

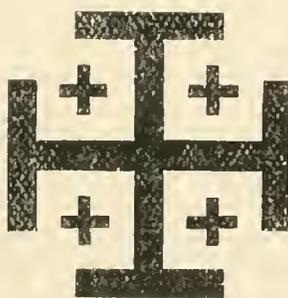
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Quarterly Statement

FOR 1901.



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TO

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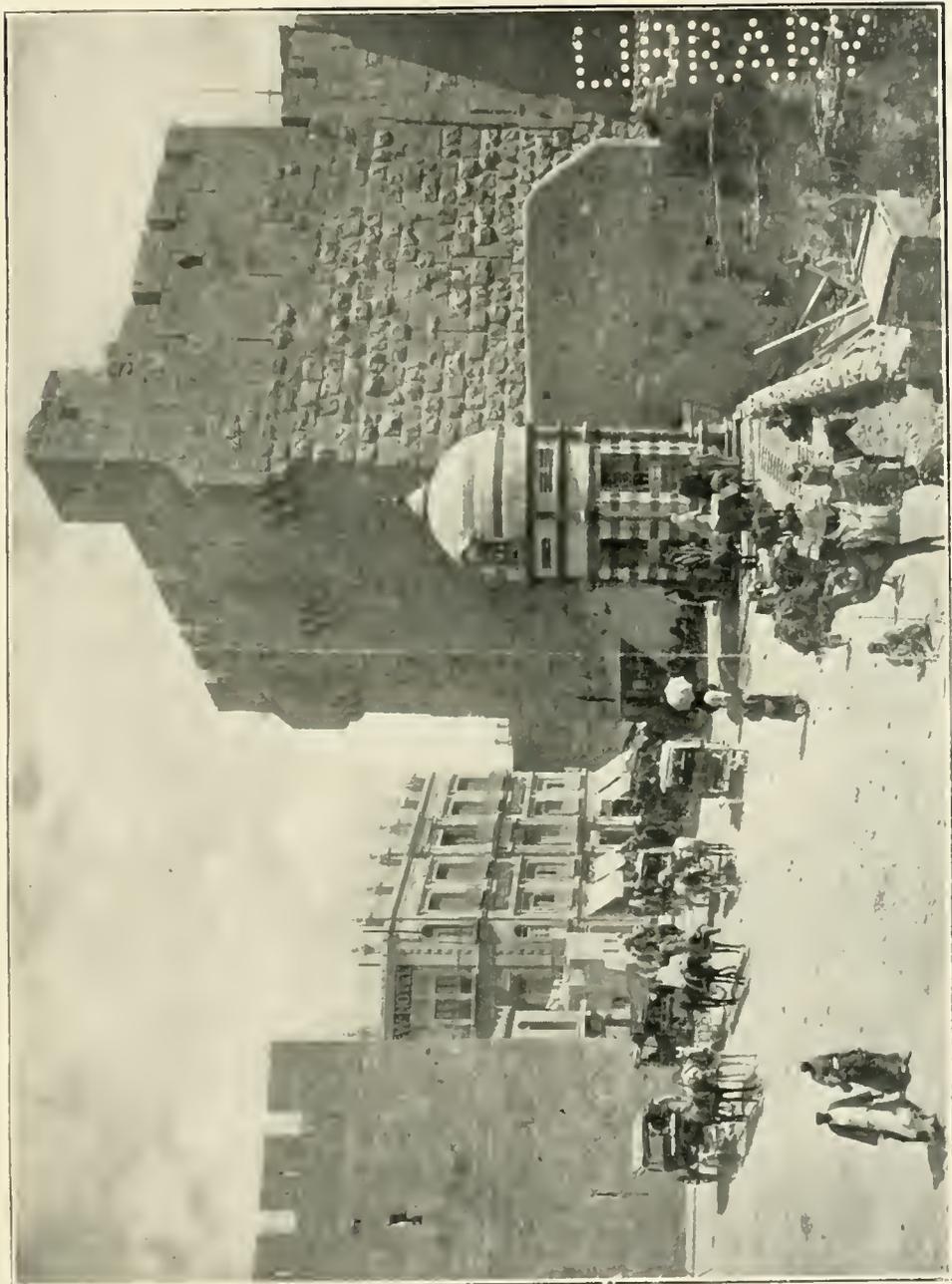
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JERUSALEM: TOWER OF DAVID, WITH THE NEW CARRIAGE ENTRANCE BESIDE THE JAFFA GATE, AND THE RECENTLY-ERECTED FOUNTAIN.
(From a Photograph by the American Colony.)

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

WE regret to record the death of Mr. H. A. Harper, who had for many years been a member of the Executive Committee of the Fund. Mr. Harper was well known by his pictures of scenes in the Holy Land, and numerous illustrations to articles for books and magazines. His "Illustrated Letters to My Children from the Holy Land," "Walks in Palestine," and "The Bible and Modern Discoveries," have had a large circulation. The latter is included in the publications of the Fund.

Dr. Schick has sent the following notes:—

1. The 1st of September, 1900, was the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Sultan's accession to the throne, and the event was celebrated throughout the empire by flags and other decorations, and illuminations in the evening. Several of the chief towns also erected some monument in honour of His Majesty and as a remembrance of the day. I hear that in Nâblus they have put up a clock which strikes the hours, and in Jaffâ a fountain at the harbour. In Jerusalem a fountain has been placed on the space of ground created at the Jaffa Gate by filling up the castle ditch, to make a wide entrance for the German Emperor two years ago. This fountain is to be supplied with water from cisterns, which will be made close by in the ditch. In the meantime, water from Bir Eyûb is brought up by the people of Selwan. Coming towards the city from the west, one sees this fountain or drinking place (Sabîl) in front of him as a new domed building glittering in gold and leaning against the grey walls of the castle. It is round in

plan, but behind a segment is cut off to give room between it and the castle wall for a man to fill it with water. Outside are four projecting pillars of red stone with mouldings, and over them the dome with the never-failing gilded crescent. The basin containing the water is furnished with about a dozen taps, and to each tap a drinking cup is fixed by a chain. The diameter of the building is about 8 or 9 feet, and the whole height about 25 feet. It is built of red and white stones alternately.

On the same day the Greek Convent opened their new fountain in the Muristan, and the Armenian Convent a movable one in the place before the entrance to their large Convent, which in the evening was illuminated with electric light.

2. When invited to see some antiquities in the Armenian Convent, I made use of the opportunity to see also their library, which, to my astonishment, is in an old church, similar to those I reported upon in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1895, p. 321, and elsewhere.

3. The carriage road from Jerusalem to Nâblus, for such a long time designed, is now being actually made. The work began about four weeks ago, under the superintendence of an Armenian, who has come from Constantinople for the purpose. Some Jerusalem Effendis had tried to have the road carried over 'Ain Sinia, but in vain, as this village is situated in a deep valley, and the line of the new road is to be kept as much as possible on the high ground, and as nearly as may be on a level. The work is already done between Jerusalem and Bireh, whence a branch will be made to Ramallah.

4. In one of my reports I mentioned that a German post-office had been established in Jerusalem, and this, as it seems, gave occasion for a French office also to be opened, and people speak already also of a Russian and an English one.

5. At Haifa there was recently a dangerous riot. At the landing stage made two years ago, near the German colony, for the landing of the German Emperor, people are accustomed to take sea baths, as the spot is convenient for the purpose. Certain hours are appointed for females, and as it happened that young men from Haifa assembled there at this time, the Mudir (or Governor) of Haifa stationed a sentinel there to send them off. But, instead of obeying, they began to beat the soldier, and as he

had no cartridges for his gun, and could not defend himself, he ran to the neighbouring German Hotel. The mob followed and broke the windows with stones, on seeing which the Germans of the colony came out well armed and the mob fled. At the time there were in the hotel, as guests, some high Turkish officers, and they telegraphed to 'Akka for soldiers, who came after a few hours and made many prisoners. An investigation is now being made, and it is spread abroad that the Christians are about to kill the Moslems! Others say the affair is owing to the jealousy of the French against the Germans.

6. The Armenian Convent have bought a piece of ground north of the north-east corner of the city, or Burj Laklak, and intend to make some excavations there. They asked me what they would be likely to find. This I could not say, but advised them to begin and they would certainly find something.

7. The Greeks are making great alterations in their part of the Muristan, and many ancient remains will be destroyed or buried deep under the new buildings. The new plan is east of the "Crown Prince Frederick Street," already made, from which three broad streets will run in a westward direction and be crossed by two diagonal streets, the whole forming at the point of intersection an open space or square from which the new streets will radiate. In the centre of this open space is the recently-made fountain alluded to above.

In digging for foundations north of the Church of Mar Hanna a narrow street, or lane, with steps, was found leading past the lower church and further eastward, how far I cannot say.

8. In making the carriage road to Nâblus an ancient aqueduct has been discovered, cut in rock 10 feet deep, 2 feet wide at the top, and a little narrower at the bottom. It is roughly worked. The lowest part contains fine sand-like earth, over which is common red earth without stones, and above this stones of all sorts. It is covered by strong flat stones, and was cleared on the top for about 30 feet in a direction south and north. It is north of Wâdy al-Joz, at the level 2,555·8 on the Ordnance Survey plan $\frac{1}{100000}$. It would be interesting to clear it out to some depth and ascertain where it comes from. The late General Gordon had always the idea that the water of the spring at Bireh had once been brought to Jerusalem, bringing it in connection with the

aqueduct from the north, excavated by me some years ago, and laid down in the new edition of the Ordnance Survey map $\frac{1}{25000}$ and in Sir C. Warren's Portfolio, Nos. IV and XXXVII, and the recently issued reduced Plan of Jerusalem, showing in red recent discoveries. On the northern slope of Wâdy al-Joz is to be seen on the surface a rock-cutting as if the aqueduct had come out here. It is in the line of some cuttings on the southern slope opposite, as if these were the continuation of it. If this were so a bridge or elevated aqueduct about 70 to 80 feet above the ground would have been needed to cross the valley.

Dr. Bliss writes that a new Kaimakaniyeh (Lieutenant-Governorship) has been established at Beersheba. An architect proceeded there from Gaza in a carriage, sending men ahead to smooth certain rough places on the road. The drive back he accomplished in four hours. In building the new Government House material from the ruins is being utilised. The carriage road to Nâblus is progressing.

Excavations at Baalbec, under a two years' permit granted to the German Emperor, have been going on for three months. At present the work is confined to clearing out the *débris*, which stands to a considerable height above the original ground levels of the temples. A series of Arab houses has been excavated, showing that at one period the walls of the great enclosure were used to protect a small settlement.

The Firman for excavations at Tell es-Sâfi and its neighbourhood having expired at the end of October, Dr. Bliss has prepared a general summary of the two years' work, which will be published subsequently, and Mr. Macalister has returned to England, bringing with him numerous plans and drawings of the objects found.

Observation of Dead Sea Levels.—Mr. Macalister reports as follows:—

“In accordance with the request of the Committee I visited Jericho on October 8th, 1900, and on the following day proceeded to 'Ain Feshkah.

“After a short search I succeeded in finding a rock which combines all the requisite characteristics for selection. It is a boulder standing sheer out of the water to a height of about 20 feet, with a smaller rock in front of it that affords convenient standing ground for taking observations, but is so situated that it does not prevent a plummet or tape-measure being dropped perpendicularly to the surface of the water from the mark which I caused a stonemason to make on the face of the rock.

“This mark is a horizontal line, 8 or 9 inches long, with the initials PEF beneath it. The line at the time when it was cut was exactly 14 feet above the surface of the sea (determined by a common tape-measure). Time, 10 a.m., October 9th, 1900. This may be taken as the first observation of the contemplated series.

“The rock in question has the additional advantage of being easily found. Southward from ‘Ain Feshkah stretches a rank growth of reeds along the margin of the sea. This row of reeds is interrupted near its southern end by the rock, which is the only break in the growth. To reach the mark it is necessary to scramble round the south end of the rock.

“Dr. Masterman, of Jerusalem, accompanied me, and he is therefore acquainted with the spot.”

With reference to the projected American School for Oriental Study and Research in Palestine, Professor Theodore F. Wright sends the following information:—

“The American School at Jerusalem is founded on the same basis as the American schools in Athens and Rome. All are fostered by the American Institute of Archæology, which is a large organisation with branches in the larger cities. The students will be graduates of colleges, and probably also of theological seminaries, which have a three-years’ course in addition to the four years of collegiate instruction. About twenty of these seminaries have united in a small annual contribution, which gives them the privilege of sending a student who will receive instruction free. Of course, special students will also be admitted. The director will be selected from the contributing institutions, and will be changed yearly for the present. A modest beginning in hired quarters will be made as soon as a Firman is obtained, and to this the first director is giving his attention. What the school may become by growth

it is impossible to say; but it is not unlikely that excavation will be attempted in due time, Americans having been very successful in Greece. The prime object is study of the languages of the Bible lands, their fauna and flora, and the life of their inhabitants, in order to gain the Oriental point of view for future studies. If excavation is attempted it will be thorough, examining the whole length, breadth, and depth of a Tell, as is now being done by Americans in Babylonia with the best results."

It is understood that also a German School of Archæology is about to be established in Jerusalem.

We understand that the German Palestine Society has obtained, through the German Embassy at Constantinople, the sanction of the Porte to the completion of the survey of the country east of Jordan by Dr. Schumacher, and that the German Government have given the Society a grant of 25,000 marks (£1,250). We congratulate the German Society on their good fortune, and wish Dr. Schumacher every success in carrying out this important work.

The Committee are glad to learn from Dr. Bliss that the state of his health has very materially improved during the last few months, and that he is now better and stronger than at any time since the excavations which are just completed were begun.

M. Clermont-Ganneau has kindly promised to contribute to the *Quarterly Statement* notes on the important discovery of a Hebrew inscription in Mosaic at Kefr Kenna, reported in the "Comptes rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-lettres," and on the Roman inscription which has been found on the "high level" aqueduct near Jerusalem.

The concluding volume of Professor Ganneau's "Archæological Researches in Jerusalem and its Neighbourhood" has been published and issued to subscribers. This completes the set of four vols. as advertised under the title "Survey of Palestine." There are only six sets left of the first 250 copies of this valuable work. Those who wish to secure a set at £7 7s. before the

price is raised should fill up the form and send it to the Secretary of the Fund.

In order to make up complete sets of the "Quarterly Statement," the Committee will be very glad to receive any of the back numbers.

Dr. Bliss's detailed account of his three years' work at Jerusalem, published as a separate volume, with the title "Excavations at Jerusalem, 1894-1897," and copiously illustrated with maps and plans, may be procured at the office of the Fund. Price to subscribers to the work of the Fund, 8s. 6d., post free.

The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21s.

The income of the Society from September 25th, 1900, to December 22nd, 1900, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £880 9s. 1d.; from Lectures, £1 0s. 0d.; from sales of publications, &c., £160 0s. 6d.; total, £1,041 9s. 7d. The expenditure during the same period was £772 10s. 10d. On December 22nd the balance in the Bank was £248 14s. 11d.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

J. Sparke Amery, Esq., has kindly consented to act as Honorary Local Secretary for Ashburton in place of the Rev. H. J. Barton Lee, resigned.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38 Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but all are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

While desiring to give 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.

TOURISTS are cordially invited to visit the Loan Collection of "Antiques" in the JERUSALEM ASSOCIATION ROOM of the Palestine Exploration Fund, opposite the Tower of David, Jerusalem. Hours: 8 to 12, and 2 to 6. Maps of Palestine and Palestine Exploration Fund publications are kept for sale.

Photographs of Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. Sets of these photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible Lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following:—

- "Le Mont Thabor, Notices Historiques et Descriptives by P. Barnabé, O.F.M." From Dr. Conrad Schick.
 - "Autour de La Mer Morte." From the Author, Lucien Gautier.
 - "Moriah." From the Author, Andrew J. Gregg, A.B., T.C.D.
 - "Census of Cuba, 1899." From the War Department, U.S.A.
-

For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects write to the Secretary.

