, and broke in pieces the pillars, and cut down the Asherah."

These passages all seem to imply that the Asherah was made of wood, and not of cubical shape. If it was of stone, why was it ordered to be "cut down," while the altar of Baal was to be "broken?" and why, when Gideon had executed the command, does the narrative itself make the same distinction? In speaking of Hezekiah, the very same word is used in connection with the Asherah, while **יִטְבֵּר** is used instead of **כָּהַע**, with, of course, the same meaning, with reference to the pillars. But the injunction in Deuteronomy not only implies the possibility of the Asherah being made of wood, but suggests that it was *only* made of wood. Can we imagine that the Law-Giver, knowing that an idolatrous object of worship was made both of wood and stone, would have said to the people, "Thou shalt not make it of wood?" Would not that imply that they might make it of stone?

Again, as to the shape. The passages are not decisive on the point, but I think they are rather against its being cubical. I do not see how it is possible to speak of "cutting down" a stone 8 feet long and 3 feet high, or even one 3 feet 4 inches long and 3 feet 6 inches high. On the other hand, in Deut. xvi, 22, **תְּקִים** is used in reference to the "pillars," while **תִּמְצֵ** is applied to the Asherah. The former word implies something higher than it is long or broad, while the latter is indefinite.

July 10th.

W. E. S.





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