Subscribers who do not receive the *Quarterly Statement* regularly are asked to send a note to the Acting Secretary. Great care is taken to forward each

number to those who are entitled to receive it, but changes of address and other causes occasionally give rise to omissions.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

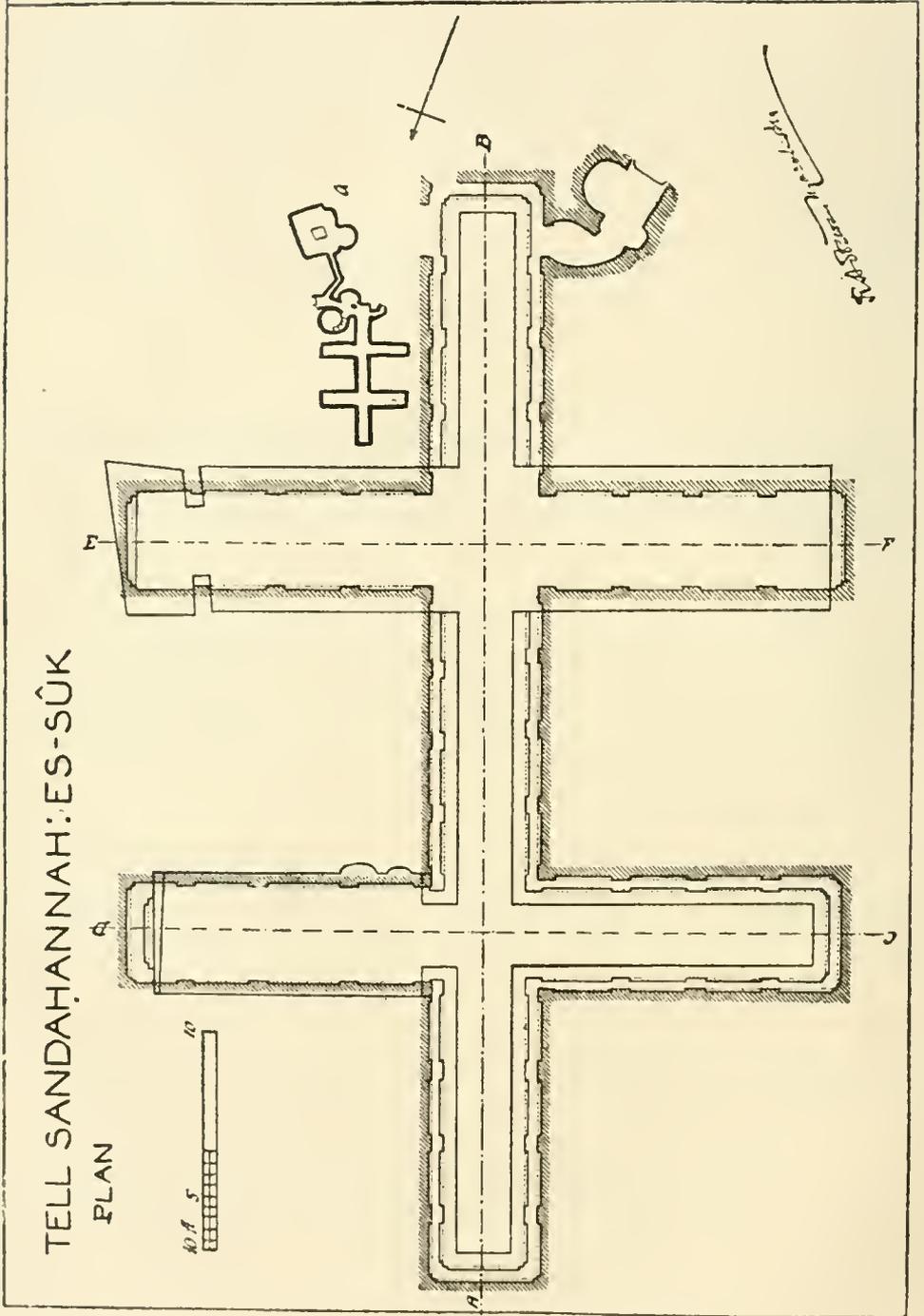
I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

Witnesses { _____

Signature _____

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America;
 Two suffice in Great Britain.*

PLATE I.



REPORTS BY R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A.

I.—“*Es-Sûk*,” TELL SANDAHANNAH.

THE cave known as “*Es-Sûk*”—the market—has already been described in the volumes of the Survey and in Conder’s “Tent Work” (p. 275 of the smaller edition); but hitherto no complete set of measured plans and elevations of this singular excavation has been prepared.

This columbarium is in character entirely different from the other caves of the district. It is true that associated with it is a group of chambers of the usual roughly circular type; but there seems to be every probability that this association is accidental, and that the cave is to be treated as an independent excavation. A reduced plan of these associated chambers is given on Plate I, Fig. *a*.

The present entrance is through a square hole, about 5 feet across and 6 feet deep, which opens into the top of a large irregular chamber much blocked with *débris*. This is about 30 feet across. At one side there are traces of rows of niches, showing that the chamber has been used as a columbarium. Immediately opposite to these niches is the entrance to a narrow creep-passage. Though creep-passages are common elsewhere in the neighbourhood—notably at Khurbet el-‘Ain—this is the only¹ existing specimen in the 50 or 60 labyrinthine excavations on the slopes of Tell Sandahannah. The passage is 3 feet across, 2 feet 8 inches high, and 33 feet long. A drop of 4 feet leads to the level of the floor of a lobby, from which two circular chambers open. These are to the left of the end of the passage; to the right there seems to have been an exit, now blocked. Of these chambers, the diameter of one is about 19 feet, that of the other 15 feet. The latter, which is sunk below the level of the floor of the lobby, is approached by a staircase with a parapet, now ruined. A shallow pit, 7 feet 9 inches by 3 feet 7 inches, is sunk in the floor, opposite the door. Between these two chambers an irregular hole now gives access to the “*Sûk*” itself.

If one trifling example be excepted, connecting two chambers on the north-east slope.

The excavation is a long tunnel, with two transepts crossing it at regular intervals, the whole being covered with a flat roof. The workmanship and accurate setting-out of the entire columbarium are admirable. The walls are in three stages, recessed each behind that below it. The lowest stage is a plain plinth; the two upper stages are divided by pilasters into sunk panels, each containing rows of loculi for cinerary urns.

The axis of the tunnel lies practically N.N.W. and S.S.E.; the entrances, ancient and modern, are all at the southern end.

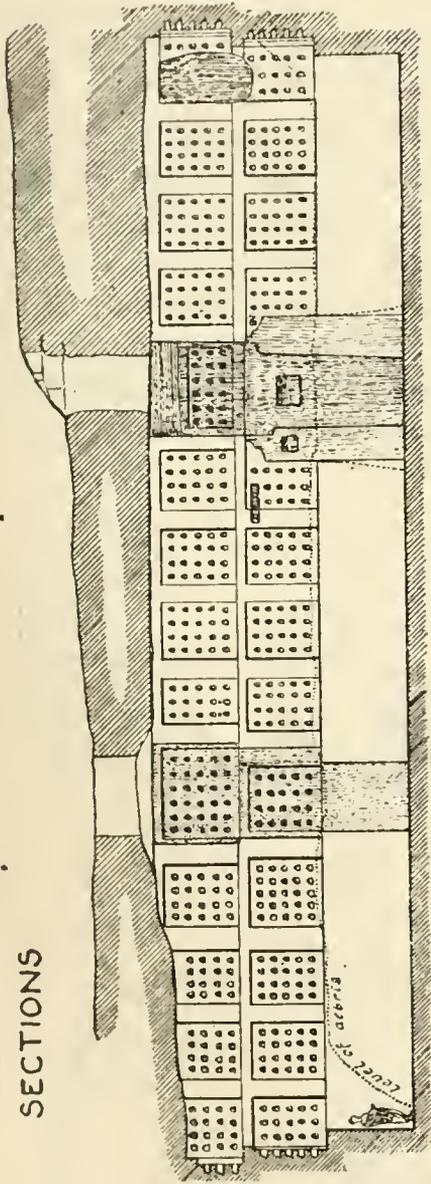
The original entrance seems to have been at the south end of the western wall of the main gallery. It runs inwards for a little over 7 feet, bending regularly from a western to a southern direction. There are bolt holes in the jambs of the doorway into the columbarium. Inward, 7 feet from this doorway, is another, 2 feet 8 inches across and 3 feet 6 inches high, behind which the passage runs, always trending upwards, for 6 feet 4 inches, at the end of which length it is blocked. There is a small cell, 3 feet 3 inches deep, 4 feet 3 inches across, and 3 feet 7 inches high, on the east side of the passage close to the block. In addition to these entrances there is a hole in the ceiling in each of the crossings, and one at the southern end, outside the limits of the columbarium, and communicating with it by a break in the south wall.

The loculi are semicircular headed, neatly formed, and carefully spaced out. In the northern end panels on each side, middle stage, the surface of the panel shows marks of red lines, blocking it into squares to secure correct setting out; the loculi are cut in alternate squares in every second row. Apparently this blocking was drawn to obtain a guiding rule in measurement rather than for mere mechanical assistance, as it does not occur in any other panel whose original surface remains unweathered. One of the plain squares has a circle marked upon it with a compass: a similar circle reappears in two other places in the excavation, as though the square in question had been selected as a standard and referred to occasionally. Internally the loculi expand slightly in width, and their inner end slopes forward.

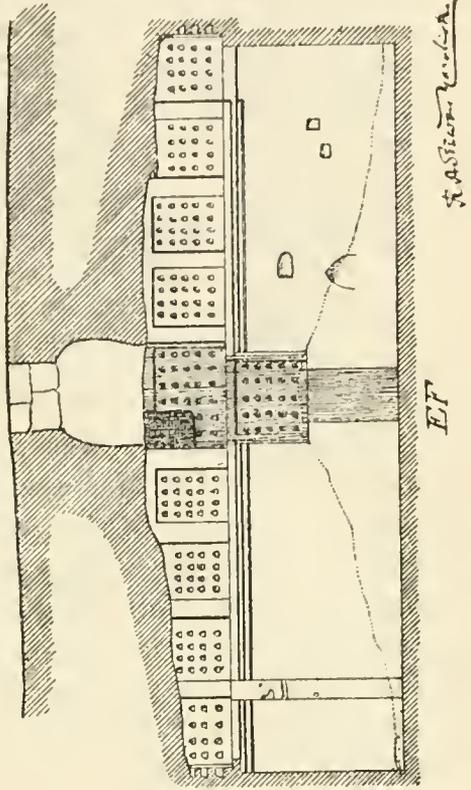
DETAILS.—A. MAIN GALLERY.—The plinth or bottom stage of the walls is almost everywhere covered by *débris*, and is not noticed in the section given in the Survey volume. It is 7 feet 6 inches in height. The passage, at the plinth stage, is 4 feet 8½ inches broad. The middle stage is set back

PLATE II.

TELL SANDAĦANINAH: ES-SÛK
SECTIONS

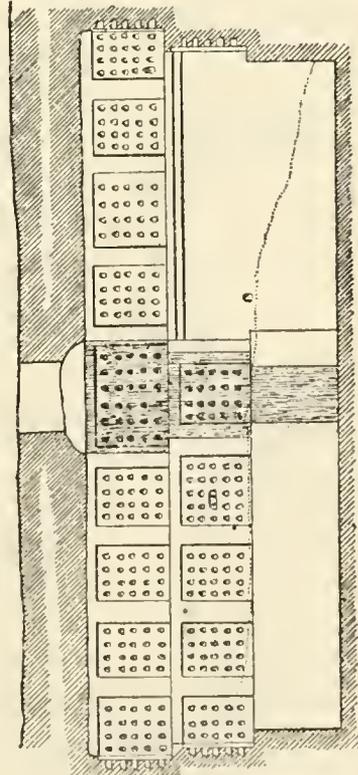


AB



EF

ES-SÛK



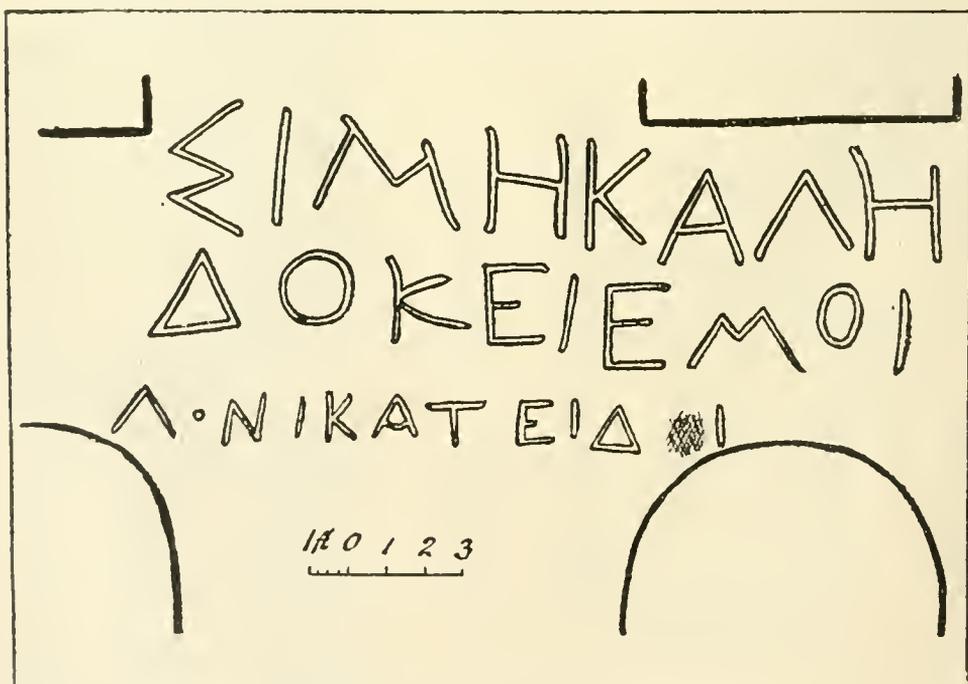
CD

1 foot 3 inches behind the plinth, and is 7 feet 4 inches high; the top stage is set back 1 foot behind the middle stage, and is about 7 feet 2 inches high, but the roof is not of uniform height throughout. The ceiling has, almost throughout its length, been badly fractured. Throughout the walls have been carefully smoothed, apparently with wooden combs.

Length of section of gallery north of north transept	..	ft.	in.
Breadth of north transept	.. .. .	3	11
Length of section of gallery between transepts	..	24	11
Breadth of south transept	.. .. .	13	10
Length of section of gallery south of south transept	..	24	3½
Total length of main gallery	.. ..	93	1½

There is but one inscription in the whole columbarium, which was found by Dr. Masterman, of Jerusalem, and myself. Under almost every one of the loculi, when the original surface of the rock survives there are scratches and weather-marks, some of which have a tantalisingly graffito-like appearance, but, after protracted and careful examinations of these, I was forced to abandon the idea that they had any significance. The inscription referred to is in the upper right-hand corner of the middle panel at the northern end, and runs as follows:—

FIG. 1.



Σιμή καλή δοκεῖ ἐμοί, $\frac{\Delta}{\Lambda}$. Νικατεῖδ[$\left[\frac{(c)\epsilon}{?}\right]$]

given above, but not the absent two in each of the upper four rows of the west side, as they probably never had any existence, this being the position of the original entrance.

The following alterations and mutilations have at some time been made in this gallery :—

(1) *Northern Section*.—Corner pier between gallery and transept, on west side, hacked away. End loculus of second row, middle stage, broken into the wall of transept. Square hole cut through the space between the first loculi in the third and fourth row in the same panel.

(2) *Middle Section*.—(An error in setting out, whereby the numbers of the loculi in opposite panels do not correspond, will be noticed). Deep holes cut between the first loculi of rows 4 and 5, and between the second loculi of the same rows, in the northern panel, top row, east side. Top panels on east side much decayed. Pier between the first two northern panels on the west side cut away along with part of the adjacent loculi of the second panel. A long rectangular slot cut away in the top of the southern panel in the middle stage on each side, carrying away the first two loculi in the top row and part of the adjoining pier (on the west side extending beyond the pier and carrying away the last loculus of the next panel). These slots are obviously intended for some sort of barrier, but there is no evidence of its purpose.

(3) *Southern Section*.—A hole cut through the first loculus, top row, eastern side. Set-off below middle stage partly cut away at northern end.

B. NORTH TRANSEPT.—The western half is laid out as in the main gallery, on the following scheme :—

	5 of 4	5 of 4	5 of 4	5 of 4	
	5 of 3	5 of 4	5 of 4	5 of 5	
6 of 4					Total, 370.
5 of 4	3 10 9	4 10 9	4 10 9	5 10 9	
	4 10 9	4 10 9	4 10 9	4 10 9	

No other portion of the transepts is similarly laid out. On the northern side the second and third loculus of the third row, middle stage, outside panel, have been partly run together by the destruction of the intermediate block, and a hole is cut through the western pilaster of the same panel. There is a similar hole in the

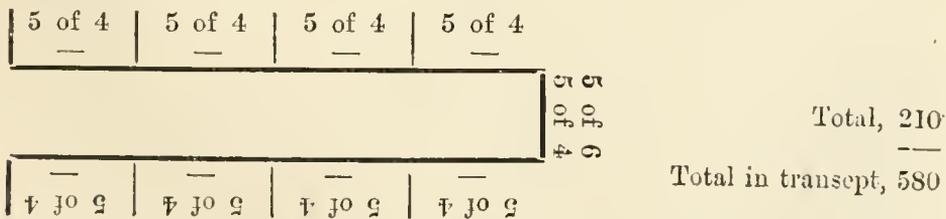
opposite pier to the west. In the face of the next pilaster there is a shallow depression as though for a barrier, near its top; there is a similar depression in the opposite pilaster. In the end panel, middle row, a cupboard has been formed by knocking together the second and third loculi of the two upper rows. There is a hole broken through the top of the fourth loculus in the second row. Graffito-like scratching is visible throughout this part of the transept.

The hole in the ceiling at the crossing is rectangular, not quite centered. It was covered with long stones, one of which remains.

The eastern half has no middle stage except in its end wall; in the middle of the set-off is a step, and there are two rude foot-holes below it. The upper stage is corbelled out, not set back, in the sides of the transept. On the corbel at the eastern end are five marks as though loculi had been blocked out, but never completed; the same feature is to be noticed at the northern side of the lower end panel. There is a circle between the second and third loculi of the fifth row, third panel, on the north side. On the back of the south-west corner pier, lower stage, are more marks like loculi blocked out.

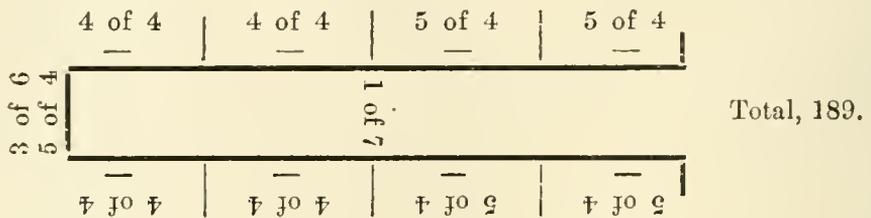
In the plain surface that occupies the place of the two lowest stages on the south side are two niches, one round headed and 8 feet high, with a little round hole in the wall above it; the other, west of it, has a pointed top, and is 6 feet in height.¹ The only features on the north side are a rough round hole, 10 inches in diameter, and a small bridged niche (*i.e.*, a niche with an uncut bar of rock running across it) at the present level of the ground. The breadth of this portion of the transept, behind the corner piers, is 11 feet 1½ inches. Length of western half, 26 feet 1 inch; breadth of main gallery, 4 feet 8½ inches; length of eastern half, 27 feet 0½ inch. Total length of transept, 57 feet 10 inches.

The loculi are arranged in the eastern half of this transept on the following scheme:—



¹ The heights are inferred from the relation between the tops of these niches to the set-off between the two lower stages. But possibly they do not extend to the floor of the excavation.

C. SOUTH TRANSEPT.—The western half has loculi in the upper stage of the sides and both stages of the end. In the lower portion, north side, six bridged niches have been cut, as well as a small niche with a triangular head, 1 foot 4 inches across, 2 feet 3 inches high. The bridges of the bridged niche are all horizontal. The western panel on the sides is not enclosed between pilasters, as the frieze is returned up the pier between it and the next panel. Between the two middle panels the ceiling drops by a step, on the vertical face of which is a row of seven loculi. Under the lower end panel, but not centered, is a square niche; at the right-hand corner is a large niche 1 foot 9½ inches high, 2 feet 2 inches across, 1 foot deep, with a small horizontal bridged niche beside it. On the south side are four niches irregularly disposed over the surface. There are other tool-marks here, but none of any importance. The scheme of loculi is:—



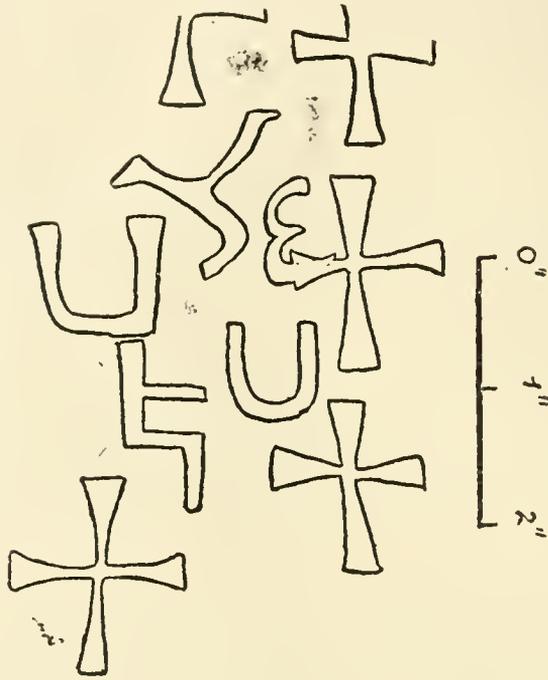
The upper part of the hole through the roof at the crossing is built round with large stones. There are no corner piers in this transept.

In the eastern half the loculi are again confined to the upper stage. The inner section of this part of the south transept is screened off by two large piers; on the left (northern) pier, outer face, is a large square niche, partly broken through; on the face is a small niche for a light (?), and through the inner edge a hole is drilled. There are four marks like blocked-out loculi on the inner surface. In the opposite pier is a drilled hole corresponding to that just noticed, and above are deep grooves apparently connected with a fastening.

Length of western half of south transept, 26 feet 8½ inches (average); width of main gallery, 4 feet 8½ inches; length of eastern half, 20 feet 5 inches to the piers + 8 feet 3 inches (average) between the piers and the wall. Total length of south transept, 60 feet 1 inch. This transept is not set out so regularly as the rest of the excavation.

Luca, 1600, with an incomplete inscription and five crosses above. The length of the principal line is 2 feet $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches. On the opposite wall of the staircase, on one of many stones diapered over with crosses (near the foot of the stairs), are a few Armenian letters. I know nothing of Armenian, but give a facsimile (Fig. 4) for what it may be worth. I searched in

FIG. 4.



vain for the graffito reported on the column of the Virgin's Vaults.

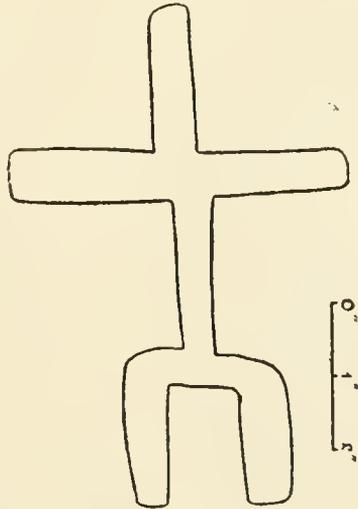
P. 151, line 14. For "bases" read "capitals." The bases of these columns are Byzantine capitals derived from those of the Corinthian order. The stems are ugly modern (?) twisted shafts, without any sort of merit.

P. 271. The small "doorway either built of stone or hewn out of the rock, with mouldings," is the door of an ordinary rock tomb with *arcosolia*, on the west side of the road leading to the "Tombs of the Judges." It is entirely hewn from the rock. There is a large and conspicuous cross in the tympanum over the door.

With regard to the tomb figured on this page, I have to observe that it is well known to me, and that I have often visited it. It is the last of the series of tombs immediately by the east side of the road leading from Jerusalem to the "Tombs

of the Judges." I cannot persuade myself that the scarped rock-walls in which the present entrance-door is cut, ever enclosed a covered chamber, or that the north and west walls of such a chamber ever had any existence. There are no fractures in the existing rock surfaces denoting the positions of former walls or roof. It is merely a vestibule, such as is found in so many other tombs of this necropolis, formed to give a sufficient surface for the formation of the entrance-door. Nor can I follow M. Clermont-Ganneau in calling the trough in the south wall of this vestibule a converted arcosolium. It is only 5 feet long, and therefore could not have contained a body. It is simply the receiving vat of a small olive-press, the pressing vat of which is cut in the top of the rock-scarp. The long vertical channel joining the two is a curious and, so far as I know, unique feature. The tomb itself consisted of two chambers, the outer being a small porch; but the partition has been quarried away, and the whole obscured by plaster, which has been spread thickly on the wall in order to turn the cutting into a cistern. The tomb-chamber contains two kokim and two arcosolia. On the right-hand (south) side of the doorway, just under the level of the lintel, is a small cross of this pattern (Fig. 5).

FIG. 5.



P. 291. Dr. Bliss and I visited this cave, but we found that exploration is no longer possible. It has been annexed by tanners, and is filled with their apparatus and refuse from their work.

P. 423. The tombs in the Dominican Grounds, and also one or two in the Wady er-Rababi, show a place for the head and shoulders of the corpse. A downward step at the end of a kok-

grave, such as that figured on p. 424, is also found in the Wady er-Rababi.

P. 508. The "little cones of hard stone" are no doubt spindle-whorls. Many of these were found in the excavations.

P. 511. A miniature lamp, such as that figured on this page, exists in the Museum at Jerusalem. There is another in Jerusalem in private possession.

Pp. 345-380. This section, devoted to the "Tombs of the Prophets," was to me the most interesting in the whole book, and I compared it carefully with my own observations on the site. Unfortunately the plan adopted by the author is not correct; the two galleries are not concentric, but intersecting at the position of the second subsidiary chamber. The plan in Murray's Guide shows this with sufficient accuracy. The "change of direction," of which M. Clermont-Ganneau gives a special diagram (p. 361), is in reality the point of intersection between the two galleries. It is thus evident that the extra gallery, A, cannot be a completion of the circle, as suggested on p. 348.

The Russians, into whose hands the souterrain has fallen, have renewed the plaster and covered it with a hard brown varnish of some sort. This has the desired effect of preventing the addition of new graffiti, but it also obscures and renders partly illegible the delicate ancient inscriptions. No fragments of pottery are now to be found in the plaster; from the description the sherds collected by M. Clermont-Ganneau seem to be Roman.

There are 27 kokim in the main galleries: 16 in the east part of the first gallery, five between the subsidiary chambers, one between the second chamber and the intersection of the galleries, and five in the west part of the second gallery. There is no evidence for any additional kokim. The kokim in the second subsidiary chamber are correctly given in the plan reproduced in the "Archæological Researches," but there is an extra kok in the first chamber—wrongly developed in the plan given in Murray's Guide into an additional chamber.

The following are the inscriptions as they now exist:—

1. Cross—not seen.

2. **ΑΡΠΑΓΙΣ**—identified: no cross.

Between 2 and 3. Illegible inscription—not seen.

3. **ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΣ** | **ΒΟΥΣΤΡΗΝΟΣ**—identified.

4, 5. Nothing visible.

6. **ONHCI**[alone visible. Traces of second line effaced by varnish.

7.]**A**[alone visible. Plaster restored. No cross.

8. **ΦΛΩΡΙΑΝΟC ACTATOC**—identified. I read the antepenultimate letter **T**, as the horizontal bar is carried behind the upright.

9. A large **A**, which looks old, at some height above the grave, alone visible. No cross.

10. Illegible remains of inscription traceable.

11. Nothing now visible. Plaster restored, and a graffito (to me unintelligible) deeply cut upon it.

12. Two lines of writing above this grave badly scratched and illegible. Probably that read **ΒΕΙΘΥ | ΝΙΚΗ**, though I cannot follow the reading. No inscription between 11 and 12.

13. Nothing.

14. A bewildering mass of graffiti, none legible.

15, 16. Nothing. The “**Π** above 15 or 16” not found with certainty ; there is something like it above 16.

(Here is the first subsidiary chamber)

17-21. Nothing. Crosses scratched here and there.

(Here is the second subsidiary chamber)

22. **ΓΕΛΑCΙΟΥ**—identified. The **C** is now broken. The marks interfering with the **A** have disappeared.

(Here the passages intersect. The remaining kokim are in the second passage)

Between 22 and 23. **ΛΙΔΑ**—identified. The cross-bar in the first letter is too faint to be part of the inscription.

23. (α) **ΔΙΑΦΟΡΙ**—not seen. (β) **ΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΙΤΕ** alone traceable ; the remainder effaced by varnish.

24. **ΘΑΡCΙ ΕΥΘΗΡΙ | ΟΥΔΕΙC ΑΘΑΝΑΤΟC**—identified.

25. The inscription read **ΕΙΡΙΝΗ** identified. To my eye it looks more like]**HPTYC**, but perhaps no two people would agree on any reading.

26. Nothing.

27. Large incised cross—identified.

The inscription]**ΔΩΡΟC**, &c., I could not find.

There is a peculiar arched recess which I have not seen alluded to in any description of the souterrain that I have read. It is on the south wall of the second gallery, between the long central

gallery and the continuation of the first gallery. An accurate plan of the "Tombs of the Prophets" is still a desideratum.

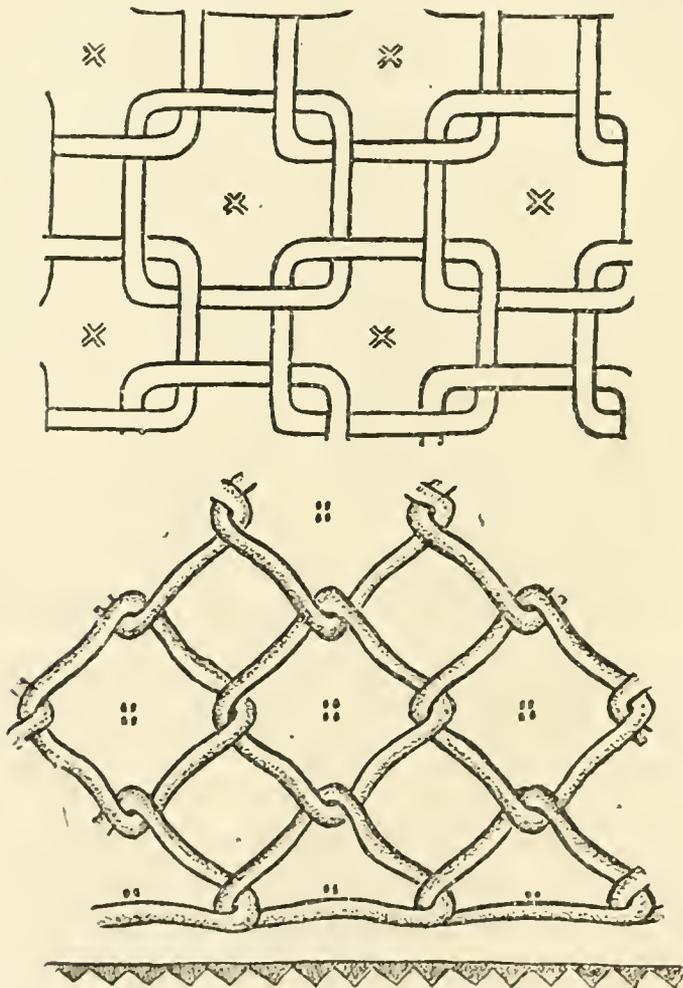
It is convenient here to mention the following small points:—

The mason's mark 23-14 occurs on a stone in the upper part of the staircase in David's tower. It shows diagonal dressing.

One step in the staircase of David's tower is formed of the base of a small pair of Gothic engaged columns, and shows characteristic moulding at the corner.

III.—MOSAICS FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES.

The accompanying sketch shows the design of two small fragments of mosaic recently found on the top of the Mount of Olives, or rather of the col connecting it with the summit



Mosaic on the Mount of Olives, Jerusalem.

of *Jebel Batn el-Hawa*. The fragments are about a foot or so underground, and are just above the enclosure in which lies the entrance to the "Tombs of the Prophets."

The first fragment is coloured black on white. The second has the following scheme:—Ground, and portions of triangles and lozenges not shaded in the diagram, white; shaded portions of triangles and lozenges, blue and purple alternately; dots, also border, purple.

AMPHORA HANDLES, WITH GREEK STAMPS, FROM TELL SANDAHANNAH.

By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A.

THE following tabular list contains the material necessary for a discussion of the jar-handles with Greek stamps, recently found at Tell Sandahannah, together with a few (indicated in the catalogue by ||) from Tell ej-Judeidch. Some were found in the excavations, but the large majority were picked up on the surface of the Tell. The only examples of this type of handles known to me to have previously been found in Palestine are two reported in Professor Clermont-Ganneau's "Archæological Researches," vol. ii, and one or two found in the excavations at Jerusalem.

Without access to catalogues of similar collections from other places, it would be impossible to enter into a complete analysis of these inscriptions. Indeed, it may be questioned whether such an investigation would be germane to the purposes of the Palestine Exploration Fund, as the connection of these jar-handles with Palestine is accidental only. They belonged to jars containing wine exported from Rhodes to the city now represented by Tell Sandahannah, and might just as well have been despatched to, and discovered in, any other country with which the Rhodian merchants had dealings. A few words therefore are alone necessary to explain the principles followed in the catalogue.

On Plate I¹ is shown an almost perfect amphora bearing seals on its handles, which fortunately was found in the Tell Sandahannah excavation. This may be taken as a type of the vessels distinguished by these stamps. Plate II¹ gives a selection of the most representative seals, showing varieties of devices, types of

¹ See *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1901.

lettering, &c. At the top of the same plate is a series of alphabets, by aid of which an approximate representation of the seal can be reconstructed when no drawing has been furnished; the last column in the catalogue gives the necessary reference to the alphabet to be selected. It should be noticed that Alphabet VII has no real existence as an alphabet, being composed of abnormal forms that occur once or twice only; and that when alternative forms are given for a letter in any alphabet, the first is always to be selected unless the second be specified (in this form— ω VII²).

The following symbols are affixed to the current numbers: *, to denote that the seal indicated was found in duplicate; †, when two seals are similar, but not impressed from the same stamp—the difference usually lying in varying width of interspaces of letters, or such minor points, but no seals have been suppressed from the catalogue as being duplicates unless complete identity was demonstrated; ‡, when an illustration of the seal is given on Plate II (reference to the illustration will be found in the last column); ||, when the seal comes from Tell ej-Judeideh.

The particulars given of the shape and size of seals will enable investigators to identify duplicates in other collections, and thereby point conclusions as to the range of the trade of Rhodes at different periods. The seals are generally either rectangular or oval (sometimes circular). One (241) is lozenge-shaped. The device in the majority of cases is either the rose or the Helios-head, both emblematic of Rhodes. When the inscription surrounds the device on an oval seal the bottoms of the letters are almost always turned towards the device; when the contrary happens to be the case, the words "reading outwards" are added in the sixth column of the catalogue.

No pains have been spared to secure accuracy in the transcripts of the inscriptions. The entire series has been examined microscopically three times over, each letter being considered separately in cases of doubt. Restored letters are added in brackets; when a doubt exists as to the reading a query is added. When, by measurement or otherwise, the number of letters lost from a lacuna can be approximately estimated, the absent characters are indicated by a like number of asterisks. Reference to the column headed "Condition of Seal" will always determine the reason for the existence of a lacuna. The inscriptions are arranged, so far as possible, in the alphabetical order of the proper names they contain (1-226). A small class of three, which seem to bear

the names of months only, follows¹ (227–229). Of the remainder, 230–293 consist of those which, from the loss of initial letters, cannot be reduced to alphabetical order; they are given in the diminishing order of the number of letters remaining or to be restored with certainty in the inscription; and 294–306 contain those added to the list since the catalogue was drawn up.

The inscriptions consist invariably of a proper name in the genitive case, preceded or not by *ἐπί*, and usually followed by the name of a month. The precise significance of this formula is still a matter of contention among specialists. The inscriptions are printed in lines exactly as they appear in the originals; the only alteration I have introduced being the division into words.

A few special points may be noted in individual handles, such as the back-to-back arrangement of the letters in 6, 130, 214, the boustrophedon inscription 58, and the inversion of the A in 254: the inversion of the formula (month preceding name) in 16, 110, 154, the addition of the word ΜΗΝΟΣ in 53: the spelling ΒΑΤΡΟΜΙΟΥ in 60: the specification of the names in 63, 135, 195, 238, 257, 258 (possibly also 248), as being those of “priests” (ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ, *sic*, never ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ or ΕΦ’ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ). Epigraphically, perhaps the most interesting detail is the Θ -shaped *theta* in 93. Also of interest is the gradual degradation of a blazing torch into a Φ -like figure in the seals inscribed ΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ (*see* Figs. 38, 39, 40, in Plate II); in fact I believe it has actually been read as Φ in the publication of an example of the type of Fig. 40 found elsewhere.

A few handles have subsidiary seals bearing a symbol, possibly referring to the quality of the wine—this is merely a guess. These are shown in Plate II, Figs. 55, 56, 57. These belong respectively to Nos. 17, 197, and 217. Fig. 53 is of similar type, but is not accompanied by an inscription, and has therefore no place in the catalogue.

¹ These examples are rather doubtful. From the stamps inscribed ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ a second line seems to have been intentionally erased—in one, faint traces appear in the seal suggesting this. The seal here read ΕΠΙ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ is very badly executed and possibly is to be read thus—

ΕΠΙ []
ΑΡΤΑΜΙ
ΤΙΟΥ

a name being lost in the upper line. On the other hand, it is possible to read No. 162 “ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ,” the inscription running continuously on an endless band, but, as the interspace before the M is longer than the others, I have preferred the reading given in the catalogue.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
1	Rectangular..	..	Badly stamped, end broken off.	.. .. .
2	.. ..	× 1·5	End broken off .. ..	.. .. .
3	.. ..	× 1·6	Chipped, much worn, end broken off.	.. .. .
4	.. ..	3·2 × 1	Much worn .. .. .	.. .. .
5	.. ..	3·9 × 1·5	Perfect .. .. .	.. .. .
6	.. ..	3·25 × 1·5	Badly stamped .. ..	.. .. .
7†	Oval	3·2 × 2·8	Perfect	Rose
8†	Rectangular..	3·1 × 1·4	.. .. .	Helios head ..
9	.. ..	3·05 × 1·65	Faint	Dotted square ..
10	.. ..	× 1·65	Badly stamped .. ..	.. .. .
11†	.. ..	3·5 × 1·4	Indistinct	Cornucopia ..
12	.. ..	× 1·9	End broken off .. ..	.. .. .
13	.. ..	4·6 × 1·45	Second line flaked .. ..	.. .. .
14	.. ..	3·25 ×	Bottom flaked off .. ..	.. .. .
15	Oval	2·85 × 2·6	Worn	Rose
16	Rectangular..	4·6 × 1·3	.. .. .	.. .. .
17	Circular ..	2·75 diam.	Slightly disintegrated ..	Rose
18	Rectangular..	× 1·3	Beginning broken off, middle smeared.	.. .. .

¹ A seal bearing this name has been found at Pergamon.

‡ From similar, but not identical, stamps. || From Tell ej-Judeidah.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
.. .. .	Ε]ΠΙ ΑΓ[] ΠΠ[P ?]	II.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ Α[ΚΑΡ[ΝΕΙΟΥ	III.
.. .. .	ΑΓΑ * ΝΘΕ[	Doubtful; reading uncertain.
.. .. .	[ΑΓΑΘΙΤΟΔ?] ΟΡΟΣ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ	I, minute lettering.
.. .. .	ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΥΣ ¹	I; θ, ο IV.
.. .. .	ΛΟΙΘΝ[ΙΩΣ] ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΥΣ	IV.
Surrounding ..	ΑΓΗΜΟΝΟΣ	See Fig. 1.
To right	ΕΠΙ ΑΓΑΟΥ ΜΒΡΟΥ	See Fig. 2.
Inside	ΑΓΟΡΑΝΑΚΤΟ ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΥ	IV.
.. .. .	ΑΕΝ[Τ?] ΕΙ[Ε ?]	I, large letters. N reversed.
To left	ΑΘΑΝΟ ΔΟΥ	See Fig. 3.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΓ[ΣΜΙC[²	III; α, μ, σ VII.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΙΣΧΙΝΑ ΥΑΚ]ΙΝΘΙΟΥ	V.
.. .. .	ΑΚΤΑΡΩ ΝΟΣ []	I, lettering crooked.
Surrounding ..	ΑΛΑΝΙΚΟΥ	I; ο, IV.
.. .. .	ΔΑΛΙΟΥ ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ	I.
Surrounding ..	ΕΠΙ ΑΛΕΞΙΜΑΧΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΜΤΟΥ (<i>sic</i>)	VI.
.. .. .	[Ε]ΠΙ [ΑΛΦ?] . . . ΟΣ [Υ]ΑΚΙΝ[ΘΙΟΥ]	I.

² Probably ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ: but the letter after I, which is fractured, is curved like C, and, if N, must have been of peculiar form.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
19	Rectangular..	× 1·2	End broken off .. ..	.. ..
20†	„ ..	3·5 × 1·5	Beginning badly stamped ..	Wreath.. ..
21	„ ..	3·3 × 1·2	Worn and faint .. ..	.. ..
22	„ ..	5·1 × 1·5	Chipped .. ..	.. ..
23	„ ..	3·9 × 2	Top smeared slightly ..	.. ..
24	Oval	3·3 × 2·7	Smeared and worn	Rose
25	Rectangular..	3·6 × 1·8	Badly stamped.. ..	.. ..
26†	Oval	2·9 × 2·45	Worn	Rose
27	Rectangular..	3·2 × 2	Top line battered .. ..	.. ..
28	„ ..	2·3 ×	Bottom badly stamped ..	.. ..
29	„ ..	× 1·5	Beginning broken off ..	.. ..
30	„ ..	4·6 × 1·55	End smeared and worn ..	.. ..
31†	„ ..	2·65 × 1·8	Perfect .. ..	.. ..
32	„ ..	3·4 × 1·2	Much worn	Helios head ..
33	Oval .. ..	..	Badly stamped	Rose
34	Rectangular..	..	„ .. ..	.. ..
35	„ ..	3·6 × 1·55	Worn .. ..	.. ..

‡ From similar, but not identical, stamps. || From Tell ej-Judeideh.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
.. .. .	AMTN[	I; α II.
Device in a dovetail tag at right end of seal.	[A]MNTA	<i>See Fig. 4.</i>
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΝ**ΙΛΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ	I?
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΝΑΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΜΟ[Υ] ΔΕΥ[ΤΕΡΟΥ]	I; δ III, ο IV.
A stroke under MI in second line.	ΕΠΙ ΑΝΔΡΙΑ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ	IV; α VII, ε VI.
Surrounding ..	ΕΠΙ ΑΝΔΡΟΝΙΚΟΥ ΔΑΔΙΟΥ	I; δ III.
.. .. .	[ΑΝΘ]ΙΣ ΟΔΩΜΟΥ ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ	VI; ο I.
Surrounding ..	ΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΥ	<i>See Plate I.</i>
.. .. .	[ΑΝΥΧ?]ΑΡΟΣ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ	I; ο II.
.. .. .	ΑΠΟΛΛΟ []	IV.
.. .. .	[ΕΠ]Ι ΑΡΑΤΟΦΑ ΝΕΥΣ ¹	I; ο IV.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΗ** ΤΙΔΑ***	VI reversed and carelessly written.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙ ΕΥΦΡΟ	<i>See Fig. 5.</i>
To right	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙ ΜΝ[Α?]**	I?
Surrounding ..	ΑΡΙΣ*****ΜΟΥ	I reversed.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤ***** []	I.
.. .. .	ΑΡΙΣΤ**ΟΣ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΥ	I.

¹ A seal with this name has been found in Cyprus.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
36	Rectangular ..	× 1·2	Badly stamped .. ..	.. ..
37	„ ..	..	Top and end chipped .. ..	.. ..
38	Circular ..	2·8 diam.	Worn and slightly flaked ..	Rose
39*†	Rectangular ..	3·8 × 1·5	Worn	Stars
40	„ ..	× 1·45	Worn; end broken off ..	.. ..
41	Oval	3·1 × 2·9	Much worn	Rose
42†	Rectangular ..	3·5 × 1·5	Perfect .. ..	.. ..
43†	„ ..	2·7 × 1·2	Worn .. ..	.. ..
44†	„ ..	× 1·3	End broken off .. ..	.. ..
45*†	„ ..	3·3 × 1·4	Perfect .. ..	.. ..
46†	„ ..	2·85 × 1·6	„ .. ..	.. ..
47†	„ ..	3·8 × 1·65	Slightly fractured .. ..	.. ..
48†	Oval	× 3·1	Badly stamped and sealed ..	Helios head ..
49	Rectangular ..	4·65 × 2	Badly stamped and smeared ..	.. ..
50†	Oval	3 × 2·8	Perfect	Rose
51†	„	3 × 2·8	Slightly flaked	„
52	Rectangular ..	4·5 × 1·45	Badly stamped and worn ..	.. ..
53†	Oval	2·55 × 2·3	Slightly smeared	Star
54	Rectangular ..	3·8 × 1·6	Perfect .. ..	.. ..

From similar, but not identical, stamps. From Tell ej-Judeidah.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
.. .. .	ΑΡΙCΤ[Α	IV reversed.
.. .. .	ΑΡΙCΤΑ[	IV.
Surrounding (reading outwards).	ΕΠ[Ι Α]ΡΙCΤΑΚΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ	I; o II.
Stars in the corners of the seal.	Α ΑΡΙCΤΑΡΧΟΥ ¹ Σ	See Fig. 6.
.. .. .	ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙ[ΟΥ ΑΡΙCΤΕ[	IV.
Surrounding ..	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙCΤΙ * * Φ * ΙΔ[ΟΥ ΣΜ]ΙΝΘΙΟΥ	I?
.. .. .	ΑΡΙCΤΙΩΝΟC	I.
.. .. .	ΑΡΙCΤΙΩΝΟC	I, minute lettering.
.. .. .	ΑΡΙCΤΙΩΝΟC	VI.
.. .. .	ΑΡΙCΤΙΩΝΟC	I; o IV.
.. .. .	ΑΡΙCΤΙΩΝΟC	I, minute lettering.
.. .. .	ΑΡΙCΤΙΩΝΟC	I; o IV.
Surrounding ..	ΕΠΙ [ΑΡΙC ΤΟΓΕΝΕΥC ΠΑΝ[ΑΜΟΥ]	See Fig. 8.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙC[ΤΟ] ΓΕΝΕΥC ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ	VI carelessly executed.
Surrounding ..	ΑΡΙCΤΟΚΛΕΥC	I.
.. .. .	ΑΡΙCΤΟΚΛΕΥC	I.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙCΤΟ[^{ΜΒΗ} ^{ΝΚΡ} Τ] Π]ΙΔΑ ΠΑΝΑΜ[ΟΥ]	I; o IV, but larger.
Surrounding ..	[ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙ]CΤΟΦΑΝΕΥC ΜΗΝΟC ΑΡΤΑΜ[ΙΤΙΟΥ	See Fig. 9.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙ CΤΩΝΟC ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΥ	II with finials.

¹ I do not understand the Α—Σ above and below the name.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
55	Oval	2·9 × 2·7	Much worn and chipped	Rose
56	Rectangular ..	3·45 × 1·3	Perfect .. .. .	.. .. .
57	„	3·4 × 1·25	.. .. .	.. .. .
58†	„	3·9 × 1·5	Top badly stamped and chipped.	.. .. .
59	Oval	3·35 × 2·9	Chipped and flaked	Rose
60	Rectangular ..	3·65 × 1·55	Worn .. .. .	.. .. .
61†	Oval	3·25 × 2·9	Perfect	Rose
62	Rectangular ..	3·9 × 1·5	Slightly worn .. .. .	.. .. .
63†	Oval	2·55 × 2·25	Perfect	Rose
64†	Circular	2·7 diam.	Fractured and chipped	„
65	Rectangular ..	3·9 × 1·15	Perfect .. .. .	.. .. .
66	Circular	2·8 diam.	Slightly smeared	Rose
67	„	2·5 „	Lettering scratched	Helios head
68†	Oval .. ..	.. ..	Badly stamped – fragment only	(?)
69	Rectangular ..	2 × 1	Badly stamped at end .. ..	.. .. .
70†	„	3·7 × 1	Fractured and battered	Wreath
71††	„	3·55 × 1·4	Worn	„
72†	„	× 1·55	Worn, end broken off .. ..	.. .. .
73	Oval	3·6 × 2·85	Worn	Rose
74	„	3 × 2·4	Much worn, top flaked	„

‡ From similar, but not identical, stamps. || From Tell ej-Judeideh.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
Surrounding ..	[ΕΠΙ ΑΡ] ΜΟΣΙΑ [Α ¹]	I.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΡ ΜΟΣΙΑΑ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ	IV with finials; α V, s I.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΡ ΜΟΣΙΑΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ	IV with finials α V, s I.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ Α [ΡΤ ?] Ι ΜΟΥ ΥΟΙΛΑΔ	See Fig. 10.
Surrounding (reading outwards).	ΕΠΙ ΑΡ [ΧΕ] ΜΒΡ * * * ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ	I.
.. .. .	ΕΠ [Ι ΑΡ] ΧΙΔΑ ΜΟΥ ΒΑΤΡΟΜΙΟΥ	III carelessly written.
Surrounding ..	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΛΑΙΔΑ ΔΙΟΣΘΟΥ	See Fig. 12.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΧΙΛΑΙΔΑ ΤΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ	I; π III.
Surrounding ..	ΕΠ' ΙΕΡΕΩΣ [Α] ΡΧΟΚΡΑΤΕΣ	See Fig. 18.
.. .. .	Α $\overset{I}{C}$ $\overset{P}{P}$ * * * ΙΛΑ ΔΙΟ [C] ΘΟΥ	See Fig. 13; note φ-like θ.
.. .. .	ΑΤΤΑΛΟΥ	I; α VII, ο II [very small in comparison with other letters].
Surrounding ..	ΕΠΙ ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΕΣ ΘΕΣΜ [ΟΦΟΡΙΟ] Υ	VI; θ VII.
.. .. .	ΑΦΟΣ	I.
.. .. .	BION (anchor following)	See Fig. 11.
.. .. .	ΒΙΩC	IV reversed; ι I, ω VII.
To left ..	ΒΡΟΜΙΟΥ	I?
.. .. .	ΒΡΟΜΙΟΥ	See Fig. 14.
.. .. .	ΒΡΟΜΙ [ΟΥ]	I.
Surrounding ..	ΕΠΙ ΓΟΡΓΩΝΟΣ ΤΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ	II.
.. .. .	ΔΑ [ΜΟ] Κ [Α] ΕΤΣ	I.

¹ A seal with this name has been found in Telos.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal. in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
75	Oval .. ..	.. .. × 2·8	Worn, partly fractured	Rose
76 [†]	2·85 × 2·5	Badly stamped.. ..	.. ..
77 [†]	2·8 × 2·6	Worn .. ..	.. ..
78^{*†}	.. .. ..	2·9 × 2·8	Badly stamped .. ..	.. ..
79 [†]	Half broken away .. ..	.. ..
80	Rectangular ..	4·7 × 2·05	End worn .. ..	.. ..
81	.. .. ..	2·7 × 1·65	Perfect .. ..	.. ..
82	Oval	3·3 × 2·95	Much worn	Rose
83	Rectangular ..	4·5 × 1·45	Slightly abraded .. ..	.. ..
84	.. .. ..	4·2 × 1·8	Worn and flaked .. ..	.. ..
85 [†] × 1·5	Beginning broken off	Square frame
86	.. .. ..	.. .. × 1·3	End broken off .. ..	.. ..
87	.. .. ..	3·2 × 0·9	Perfect .. ..	.. ..
88	.. .. ..	3·7 × 1·3	Worn	Uncertain
89	.. .. ..	3·55 × ..	Bottom badly stamped .. ..	.. ..
90 [†]	Slightly worn	Helios head
91^{*††}	.. .. ..	4·65 × 1·7	Worn and battered	Anchor
92 [†]	5·1 × 1·45	Worn .. ..	.. ..
93 [†]	3·8 × 1·6	Perfect .. ..	.. ..
94	Oval .. ..	.. .. × 2·7	Half broken away	Rose

‡ From similar, but not identical, stamps. || From Tell ej-Judeidch.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
Surrounding ..	[ΕΠΙ] ΔΑΜΟΚΛΕΤΣ ΑΡΤΑΜ[ΙΤΙΟΥ]	I.
" ..	ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΤΣ	I; <i>o</i> IV.
" ..	ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΤΣ	I.
" ..	ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΕΤΣ	I; <i>o</i> IV.
" ..	Δ[ΑΜΟΚΡΑΤΕ]ΤΣ	I.
.. ..	ΕΠΙ ΔΑΜΟΚΡΑ ΤΕΤΣ ΣΜΙΝΘΙ[ΟΥ]	VIII.
.. ..	ΕΠΙ ΔΑ ΝΜΟΝΟΣ	V; μ straight sided, horizontal bars of <i>s</i> diverging.
Surrounding (reading outward).	ΔΑΣΟΦΙΛΟΥ	III; <i>s</i> I.
.. ..	ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ	IV; δ VII.
.. ..	ΔΙΟΚΛ[ΗΣ]	V.
Inside	ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΑΡΤΑΜΙ	See Fig. 15.
.. ..	ΔΙΟΚ[ΛΗΣ] ΣΜΙΝ[ΘΙΟΥ]	Similar to 86.
.. ..	ΔΙΟΥ	I; right bar of δ projects as in VII, but is straight and finialled.
To right	ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟΥ	I carelessly written.
.. ..	ΔΙΣΚΟΥ []	IV; <i>s</i> IV ² .
To left	ΔΙΣΚΟΥ	See Fig. 55.
Above	ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΙΔΑ	See Fig. 16.
"	ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΙΔΑ	Similar to 91.
.. ..	ΔΩΡΟΘΕΟΥ	See Fig. 17; note ϕ -shaped θ .
Surrounding ..	ΕΝ ^{ΑΛ} Μ ΑΝ[. . .]	VI.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
95	Rectangular..	1·7 × 0·7	Perfect .. .. .	.. .. .
96	„ ..	2·6 × 1·2	Badly stamped.. .. .	Helios head on stand.
97	„ ..	4·1 × 1·55	Perfect .. .. .	.. .. .
98*††	„ ..	3·8 × 1·75	.. .. .	Caduceus ..
99*†	„ ..	4·4 × 1·7	Very badly stamped	Caduceus ..
100	„ ..	3·15 × 1·3	Stamp slipped .. .. .	.. .. .
101	Oval	2·7 × 2·5	Stamp slipped slightly	Rose
102†	Circular	2·35 diam.	Lettering slightly chipped	Rosette
103	Oval .. ..	..	Badly stamped and disintegrated.	Rose
104	Rectangular..	2·75 × 1·7	Rather worn .. .. .	.. .. .
105†	Oval	3·05 × 2·6	Much worn	Helios head ..
106††	„	3·4 × 2·9	Slightly worn	„
107	„	3 × 2·7	Chipped	Rose
108	Rectangular..	3 × 1·7	„ .. .. .	.. .. .
109	„	× 2·5	End broken off .. .. .	.. .. .
110†	„	× 1·65	„ „	Rose
111	Oval	3·2 × 2·9	Much worn	„
112	„	× 2·55	Centre and most of edge flaked away.	(?)

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
113†	Rectangular ..	3·5 × 1·5	Slightly chipped .. ..	.. ..
114*†	.. ..	3·6 × 1·5	Stamp slightly slipped .. ..	.. ..
115	.. ..	3·15 × 1·05	Chipped and worn .. ..	.. ..
116	.. ..	4·55 × 1·6	Slightly rubbed .. ..	.. ..
117	.. ..	.. × 1·5	End broken off .. ..	.. ..
118*	.. ..	4·75 × 1·5	End worn	Square frame ..
119†	.. ..	3·8 × 1·4	Worn	Star
120	.. ..	3·6 × 1·7	End fractured .. ..	.. ..
121†||	.. ..	.. × 1·55	Badly stamped and fractured	Bull's head ..
122*	.. ..	4 × 1·65	Slightly worn	Caduceus ..
123	.. ..	.. × 1·5	Very faint, and fractured .. ..	.. ..
124†	Oval .. ..	.. × 3	Worn, flaked, and fractured ..	Rose
125*†	Circular	2·8 diam.	Slightly smeared on edge .. ..	.. ..
126	Rectangular ..	4·5 × 1·3	Slightly worn	Sprig of plant ..
127	.. ..	..	Badly stamped, end broken off.	.. ..
128	Circular	2·55 diam.	Flaked	Rose

From similar, but not identical, stamps. | From Tell ej-Judeidah.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΘΑΡΣΙΠΟΛΙΟΣ ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΥ	See Fig. 7.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΘΑΡΣΙΠΟΛΙΟΣ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥ	See Fig. 22.
.. .. .	Θ[ΕΚ?]Α**ΝΑΡΟΣ [ΑΓΡ]ΙΑΝΙΟΥ	VI.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΘΕΡΣΑΝ ΔΡΟΥ ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ	V, carelessly written; horizontal of α straight and uprights of μ vertical.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ [Θ?]ΕΣΤ[[ΚΑ]ΡΝΕΙΟΥ]	I; the "θ" a blind point, possibly a mere word-separator.
Inside	ΙΑΣΟΝΟΣ	I.
To left	ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΥ ΙΕΡΟΚΛΗ	See Fig. 50.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΙΕΡΟΝΟ[Σ] ΔΑ[ΛΙΟΥ]	II.
Device in centre of lower line.	+ ΙΑΝΘΕΥ[ΜΟΡ—[ΟΝ?	See Fig. 51.
Above	ΙΜΑ ¹	See Fig. 24.
.. .. .	ΙΝΥ[ΠΑΝΑΜ[ΟΥ]	II? reverse.
Surrounding ..	ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΕΥ[Σ]	I, small letters.
" ..	ΙΠΠΟΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ	I, large letters.
To left	ΙΣΙΔΩΡΟΥ	I.
.. .. .	ΙΣΝ[Δ[ΛΙΝ[Α?	VI reversed.
Surrounding ..	Κ*****ΛΛΙ***	I.

¹ A seal bearing this name has been found at Pergamon.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
129	Rectangular ..	1 × 0·65	Perfect .. .. .	.. .. .
130†	„ ..	3·1 × 1·3	Worn .. .. .	.. .. .
131	„ ..	3·8 × 1·7	„ .. .. .	.. .. .
132	„ ..	4 × 1·65	Stamp slipped	Stars
133†	„ ..	1·35 × 0·9	Perfect .. .. .	.. .. .
134†	„ ..	2·8 × 1·7	„	Helios head ..
135	Oval	2·9 × 2·5	Worn	Rose
136	Circular ..	2·7 diam.	Fractured and flaked ..	.. .. .
137	Rectangular ..	× 1·6	End broken off .. ..	.. .. .
138	„ ..	3·25 × 1·4	Worn, end broken off..	Helios head ..
139†	Oval	2·65 × 2·4	Worn	Rose
140	Rectangular ..	4 × 1·6	Worn and flaked .. ..	.. .. .
141	„ ..	2·6 ×	Bottom flaked .. ..	.. .. .
142†	„ ..	3·2 × 1	Bottom badly stamped	.. .. .
143†	„ ..	2·9 × 1·2	Perfect .. .. .	.. .. .
144†	„ ..	× 1·2	Badly stamped.. ..	.. .. .
145	„ ..	2·4 × 1·25	Worn .. .. .	.. .. .

(To be

From similar, but not identical, stamps. || From Tell ej-Judeidch.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
.. .. .	KA	IV reversed.
.. .. .	VVIIVV [no room for the E of EΠI] ΠΙΚΑΛΛΙΚ	See Fig. 23.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ	III, very minute lettering.
Stars in corners of seal, as in Fig. 6	ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΣ	III.
.. .. .	ΚΛΕΑΝ ΑΚΤΟΥ	See Fig. 25.
To right; all inside square frame.	ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕ ΑΡΧΟΥ	See Fig. 48.
Surrounding ..	ΕΠ' ΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΚΛΕΑΡΧΟΥ	VIII reversed.
.. .. .	[Κ]ΛΕΙΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ	IV; ε, VI.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΚΛ[ΕΙΤ] ΟΜΑΧΟ[Υ] ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟ[Υ]	VI, π VII.
To right ..	ΕΠΙ ΚΛΕ ΩΝΥΜΟ[Υ]	VIII.
Surrounding ..	ΚΟ $\frac{\Sigma A}{\Lambda}$ ΟΣ	See Fig. 26.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΚΡΑΤΙΔΑ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ	I.
.. .. .	ΚΡΕΟΝ ΤΟ[Σ]	IV; ο I; large coarse letters.
.. .. .	ΚΡΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ	IV; ο I.
.. .. .	ΚΡΕΟΝΤΟΣ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ	IV; ο I.
.. .. .	[ΕΠ]Ι ΚΥΔΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙ	See Fig. 27.
.. .. .	ΛΕΦ * * * ΟΥ ΑΡ[Υ?] * * *	VI.

continued.)

EXPLORATION OF THE WÂDY MÔJIB FROM THE DEAD SEA.

By the Rev. PUTNAM CADY.

In an article on "The Dead Sea," published in the *Quarterly Statement* of July last, the author, Gray Hill, Esq., says that a careful examination and good photographs of the east coast would be interesting. He warns against the attempt, however, until the Dead Sea is provided with a suitable steamer or a properly equipped sailing vessel.

In February, 1898, I made this voyage in what I believe to be the smallest boat that ever sailed those waters. I also secured photographs of this east shore and of the Wâdy Môjib (Arnon). I have inquired and read diligently, and cannot find that the Arnon has been explored since Lieutenant Lynch's expedition in 1848. Neither is there record that Lynch or anyone else has ever followed the river up as far as it is possible to go from the Dead Sea. The fact that I did this and secured the only photographs that have ever been taken there or along the east coast, is my excuse for this article and the accompanying illustrations.

My boat was 12 feet long, with a flat bottom and square stern, a mere skiff made of thin wood and poorly constructed. I engaged two men to accompany me, and when we settled into our places there was little room for provisions and the tin of water. Our small tent was left behind.

We started from the mouth of the Jordan on the morning of February 9th. As the boat was not built for speed our progress was slow, and we kept close to the shore for safety's sake. Lieutenant Lynch gives no detailed account of the coast from the Jordan to the Zerka Mâ'ain (Callirrhoe). A short description, especially with reference to landing places, may be of some value to future explorers.

Leaving the Jordan at 6.50, we followed the north shore toward the Moab mountains. Landing is easy anywhere along the broad beach. We passed many trees of considerable size standing out in the water 60 feet from the shore. They were encrusted with salt and looked ghastly in the early light. At 8.30 we passed the first of the series of headlands on the Moab



CALLIRRHÖE RIVER (W. ZERKA M'AAÏN) ENTERING THE DEAD SEA,
SHOWING TREES GROWING IN THE SEA AND CONCEALING THE
ENTRANCE OF THE RIVER.



MOUTH OF THE RIVER ARNON (WÂDY MÔJIB).

(From Photographs by Rev. Patnam Cady.)

shore. They extend out several hundred yards and are about half a mile apart. Between are beautiful coves with clean gravel beaches along which we towed our boat. At 9.15 we passed a good stream of sweet water. Along the shore we found pieces of pure sulphur as large as one's fist, and lumps of bitumen as large as a man's head. They burned like tar when thrown into our fire at night. At 10 we first noticed a strong current setting toward the north. This we observed all the way down the coast. At 10.30 we passed a deep and wild wâdy, in which were many palm trees. From this point to the Arnon the cliffs come close to the water's edge, and there are few landing places. At 11 we came to a large wâdy with a long and broad beach. A stream flows into the sea. The water tasted slightly of sulphur, but we readily drank it. In half an hour we passed a gorge in which were palm trees clinging to the rocks at different inaccessible heights. The cliffs now appeared in most beautiful and brilliant colours—red, white, yellow, green, and black. We saw many streams of hot water flowing down the mountains. From several the steam arose in clouds so that we could trace their course far up the cliffs. Oil poured out from the rocks and covered considerable areas of the sea. Instead of falling from the oars in drops, the water fell in filmy sheets as if it were pure oil. At 1.15 we passed a good landing, and at 2.30 reached the Callirrhoe. From this point to the Arnon the coast has been sufficiently described by Lynch. Between these streams I noted but four landing places. Of course if the sea were smooth, one could climb out upon the rocks at many points. But I am speaking of places where it is possible to pull the boat out of the reach of breakers and to camp.

We reached the Arnon at noon on the second day. This river enters the sea through a chasm whose cliffs tower up to a great height. My photograph will give a better idea of its beauty and grandeur than words can picture. The rock is of rich red sandstone, and is worn into fantastic shapes. We spent some time in looking at the relief figures of eagles, wolves, elephants, &c., that were so distinct and accurate that we could scarcely persuade ourselves they were not the work of man. An immense delta extends out into the sea several hundred feet, and trees and bushes grow beyond this where the water is more than 5 feet deep. The chasm is about 100 feet wide, and runs east for 450 feet. Then it turns sharply to the south. We found the stream 40 feet wide

and 1 foot deep. It follows the north wall closely, so that it is impossible to ascend on that side; but there is a wide margin along the south side, although one must force his way through thick bushes and small trees. Just before reaching the sharp turn spoken of above, we had to climb and crawl over immense masses of rock. We hoped to be able to look around the angle, but when within a few feet of it were stopped by the precipitous shelving off of the rock into a deep pool that extends around the turn. From our position 30 feet above the surface we could look down into the clear depths and see many fishes, from 8 inches to 10 inches long, swimming about.

As I was wondering how I might be able to get around that turn and explore the unknown territory beyond, it occurred to me that my small boat might be made available. I returned to the shore and brought the craft to the mouth of the chasm. Just above this is a swift rapid, with the water tumbling over the rocks. Then comes the pool extending around the turn. We stripped ourselves for wading, and by much hard work succeeded in getting the boat into the pool. This was a somewhat dangerous thing to attempt, as the swift current pounded her against the rocks. If anything should happen to one's boat between the Arnon and Callirrhoe, it would be impossible to proceed along the coast. I think it would also be impracticable to climb the cliffs to the Moab tablelands. If there are passes, they are known only to the Bedouin.

My excitement was intense as I paddled around the turn and looked beyond. I discovered that the chasm immediately narrows to 14 feet, with the water rushing down furiously; 15 yards more and the wild rushing stream compelled us to get out of the boat and wade. Here the chasm was only 4 feet wide and the sky a strip of blue far above. For a long time we had heard the sound of falling water, and now the roar was deafening. We could scarcely carry on a conversation. Being confined to a narrow channel and coming down a steep descent, the water nearly knocked us off our feet, and the stones were sharp and unfriendly. We went on foot perhaps 20 yards when a wilder rush of the stream brought us to a stop. Leaning around an angle a glimpse was caught of falling water. No idea could be gained of its height, but from the sound it must be great. In summer it might be possible to reach the foot of this fall, but I doubt it. Then,

(From page 17.)



BOAT AND BAGGAGE ON CAMEL.



EASTERN SHORE OF THE DEAD SEA.

(From Photographs by Rev. Patnam Cady.)

too, who would risk a voyage on this Sea of Death under the burning rays of a midsummer sun?

By the facts I discovered I am led to correct several statements made by Lieutenant Lynch. He says that he "walked and waded up some distance and found the passage of the same uniform width, turning every 150 or 200 yards gradually to the south-east" ("Expedition to the Dead Sea and the Jordan," sixth edition, revised, p. 368). This statement proves that he never went up the river 150 yards. As I have shown, at that point it makes a sharp turn to the south and immediately narrows to 14 feet. Within 15 yards beyond this turn it narrows to 4 feet, and gradually turns again to the east. Twenty yards more and progress is stopped. These last measurements are only approximate, but they are not far out of the way. One may be pardoned for not being accurate in his observations when he has to fight every moment to maintain a foothold.

The fact that Lynch never went up the chasm far enough to look around the sharp turn is made certain also by his statement that he "walked and waded." The deep pool that extends away around the turn is hollowed out of the rock and must have been there 50 years ago. In some places it is so deep that my oar, supplemented with the length of my arm, could not touch bottom. The pool must have been even deeper when he explored the river, for his figures give a volume of water more than as large again than I found it. He tells us that he reached the Arnon at 5.25 p.m. and explored it that evening. From this also it is evident that his examination was superficial. Of course the supposition that it is impossible to descend the Arnon to the shore is correct.

A phenomenon on the Dead Sea that interested me may not be out of place here. On three successive nights at about 7.30, when no air was stirring, a heavy breaker would suddenly come pounding on the beach. After an interval another would come, and then a perfect bombardment would follow for an hour. Up to this time the sea would be perfectly quiet, and during and after it no air stirred. At the Callirrhoe I was lying on the beach asleep when the first breaker came in. At first I thought it was some wild beast crashing through the jungle. During the other nights we spent on the sea, the wind was blowing a gale, so that we could not tell whether it was a regular occurrence or not.

On the return journey we experienced the same dangers that have been met by all who have tried to explore the Dead Sea. In his article Mr. Hill says that he sailed during the night, as then the sea was calmer. I was driven to the same thing and rowed between the hours of one and four in the morning. Even then the sea was rough and we had to meet each wave just right to keep our boat afloat. Our faces and hands were sore from the water, our clothing stiff and greasy, and our shoes cracked and open. Safety compelled us to keep out from the shore to escape the counter-seas. Often the wind increased when no landing place was near, and we had narrow escapes. When we finally reached a beach the men jumped overboard just before we struck and kept the boat from dashing against the rocks, while I threw the provisions ashore and then leaped with the tin of water.

One morning I was aroused by a severe chill. Remembering that every expedition had suffered through sickness or death, I awoke the men and we started, hoping to reach the Jordan and escape from the Sea of Death. The wind increased, and at four o'clock the waves literally threw us upon the north shore. In an hour it commenced to rain, and great banks of cloud poured down over the Judean hills. The men went in search of a Bedouin camp and returned in an hour with a camel. Loading our baggage and boat on his back off we went through rain and mud to the tents. My experiences with Sheikh Kûftan of the Beni Sakhr tribe during the two days and nights that the storm kept me in his tent, and my journey overland opposite Jericho, ending in the loss of my boat before the camel carried it to the Jordan, would form a separate narrative.

If this little contribution to a better knowledge of the topography of the Moab shore and of the Wády Mójib is of any value, I shall feel repaid for my work. My devout wish is that the Sea of Death may be kinder to future explorers than it has been to my predecessors and to me.

AMSTERDAM, N.Y., U.S.A.,
September, 1900.

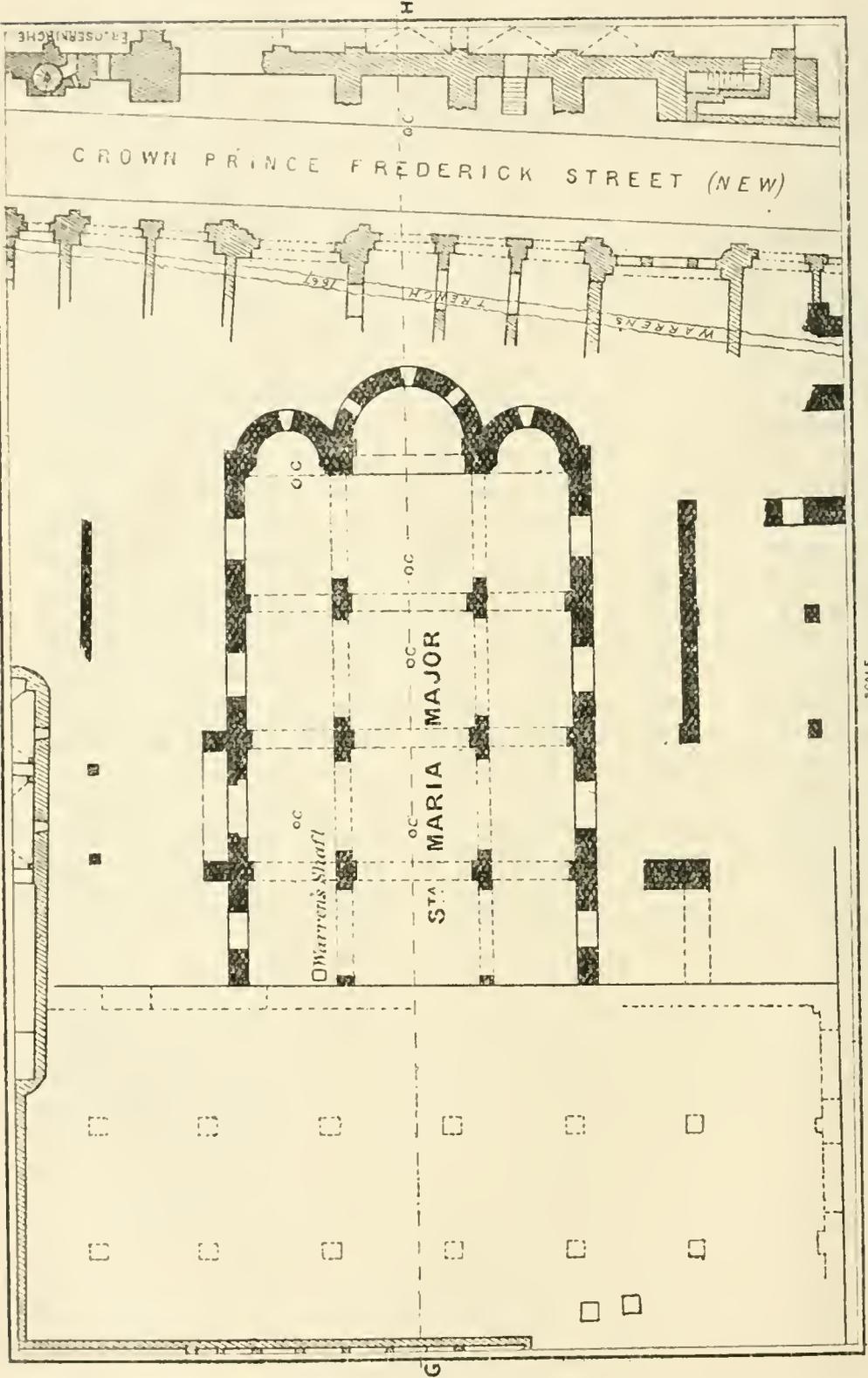
NOTE BY MAJOR-GENERAL SIR CHARLES WILSON.

The Rev. Putnam Cary, in his interesting account of a boat journey to Wâdy Môjib, mentions three points in connection with the Dead Sea which show how desirable it is that there should be a more complete study of that remarkable lake than we have at present.

(1) The strong current setting towards the north which was "observed all the way down the coast." It would be interesting to ascertain whether this is a constant current due to subterranean affluents; to unequal barometric pressure; or to wind action. In the first case the salinity of the water flowing north would probably be less than that of the water outside the current. (2) The oil which "poured out from the rocks and covered considerable areas of the sea," before reaching Callirrhoe. The nature of the oil, its exact source, and the conditions under which it exudes from the rock, deserve examination. Inflammable oil floating on the surface, if accidentally lighted, would produce the phenomena noticed by Mr. Gray Hill in 1899 (*Quarterly Statement*, 1900, p. 276). (3) The breaking of waves on the shore for about one hour, from 7.30 p.m., on three successive nights when no air was stirring. This may perhaps have been something in the nature of the *seiches*, or disturbances of level, to which the Lake of Geneva is subject. These disturbances are attributed, principally, to differences of barometric pressure in different parts of the lake. Unfortunately we do not know what the barometric pressure is at different points on the shore of the lake. That it is not the same at the two ends of the Dead Sea is probable, and the great uprush of heated air, said to be of daily occurrence, which I noticed at Tufileh, in Edom, seems to indicate that great changes of pressure take place after sunset. How far the sluggish water of the Dead Sea responds to differences of pressure and the influence of such differences on the less dense water on the surface at the north end of the lake are interesting subjects for inquiry. It may be long before a systematic examination of the lake can be undertaken, but meantime I hope we may have many more papers of such interest as that forwarded by Mr. Cary.

M. Clermont-Ganneau has drawn my attention to the remarks on the level of the Dead Sea in the early editions of Frère Liévin's "Guide to the Holy Land," and in the account of the Duc de Luynes's exploration of the lake in 1864. It appears that Frère Liévin walked to the island twice in 1860, that in 1861 the water was up to his horse's knees, and that after 1863 he was obliged to swim out to it. This indicates a slow, continuous rise of level, and seems to exclude the hypothesis of sudden volcanic action. M. Louis Lartet, the distinguished geologist who accompanied the Duc de Luynes, amongst other interesting remarks on recent variations of level, points out that very slight causes would produce great changes in the form and superficial extent of the lake. Amongst those causes he includes a succession of exceptionally dry or rainy seasons, the silt brought down by the Jordan and other affluents, and slight earth movements which escape detection.

NORTH



CHURCH OF STA. MARIA MAJOR IN MURISTAN, AS RESTORED BY DR. CONRAD SCHICK, FROM RECENTLY DISCOVERED REMAINS.

THE ANCIENT CHURCHES IN THE MURISTAN.¹

By Dr. CONRAD SCHICK.

IN "Notes and News" I have reported changes which are being made in the western part of the Muristan, which belongs to the Greek Convent. The buildings which are to be erected will hopelessly cover up whatever remains of ancient structures may exist beneath the present surface, and I send herewith a plan of a large church, restored from discoveries recently made, which once stood over the large cistern discovered by Sir Charles Warren in 1867.

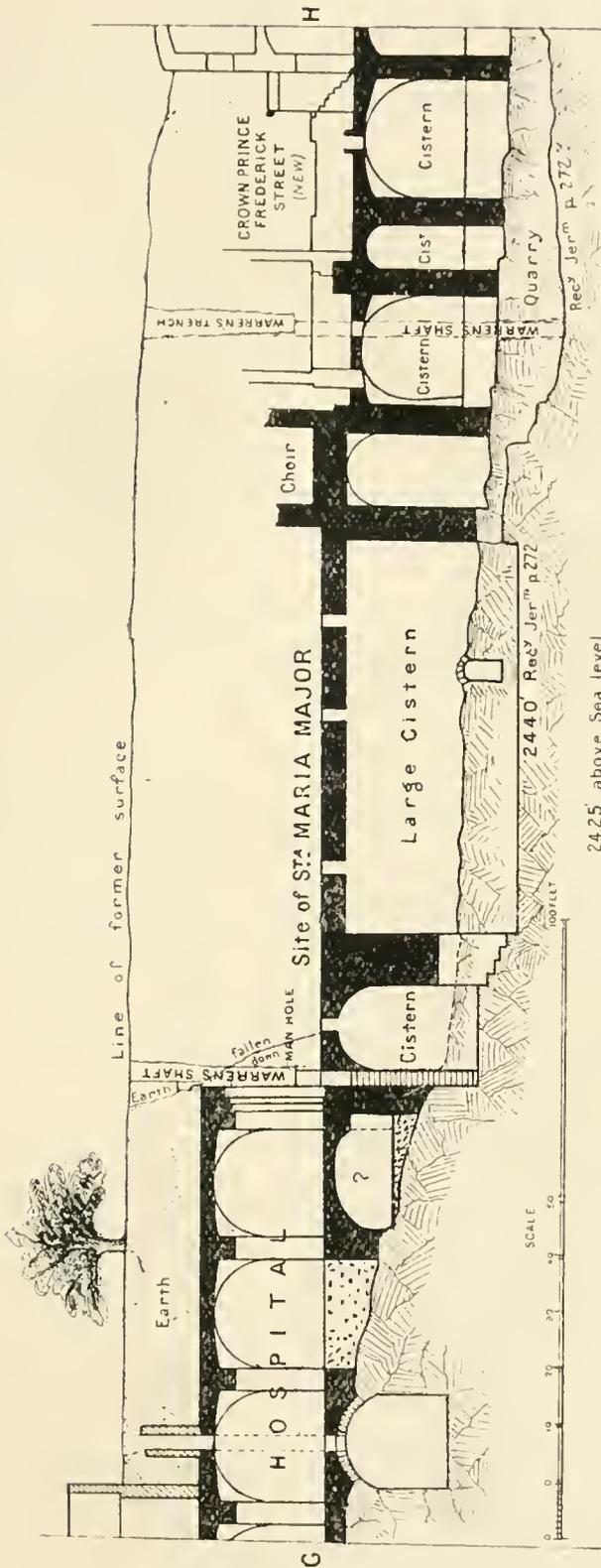
The place contained three churches, two of which have been known for a long time, and the third, or remains of it, were found by the excavations of the Greeks a few years ago. The eastern church, the latest built of the three, has now been rebuilt as the German "Erlöserkirche," and it is not necessary to describe it here. It was the Maria Latina minor, not major, as it has been hitherto considered.

The second or, as it is now proved, the Maria Latina major, was found 25 metres distant south-west of it, and just over the tanks Sir Charles Warren discovered in the year 1867, and described in "The Recovery of Jerusalem," p. 272. Of the southern (smaller) apse, as well as of the large or middle one, two courses of masonry had been preserved, whereas the northern apse had disappeared, and in its place a cistern mouth was found. There were also a few basements of the former piers still *in situ*, as also some parts of the walls, so that the plan of the church could be restored (*see* Plan). Several very fine large carved capitals were also found, not of pillars but of piers, and the best preserved of these may be still seen. Small marble pillars were on the edges of the apses *in situ*. The workmanship of all this was better than on the first mentioned church. In plan and size both churches were very nearly the same. Some other carved stones were also found, similar to those at the northern entrance of the Erlöserkirche, and at a spot indicating that also this church had an entrance at its north side. Under the northern side aisle cisterns were found,

¹ This is part of a larger essay by Dr. Schick on the Muristan and its history, which it is intended to publish subsequently.

but it was not so under the southern aisle, where there seems to have been a crypt in two stories, one above the other. A stair leading down into this crypt has not yet been found. As south of it new foundations were being dug, the workmen came upon a stone sarcophagus, the lid of which is gone, proving that also this part had been a crypt. As the Erlöserkirche and its predecessor had in the south-west corner a bell-tower, so it probably was here, as the very strong piers and the great masonry below (Sir C. Warren's southern little cistern) show.

The third church is the well known Mar Hanna (John the Baptist) in the south-west corner of the place, consisting of a church underground, and over it another church above ground. So it was even in ancient times; it is one of the oldest churches in Jerusalem, much older than the two others mentioned. In the *Quarterly Statement*, 1899, p. 43, is a plan and some sections of the lower church, by Mr. A. C. Dickie, A.R.I.B.A., showing that under its flooring is a kind of crypt. It is clear that once the underground church stood free round about, perhaps with a prolongation towards the west, as the chief entrance door was on the south side. On the side of the present stair at the southern end of the narthex is a triangular-shaped mass of masonry which may have been made by the Crusaders to get a basement for a bell-tower. The church itself was Byzantine, even the upper one, which at a later period was destroyed and again rebuilt. That there were three churches on the place, each with a bell-tower (hence also Mar Hanna had one) is proved by a drawing made about 1150, and published in the "Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina-Vereins," 1891, p. 137, showing in one line, beside the hospital, the three churches—Ecclesia St. John, Ecclesia Maria ad Latinam major, and Ecclesia Maria ad Latinam minor, each with a bell-tower.



SECTION ALONG G H.

ROYAL PTOLEMAIC GREEK INSCRIPTIONS AND MAGIC
LEAD FIGURES FROM TELL SANDAHANNAH.

By Professor CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

(Translated by permission from the "Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres." Séance du 19 Octobre, 1900.)

In the course of the excavations carried out for the Palestine Exploration Fund at Tell Sandahannah, Dr. Bliss discovered, among other objects of interest, a fragment of Greek inscription, of which he gives a sketch,¹ accompanied by some explanations, but the true historic value of which he seems to me not to have suspected.

This fragment consists of three lines engraved on a quarter of a "column" having a radius of about $14\frac{1}{2}$ inches. The text is mutilated on the left and incomplete below.



"The inscription," Dr. Bliss says, "mentions a king and a queen, probably the local sovereigns; the name of the queen is missing; the name of the king is an indeclinable word; if this followed the Semitic trilateral law, it was Τήμεγ, in which case the preceding three letters represent the termination of some Greek word, such as χέρα, on which the genitive depended. A thorough but unsuccessful search was made for the rest of the inscription."

After having examined the sketch published in the report of Dr. Bliss, I believe it is possible to prove that we have, in reality,

¹ *Quarterly Statement*, 1900, p. 334.

a fragment of a cylindric base, which served as the pedestal of a statue of a queen of Egypt, answering to the name of *Arsinoè*.

Arsinoè, sister and wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, seems excluded, *à priori*, by the surname which appears in part at the commencement of line 2, and which can hardly be, as we shall see, other than $[\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\pi\acute{\alpha}\tau]ορα$ or $[\phi\iota\lambda\omicron\mu\acute{\eta}\tau]ορα$. There remain *Arsinoè*, sister and wife of Ptolemy IV Philopator, and *Arsinoè*, daughter of Ptolemy XI Aulètes and sister of the famous Cleopatra. Under reserve of the paleographic indications, upon which I have not ventured to form an opinion from a simple view of the sketch of Dr. Bliss, I am inclined to regard this *Arsinoè* as identical with the wife of Ptolemy IV. The historical circumstances¹ are in favour of this conjecture. In effect, it must not be forgotten that this queen of Egypt was present² with her brother and husband at the celebrated battle of Raphia, where Antiochus the Great was defeated in 217. Raphia, now Refah, south of Gaza, was at the southern frontier of Judea, consequently in a region near Eleutheropolis and Marissa—the ancient Maresha, Moreshat—which is believed to have been situated at Tell Sandahannah. In any case, this last point is situated on the way to Jerusalem, where Ptolemy went after this victory, which gave Syria to him for a time, and where he even desired to offer, if we may believe the Third Book of Maccabees, thank-offerings in the Jewish Temple.

Would it be on this occasion that the statue of Tell Sandahannah was raised in honour of the queen? In this case one might, under the paleographic reservation indicated above, propose the following restoration of the fragment in question:—

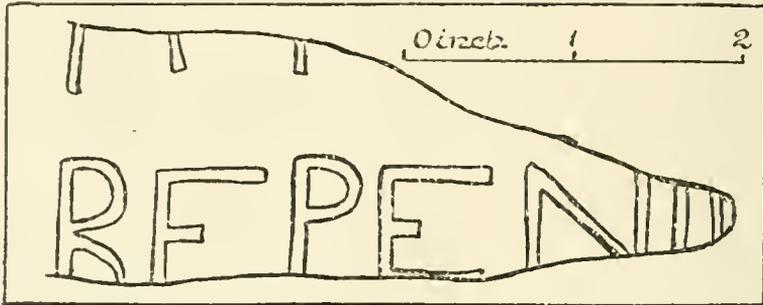
[Βασίλισσαν Ἄρσ]ινόην, μεγάλην
 [Θεῶν? Φιλοπάτ](ο)ρα, τὴν ἐν βασιλευς
 [Πτολεμαίου καὶ] βασίλισσης [Βερενί-
 [κης, Θεῶν εὐεργέτων]
 [.]

[The queen *Arsinoe*] great [goddess *Philopator*], daughter of the king
 [Ptolemy and] of the queen [Berenice the gods *Euergetes*]

¹ Cf. Maccabees, Book III, ch. 1. It is needless to remark that this find, thus interpreted, imparts an element not to be despised into the question so much debated of the historical credibility which it is right to accord to the Third Book of Maccabees.

² It is said by the Book of Maccabees that *Arsinoe* even personally played a sufficiently energetic part in the affair of Raphia, which at one moment threatened to turn out very badly for the Egyptians.

In support of this conjecture I deduce an argument from the fact that in the same excavation there was exhumed a small fragment of another description in which one recognises without difficulty the name of Βερενί[κ. . .].

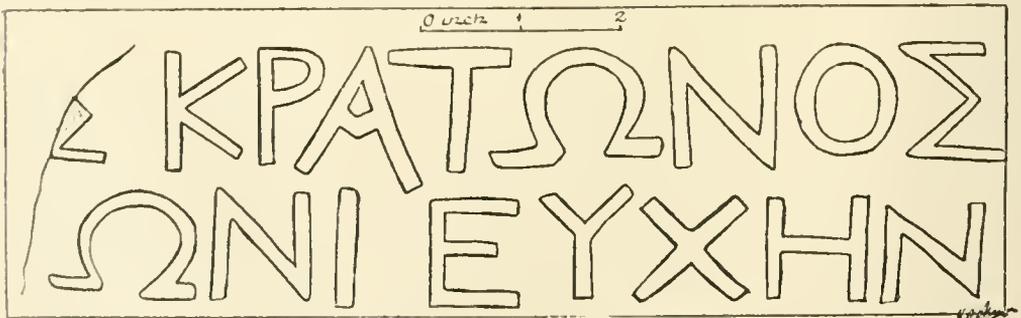


I suppose that this second fragment¹ belongs to the similar dedication of a statue of Ptolemy IV Philopator, which formed the fellow to that of his sister and wife, the Queen Arsinoë. The two heroes of the day of Raphia would have been represented side by side. This second dedication, although almost totally destroyed, could then be restored entirely, thanks to that of the statue of Arsinoë, attempted above, almost as follows:—

[ΒΑΣΙΛΕΑ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΝ ΜΕΓΑΝ ΘΕΟΝ ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΟΡΑ]
 [ΤΟΝ ΕΓ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ]
 ΒΕΡΕΝΙ[ΚΗΣ ΘΕΩΝ ΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΩΝ]²

[The king Ptolemy the great, god Philopator, son of the king Ptolemy and of the queen] ΒΕΡΕΝΙ[ce the gods Euergetes.

This is not all. Besides these two fragments Dr. Bliss has exhumed a third worded thus:—



¹ It would be very important to know if these few letters were engraved on a stone with a curved or a flat surface.

² The original text was perhaps arranged in four lines.

Following the development of my hypothesis I would incline to restore :—

[Σκόπα]ς Κράτωνος
[Ἀπόλλ]ωνι εὐχῆν

“ [Scopa]s, son of Craton, to Apollo [addresses his] prayer.”

The name of *Scopas* would afford just the number of letters—five—required by the extent of the gap which results from the obvious restoration on line 2. If one admits this reading: *Scopas*, this personage would be no other than the famous general of Ptolemy IV, afterwards of Ptolemy V Epiphanes, who, after having conquered Judea and even a part of Cœlesyria for his masters, ended by being defeated by Antiochus the Great at Paneas, the sources of the Jordan. He invokes Apollo. Why Apollo? Because this was the god *par excellence* of the Seleucids, even the ancestor of the dynasty. The act was quite in accordance with the idea, so deeply rooted and so generally spread among the ancients that, to obtain victory, it was necessary above all to gain for one's cause or at least to conciliate the *god of the enemy*. The formula εὐχῆν seems to imply rather a prayer addressed to the divinity than thanks for a prayer already granted.¹

This conjecture, risky as it may appear, for it only rests on a very precarious epigraphical basis—the *sigma* which terminates thousands of Greek names—agrees well enough with the interpretation which I proposed for the two other fragments found beside this one. The principal difficulty which runs counter to it is that the historians, who nevertheless tell us at sufficient length about the General Scopas, have not preserved for us, so far as I know, the name of his father. Could this unknown name have been *Kraton*? Until the contrary is proved, there is no reason why we should not suppose it; some later find may perhaps one day permit us to affirm it.

I take this opportunity to add a few observations upon a whole group of objects of a very different kind, which, coming

¹ One detail to be noted which is not unimportant is that this fragment of inscription is cut upon the base of a statue which should represent a *colossal eagle*, of which there remains only one of the claws. This eagle—the eagle of the Ptolemies (*cf.* their coins)?—was it not there as a symbol of victory, of the victory prayed for, perhaps even of the victory obtained, if one does not insist too much on the absolute value of the word εὐχῆν?

out of the same excavations at Sandahannah, have remained an archæological enigma. These are 16 little figures of men and women in lead, 2 to 3 inches in height, very roughly executed,¹ and of a most *bizarre* aspect. They are mere strips of lead cut into shape, as *silhouettes*. The personages, all nude, with one exception, are represented in strange and distorted positions, as if they were writhing in suffering and torture. They have all, without exception, the peculiarity of having the hands and feet laden with bonds and fetters designedly complicated. Sometimes the hands are bound in front on the breast, sometimes behind the back. The bonds which tie them are formed of thick wire of lead, of iron, or of bronze.

Dr. Bliss sees here simply the representation of "captives." This explanation is not very satisfactory, and raises all sorts of objections. I propose quite a different one; it was suggested to me by another find of Dr. Bliss—a find which seems to me to have an intimate connection with these figures unperceived until now.

It is this. Dr. Bliss has also exhumed, at the same place, 50 tablets in soft stone bearing Greek inscriptions.² These tablets are not yet published. Only Professor Sayce has been able to glance at them, and he limits himself to saying briefly that they contain magical charms and incantations.³ If this is so, would it not be permissible to suppose that these little lead figures represent the persons against whom the incantations were directed? We know that lead was in ancient times the chosen metal of those who were addicted to sorcery. We know, above all, that witchcraft consisted essentially in the act of *binding* magically by supernatural means the victim of it; the verb *καταέειν* is the verb consecrated to the forms of *defixiones*. We would have here, then, in our little figures, so carefully and complacently bound, a very curious plastic representation of this fundamental conception of ancient black art, and the first example of a practice which recalls in more than one respect that of the spells of the Middle Ages.⁴

¹ See Plate, p. 332, *op. cit.*

² Four of them bear, it is said, inscriptions in Hebraic characters.

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 376.

⁴ It is possible that lead was chosen as material for the figures because of its fusibility; these figures were perhaps destined, like the wax images of the spell-bound, to be finally melted in some magic ceremony.

NOTES ON GREEK INSCRIPTIONS FROM
SANDAHANNAH.

I.—By A. STUART MURRAY, LL.D.

Arsinoè the Great.

In the October *Quarterly Statement*, p. 334, there is a Greek inscription which I would read conjecturally thus:—

Ἄρ]σινόην Μεγάλην.
ἔ]ωρ[εάν] τήν ἐγ βασιλέως
καί] βασιλίσσης

“Arsinoè the Great. Gift of the King and Queen.”

The pillar on which the inscription occurs was apparently the base of a statue of Arsinoè, who is here styled “the Great,” a title not unfrequently applied to the Ptolemaic kings. The inscription accordingly belongs to the Seleucid ruins, and is of great importance. A paper impression of it is highly desirable.

Inscription No. 2, on p. 335, records an offering, not by Crato, but by a son of Crato.

II.—By Colonel C. R. CONDER, R.E.

Berenice.

The dedication to Apollo connected with the name of Queen Berenice—found at *Tell Sandahannah*—is in characters which may easily be supposed as late as the Herodian period. I do not know on what grounds it is attributed to the Seleucid age. “Queen Berenice” was the sister of Agrippa II, before whom St. Paul appeared at Cæsarea. There is nothing strange in her being connected with a pagan text, since the Herodians erected temples to pagan gods. *Sandahannah*, I believe, really means “St. John” and not “St. Anne,” for it is close to Beit Jibrin, which, in the twelfth century, belonged to the Knights of St. John.

III.—By W. H. D. ROUSE, Esq.

The word Κράτωρος in the inscription on p. 335 of the *Quarterly Statement* for 1900 is not the name of the dedicator, which must be in the nominative. The last letter of it (ς) appears just before Κράτωρος, "son of Craton."

RUGBY, October 14th, 1900.

JAR-HANDLE INSCRIPTIONS.

I.—By Professor THEODORE F. WRIGHT, Ph.D.

THE inscribed jar-handles which have been found in excavating Tell es-Sâfi and neighbouring sites could not receive adequate attention in the field while the work was going on, and should now come before students at their homes, especially if they have access to other handles of like character. I offer a few remarks on the subject, and hope that others will contribute what they know:—

1. This is not a new subject or a recent one. The *Quarterly Statement*, No. 7, 1869–1870, has on p. 372 an unsigned note which speaks of jar-handles found by (then) Captain Warren, "all of which were stamped with the same mark—apparently an eagle, rudely designed." They bore letters "similar to those of the Moabite Stone." Three of these handles were read by Dr. Birch, of the British Museum, and are given in English as "Le Me LeK. ZePHa—LeK Shat—LeK," showing that they were similar to those found by Dr. Bliss as regards the first word. No doubt the author of "Underground Jerusalem" referred to this when he wrote on p. 422 of that work:—

"At this angle [the south-east corner of the wall, near bottom of the 80 feet shaft] were found those pottery jar-handles on which is impressed a winged sun or disc, probably the emblems of the Sun-God; around this are characters which denote that this pottery was made for royal use. Now this is the south-east corner of Solomon's Palace, and what more natural than that some of the pottery from the palace should here accamulate?"

The handles seem to have received little further study until an article of seven pages was printed by J. Baker Greene in *Quarterly Statement*, October, 1881, p. 304, with a very thorough study of the "vase-handles discovered some years since in the vicinity of the Temple wall at Jerusalem." Mr. Greene says that no satisfactory explanation has so far been given. He finds the characters "Phoenician and similar to those on the Moabite Stone." Taking up the most legible one he confirms the reading of 1870 as L M L Ch (K) Zs P H. He then considers M L Ch to mean Moloch, "the Sun-God," or Melech, king. He does not think that Zs P H refers to a person or place, but at length argues that Moloch Z P H means the watchfulness of the god, from צִפְהָ. The initial ל means "dedicated to," and he notes that in 1 Kings xi, 7, and in 2 Kings xxiii, 10, the same letters are used, meaning an altar "to Moloch." He concludes that the vases or jars were dedicated to Moloch the watchful.

Mr. Greene then considers "the dove with outstretched wings." Was this the emblem of the Sun-God? He does not show this, but argues that the prevalence of Baal worship before the exile justifies his inference.

2. The question of the exact meaning is not yet settled. The writers to whom reference has been made were working toward a conclusion, but presented only suggestions. To one the symbol was a dove, to another an eagle, to another a winged sun or disc, to Dr. Sayce it is a beetle, and he seems to regard it as the winged scarab (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1900, p. 170). In the cut on p. 13 of *Quarterly Statement*, January, 1900, the beetle is clearly seen "with pronounced articulations," although Mr. Macalister registers a doubt on one point of the identification with the flying scarabæus beetle, namely, the curvature of the wing-case. It now seems to me that Dr. Bliss was not on the right course in seeking at first the names of individual owners in these inscriptions, and I feel with Mr. Greene that they were votive inscriptions to Moloch or Baal. That the final word is the name of a place, Hebron, Ziph, and the like, seems plain, as Dr. Bliss believes; but the symbol needs further study.

We know that these places were on the Philistine border and not far from Ekron, where the worship of Beelzebub flourished. The first chapter of 2 Kings shows Ahaziah looking to this god. The word זָבֹר is very little used, but the word עָרָב is more

common, and is regarded by some scholars as meaning the dog-fly (so the LXX), and by others as meaning a beetle (authorities in "Speaker's Commentary on Exodus." viii, 21, and appended essay on Egyptian words, p. 490 of vol. i). There is a suggestion here of the "Lord of Flies," which may merit further investigation.

3. It would be useful to make as complete a study as possible of other jar-handles. The thickest part of the pottery, they have been well preserved when the rest was broken up, and have much to tell of early times. I have not been able to find so far in America any handles as old as those recently found by the Fund, but it appears from the first extract that the Fund had already in its possession a number as old, and others may have obtained them while in Palestine. Two have lately come under my eye, both originally procured by Dr. Selah Merrill, and both having Greek inscriptions.

A is in the Semitic Museum of Harvard University, Massachusetts, and has a circular stamp one inch in diameter.



The stamp overran the space at the lower side so that three or four letters are lacking. It seems easy to read **ΟΜΕΓΑΣ ΙΕΡΕΩΣ**, the common designation of the high priest of the Jews, as in Hebrews x, 21. The remaining letters may give the last half of the name of the high priest, but the first part is wanting. Possibly the Ishmael who preceded

Annas may be meant. The symbol is either the bundle of palm, myrtle, and willow (Leviticus xxiii, 40), or the three ears of barley of the Passover.

B is in the museum of the Theological Seminary at Andover, Massachusetts, the home of Dr. Merrill. It is rectangular and, except for the break at the right lower corner, where the handle was bruised, is in excellent condition.

ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛ
ΛΙΣΤΟΥ ΜΟΡΟΥ
ΜΟΡΟΥ:



I read this **ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΥ ΜΟΡΟΥ**, "for the sake

of the most fortunate destiny." The symbol seems to indicate the worship of the bull or calf which began for Israel with Aaron's apostasy and was established in the northern kingdom by Jeroboam.

The votive character of this inscription is evident. The other inscription bearing the title "high priest" is not remote from the idea of a gift to the Temple. It may be that the handles lately found by Dr. Bliss will prove also to have votive inscriptions, and to connect themselves with the idolatrous days of Israel.

II.—By Colonel C. R. CONDER, R.E.

The new inscription למלך ממשת appears to me to open up the question of translating the texts on the Hebrew jar-handles, discovered by Dr. Bliss, once more. The previous names, Hebron, Ziph, and Shochoh, were those of towns; but there is no town or ruin in Palestine now known bearing the name *Mamshath*. No such name of a place occurs in the Bible, or in any of the various lists, ancient and mediæval, that are known.

The word evidently comes from the root משה "to draw forth," as Moses was drawn from the Nile. It seems to me that, if the words למלך are explained "To Moloeh," the meaning becomes clear, viz., "Dedicated to the Moloeh who presides over the water that will be *drawn* by means of this jar." The other texts would be dedications to the local Moloehs of Hebron, Ziph, and Shochoh, intended to preserve the jars from injury. The interest attaching to these texts—which otherwise only admit of rather forced explanations, since either the property of various local kings occurs in towns not belonging to them, or else the King of Jerusalem is mentioned on jars of a very ordinary description—will then consist in the late survival of Moloeh worship (perhaps to 500 B.C.) in the country towns of Judea.

NOTE ON THE WINGED FIGURES UPON THE JAR-
HANDLES DISCOVERED BY DR. BLISS.

By JOSEPH OFFORD, M.S.B.A.

IN reference to the remarks and engraving published in the October *Quarterly Statement*, p. 379, Mr. E. J. Pilcher has kindly lent me for publication this coin, which presents a figure with six wings closely allied to the personage upon the Baalnathan seal. It is a bronze coin of Gebal (Byblos), bearing on the reverse a full-length representation of Kronus (El) with six



wings, as described by Sanchoniathon. Above and beneath the deity is the Phoenician inscription, **לגבל קדשת**: "Of Gebal the Holy." Whilst around, in Greek, **ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ**, shows it was of the era of the Antiochoi; Mr. Pilcher suggesting A. Sidetes (137-125 B.C.). The lamed of the left-hand Phoenician text has united with the staff in the deity's hand. On his head is the crown of Lower Egypt, with a peculiar crest.

In the "Comptes Rendus" of the French Academy, 1900, p. 181, M. Gauckler describes some metallic bands discovered at Carthage, of which he furnishes photographs. In No. 98, for the last figure but one, Fig. 18 of the upper register of personages, he describes a "Monster with human limbs, female breasts, and a horned head; with six wings." It is, however, difficult to see this representation upon the photograph; no doubt it is more visible upon the original. He terms it a Moloch. The figure of Cyrus at Pasargadae given by Dieulafoy has six wings and a head-dress, which may be the origin of the symbolic die upon the Gebal coin.

NOTE ON THE HIGH PLACE AT PETRA.

By W. CLARKSON WALLIS, Esq.

I VENTURE to make a suggestion as to the object of the sunken area of the High Place at Petra, of which an interesting description is given in the October *Quarterly Statement* by Dr. Curtiss. I notice that Mr. Macalister suggests that it was a place "set apart for worshippers." This may very likely have been the case, though one scarcely sees why it should have been apparently carefully levelled and sunk to a depth of 15 to 18 inches in the rock only for this purpose. May it not also have been intended as a means for collecting water? The suggestion comes to me from having noticed a somewhat similar device in more than one place. I remember an old castle in Sicily, for instance, where a portion of the courtyard is carefully cemented, and the levels so arranged that rain-water should be drained into a cistern. It seems to me that in the case of the High Place at Petra water might be required for ablutions and other ceremonial purposes, and the depressed area in question might have been intended to collect it.

The plan shows a "drain," though it is not indicated where it leads to. There is also a rock-hewn "vat," but I do not notice that there is any connection between it and the "area." If there should be any receptacle to receive the water from the "drain," or if there should be a drain between the area and the "vat," I think that my theory as to the purpose of the depression would be a very probable one.

Perhaps those who have visited the place can say if any light can be thrown on these points, and whether the levels admit of the suggestion being valid. It is even possible a movable receptacle might have collected the water from the "drain."

In the article "Tanks Inside the Sanctuary," p. 217 of the Jerusalem "Memoirs," several of the tanks under the Haram area are described as having "surface conduits" for collecting water from the rock surface or pavement. This seems to be a somewhat analogous case if the theory as applied to the High Place at Petra is correct.

BRIGHTON.

WOMAN IN THE EAST.

By PHILIP J. BALDENSPERGER, Esq.

(Continued from "Quarterly Statement," 1900, p. 190.)

CHAPTER VII.—EVERY-DAY LIFE.

THE newly-married couple are the talk of the village for several days, the wedding criticised or praised till everyone is acquainted with the details. The woman's duty now begins; she has a family responsibility. Most of her doings have already been stated in Chapters II and III. The water is always brought in by the woman carrying the skin water-bottle on her back, or else the earthenware jar on her head; a large jar is placed in a corner of the room, and the skin bottle is emptied into this. If the husband possesses a flock or cattle, the milking business is generally the work of the woman, aided by the shepherds; she dexterously holds the milk jug and one leg of the goat or sheep between her knees and draws the milk from both teats alternatively. If the village is near a town the woman carries the milk to clients, or for sale on the market, and, alas! here, as all the world over, this market milk is often doubled in quantity by water and often whitened by an ingredient. Those villagers who frequent the towns are more corrupt and foul-mouthed than their more secluded country sisters; they are ready to swear "God and the prophets!" for the purity and freshness of their articles, no matter how far away from truth it may be. My father, who generally bought or received the milk from the milkwoman, said one day to her: "Now, look here, be careful another time at least to put in *clean* and *sweet* water." The milkwoman swore that they "always take it from Job's well." Job's well is a deep well near Jerusalem. When Jerusalem wants water—which happens as often as rains are rare during the winter—the people of Siloam near by take the water from it in skin bottles on their donkeys' backs to the Jerusalem market for sale. This is the only sweet water then to be had in abundance. Siloam has another fountain with brackish water, which is utilised only when none from Job's well can be had in years of drought. The milkwoman was ever after ashamed of her unheeded confession.

Where they have plenty of milk, the woman's chief work is to carry it daily into the market in small jugs. As the Arabs are very fond of sour milk, this is sold in every Arabic town. Half-a-dozen or more of such small jugs are put together in the wicker-work basket and carried to the market on the head. The women are very dexterous in carrying loads on their heads and keeping them in equilibrium. Everything, except the babies and the skin water-bottle, is carried on their heads. If the milk is not sold in the town, on account of the distance, it is made into butter or cheese. The milk is put in a skin bottle, which is blown up with the liquid in it and tied up fast; this is to give an empty space to facilitate the churning. The bottle is now suspended to three sticks attached together and forming a coverless tent; the bottle is held by the woman sitting down and rocked to and fro for an hour or so till the butter is made. When a sufficient quantity of butter is made it is either sold fresh in the market by the woman, who takes every saleable thing, as hens, pigeons, eggs, milk, vegetables, to form a load worth the journey, or else it is stored away, either for home use or to be sold as cooking butter. *Samn* is indispensable to the townspeople and always fetches a good price. This is the butter cooked till no watery part remains, saffron being added to give it a yellow colour. It is liked best thus and keeps for months. If there is any very large quantity of *samn* it is put into skin bottles and sold in the bazaars by the men; women always sell small quantities. When the butter is taken out, the skimmed milk is used as food by the members of the family. The skimmed milk is put into a sack, and after the water has dropped, the remaining substance is made into small cakes, well salted, and put to dry in the sun. These small white cakes are sold when dry, and when no fresh sour milk can be had, or are used in the family. They resemble pebbles, and when wanted for food are put into a wooden basin with water and rubbed till they are dissolved. In this way the water dried out by the sun is again added, and the sour milk is eaten with almost the same relish as when it was fresh.

The fig trees which belong to the family are put in charge of the women as soon as the first fruits begin to ripen. A hut is built in the fig garden, and the whole family remove to this hut during the summer months, not only from the villages but also from many minor towns, as Hebron, Gaza, Ramleh, Lydda, and others. The women daily gather the figs and put them to dry

on red earth in the sun, in a shut-up space, to prevent the dogs, chickens, or children walking over or eating the fruit by day, and to keep away the jackals and foxes by night. This is certainly the happiest time in the year for the women and girls. With their loud rolling notes they sing from morning to night. Very often one girl sings a line, and another in the next garden one, or even across the valley on the slope of the opposite mountain, a girl continues the second line and so on. The dried figs are stored away for winter food. In some places where they have too many for the family use, they sell them in the markets of Jerusalem and Jaffa. Long garlands of dried figs are put on a string, weighing together seven or eight pounds. This is a speciality of some villages north of Jerusalem, as Bethel, Gibeon, Ram-Allah, Nazareth, and its villages. Es Salt is renowned for its figs and raisins.

About November the olives begin to ripen, and though the men have here the more difficult task of taking or beating down the fruit an active part is reserved to the women, who whilst gathering the fruit from the ground, say or sing verses or repetitions of two lines, always repeated by one part of the workers whilst the other part take breath. "Oh, olives, become citrons," *i.e.*, as big as citrons, is repeated a dozen or more times, then another sentence is said till one of the party has hit a better idea; all the while the berries are gathered in the baskets, and thence into the goat's-hair sack, never without calling on the "name of the Lord" to prevent the Jân eating part of the olives. The olives are taken to the oil mill by the men, as the village itself often has no mill. The first olives falling prematurely to the ground are gathered by the women alone, and are crushed on a flat rock with a stone and then put in water to extract the oil; this is the finest oil that can be had. This mode of beating the fruit is most primitive and ancient. Such oil Moses commanded the children of Israel, in Exodus xxvii, 20, to bring for the use of the light in the tabernacle; it is said there "beaten oil," which answers well.

From time to time the women and girls go together to bring home wood or whatever fuel they can find. This is considered by most as a kind of picnic; they go singing up and down between the rocks and bushes, and every one is busy gathering as big a bundle as she feels she can well carry home on her head, often many miles, for Palestine, and especially Judea, is now quite denuded of forests—thorn, thyme, or sage bushes often being the

only "wood" they bring home. Whilst on their way home the mountains re-echo again and again with their merry voices, though to the Occidental's unaccustomed ears it seems like wailing, still it is full of joy and life. They are quite free on these errands, as being almost the only time when they are (expected to be) quite abandoned to themselves and unobserved by any man.

The songs here also are often improvised on the existing tunes, sometimes they may be in connection with what is done, sometimes romantic adventures, princely honours; the load of wood is turned into costly presents, they themselves are turned into fairies, and so forth. The beloved comes forth to meet her (though he never does, in fact), and has a camel and slave to serve her. These all show how the present population have thoroughly changed in gallantry towards their women, which lives on only in their poetry.¹

The bundles, according to the nature of the material, are often higher than the women themselves. Large circular bundles, sometimes not thicker than two feet, nicely arranged, are carried home by long files of women. In the plains, where wood, bushes, and even straw is wanting, the fuel consists of cattle manure.

Charcoal is seldom used by the Fellahin. If they are charcoal burners themselves the coals are taken to the towns for sale where alone charcoal is burned. In the country they burn exclusively wood or thorns for cooking, and manure for the oven; whilst in the towns wood or thorns are burned in ovens, and charcoal in the kitchen.²

As in the fig gardens, so also those possessing vineyards go to live there from the moment the grape berries begin to look like

¹ The Hon. Mr. Justice Ameer Ali, in an article in "The Nineteenth Century" for May, 1899, shows that the degradation of the Moslem woman is of comparatively recent date. He states that: "Almost to the end of the twelfth century women mixed with men with dignity and self-respect, held reunions, gave concerts, and received visitors." Of the lady Sukaina, who was a grand-daughter of Fâtima, he says: "She gave the tone to the cultured society of her age. The reunions in her house of the poets, scholars, jurists, and other distinguished people of both sexes, became the model for similar social gatherings at the residences of other ladies of fashion." Mr. Justice Ali states that Kâdir the Abbasside promulgated the edict forbidding women to appear in public without the *burka*, and adds significantly, "and with that commenced the decadence of Islâm."

² Charcoal is also used in the towns in the *matkal*, or chafing-dish, for warming rooms.

grapes, for the Arabs in general almost prefer the green unripe grapes to the ripe ones. Green grapes always find a ready market, being used either for dyeing wool, together with the necessary colour (the acid of the grapes fixes the colour), or else they are sold for flavouring the food or eaten raw.

Hebron, a Mohammedan town, is all surrounded by vineyards, and the best Palestine grapes grow there. Here the townspeople become Fellahîn during the summer, living in the vineyards, and are occupied all the time. Where the grapes are not sold to Jews or Christians of Jerusalem (in Hebron itself only Jews live besides the Mohammedans), the grapes when ripe are cooked in large kettles after having been crushed in rock-cut reservoirs, from which the sweet juice flows into a second reservoir, reminding us of the "brooks of honey" mentioned by Job xx, 17. The juice gathered is boiled during several hours, and these molasses are very much in request amongst all classes of the population. The women's part in this work does not go beyond bringing the grapes and preparing the jars to receive the molasses and grape conserve. The merchants of Hebron go about from village to village selling this grape treacle to the Fellahîn, who put it away for the winter months.

Life in the vineyards in the summer months is certainly a time when a good deal of care is done away with. It is pleasant living, fruits to eat, no house sweeping, and all kinds of house-work reduced to the least. The second chapter of the Song of Solomon is, perhaps, the best example. It is like living amongst the Fellahîn, feeling with them, to read it, and remark the details. The vines with the tender (unripe) grape give a good smell. "Take heed of the foxes that destroy the vine . . . a roe on the mountains of Bether."

Solomon had certainly passed days and nights in the vineyards of Bether, where I never remember to have passed without seeing gazelles roaming about on the mountains.

Where they keep bees, the women take an active part in harvesting the honey. A man is usually the bee-master for the whole district, having all the paraphernalia appertaining to bee-culture, consisting of a jar-bee-smoker, a mask, leather gloves and boots, and a large knife to cut out the comb. The cut out combs are handed over to the women, who press out the honey between their hands in a dark room, and with heaps of manure burning before the door to keep away the bees, which still may try to enter. The pressed out comb-balls, dripping with honey, are washed as clean

as possible, the comb reduced to wax, whilst the sweet water of the washings is boiled, flour being added all the time, till the whole is almost as thick as honey. It is now poured on laid-out sheets, and left to dry for a day or two. Pine-seeds are strewn on the paste as long as it is still warm and soft. This sweet, known as "malban," when dry has the appearance of very light-coloured leather. It can easily be torn, and is either sold or stored away for winter food. Usually it is eaten in winter-evening assemblies, after a game or story-telling. It is saleable only where the women are experts in manufacturing it. Small bee-keepers keep it generally for family use. The crushed and pressed combs are put into sacks and boiled in water. The wax always finds a ready market. Pure wax candles are sold by the thousand in Jerusalem, about the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and the Mosque. Those sold to Christians are ornamented with scenes of the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ; whilst Mohammedan pilgrims only buy such as have no images whatever. The Christian candles are many-coloured, and the Mohammedans' usually dirty white, and offered in the sanctuaries as a vow for the recovery from sickness, deliverance from accidents, safe arrival home again after a long journey.

The vow in the fashion of Samuel's mother's vow is not so usual—at least, not among the Mohammedans. Christians dedicate their children to such-and-such a saint. For example, a child may be dedicated to Saint Francis for a year or two—the boy then wears a monk's hood for the time; whilst Mohammedans and Christians vow to saints or prophets in case of help, a quantity of wax candles, olive oil to burn in the sanctuary, or a sacrifice of a kid or lamb. Thus the person vowing may say: "O ever-green Green One" (St. George of the Christians), "I offer you a lamb and two pounds of pure wax candles if thou savest me from this water," if in danger of being drowned. Or: "If thou savest my boy from the small-pox, O Prophet Reuben, I offer thee a lamb and three pounds of oil." These vows are made by both sexes alike, and are often fulfilled months or years afterwards; as long as the person has the intention of holding his promise, there is no harm in putting it off till a favourable occasion. As they are very expensive, as many as possible of the friends and relations are invited.

Having received one day from the mother of a boy who had recovered from the small-pox an invitation to assist, we started to the Greek Church of St. George, though the vower was a

Mohammedan. The men with firearms were firing all the way; the women, in their best clothes—excepting the mother, who, as a widow, never put on any gaudy apparel—were singing all the while. When we arrived at the church and convent, which is also an asylum for lunatics, the abbot, as the custom is, gave the kettles and wood to prepare the sacrifice. The men killed the lamb in the courtyard of the convent, and cooked it, except the head, feet, liver, lungs, and skin, which belong to the convent as tax. A kettle of rice is now boiled, and all is served in the large wooden dishes (*batie*). Before the food is ready the men and women all touch the huge iron chain which is fixed in the wall of the church, and to which lunatics are chained, and are supposed to be healed, after a stay of several days or weeks, by the influence of St. George. The chapel is opened, and everybody visits the sanctuary. Now the women dance and sing in front of the chapel during several hours. The abbot receives a small sum of money for his services, lending the kettle and the wood, besides the meat already mentioned. The abbot was about seventy years of age, and, like all Greek abbots in Palestine, talked only broken Arabic. Notwithstanding his age, he calmly stood the shouting and shooting within the walls of the convent as quietly as the thousands of pigeons nestling all along the old convent walls in crevices and holes, old jars and boxes hung up for the purpose. Everybody seemed impassive and accustomed to these ceremonies, and went on with their duties as if nobody was there. The abbot took us up to his reception-room, put a table and plates at our disposal, and bade us partake of the sacrifice in his rooms. Coffee was served afterwards, and, the vow thus having been performed, the whole company went home singing and shooting, as they came.

Vows are sometimes either forgotten or neglected, and the following fable illustrates this class:—“A fox was roaming about the mountains, looking for a lizard here and a bird there, when all of a sudden two hounds were on his track. He ran hard for his life, but, being almost overtaken, he said: ‘O Prophet Saleh, if thou rescuest me from these dogs, I will give thee a measure of lentils and a wax candle for thy sanctuary.’ At once the hounds lost his track, and the fox drew breath. After trotting awhile he said to himself: ‘I’m a good runner anyhow, and have escaped those dogs. It is true I vowed; but then I am no farmer, and produce no lentils, nor do I own any bees to give the prophet wax candles.’ He had hardly finished this soliloquy, when suddenly

the hounds reappeared. The fox again ran as fast as he could, and said: 'O prophet, take your measure and follow me; I'll give you the lentils at once.' So he was again saved."

During the harvest the women pick out the best straws they can find, and bind them into bundles; in their leisure hours they make baskets, trays, and the like for the household furniture. Some of the straws are coloured green or red, and symmetrically woven into the work, designed generally in curves or broken lines. Some are very dexterous in making these trays, and produce a certain quantity for sale, for they always find a ready market.

Almost every woman or girl gleanes wheat or barley for her own benefit, if her time is not wholly taken up by her husband, or brother, or father. The gleaned bundles are nicely arranged, and put in a heap beside the other corn; on account of their being particularly fixed up and fast tied together, these bundles are easily recognised and respected by everyone. The women in their spare time knock out the grain with a stone, and store it away or sell it at once in the neighbourhood of the threshing-floor to travelling grain-merchants. If, as in many cases, the family be short of flour, she is supposed to lend them this grain for the time being for family use; but seldom, if ever, will she receive it back again if she does not take it by force. If she sells it, the money is put on her head-dress, or, if a widow, lent out on interest or used for her own wants. As already remarked, the woman's purse is quite separate from that of the whole family. In some cases, also, she will invest her money in live stock—sheep, goats, cows, or the like, which are a continual source of profit, as on no account will she pay anything for stable rent or shepherd, unless the whole herd be her own. In this last case the husband benefits by the milk, cheese, butter, and a sacrifice from time to time. This arrangement is tolerated by the husband to a certain degree, as it discharges him of many obligations, such as paying the tax, for sheep and goats have to pay a Government tax of about 15 cents. a head; besides, the husband is considered poor, and unable to contribute to municipal wants, though he personally benefits to a great extent.

Sacks of goats' hair and carpets of wool, saddle-bags, baby-sacks (in which the women carry the babies on their backs when going on errands), and the like are all woven by the women; they are not all experts in this, but generally such as either possess herds themselves, or whose husbands or next-of-kin are shepherds. The woman works at a fixed price per yard, and is generally fed

by the party to whom the carpet belongs as long as the work lasts. The apparatus is of the most primitive kind. Most women and girls can spin, and they may be seen all about the towns spinning as they walk. A bundle of wool, or wool and hair, is rolled round the right arm, and the little distaff is spun continually on an uplified knee as they walk along, thus spinning the threads for the future carpet or sack. The carpet manufacture itself is also very simple. Four pegs are driven into the ground at the proper distance, according to the quantity of thread ready, but seldom over a yard and a third in breadth, whilst the length may be many yards. Two thick sticks form the beginning and the end, fastened against the pegs mentioned. The threads are now drawn across from end to end and one touching the other, necessarily in an upper and a lower row. A flat piece of wood several inches wide and well polished, usually of oak, is passed between the threads, dividing them or changing the position, pushing the upper down and the lower up. This shuttle is not always used; the ball of thread is simply rolled in an oval shape, and thus passes to and fro. To fasten the cross-threads, the woman has a gazelle-horn, the point of which is slightly filed to form a hook, and thus pulls each thread backwards into position. The operation takes less time to do than to describe in words, although, as the whole work is very long, it may take some weeks to make a carpet. As the work is always done in the open air, and must remain in position, a man generally sleeps by it at night, to watch against mischief or thieves. The woman is only responsible by day; she is never expected to watch by night.

All the woman's earnings are her private property. Though in some cases her husband furnishes her with necessary clothing, in most cases she buys it herself. She has also to furnish the oil for lighting the house from her own money, and she knows well how to calculate what may belong to her husband and what to her. On returning from market the women sit down with their empty baskets and square up the accounts before going to their homes. In her spare time the woman mends and also makes the clothes for herself, husband, and children. It is true it does not require very much skill, as the whole consists in a kind of very large shirt with very wide sleeves: thus a few inches more or less does not matter, and the merchant of whom the sheeting and shirting are bought knows exactly how many yards are wanted for a suit. The men are all

clothed in a white shirt or gown, which is for the most part of the year the only clothing they wear; towards winter a second gown, either yellow or red-striped, is worn. Women are always clothed in blue—a long blue shirt or gown of coarse sheeting, hanging down to the feet, and with very wide sleeves form her every-day clothing. Dirty clothes are generally carried to the nearest running water; sometimes this is far from the village, and where there are only wells, water must be drawn; but seldom are things washed with warm water. In houses where they have cows or camels a second hand-mill for breaking the vetches is to be found, and the woman also prepares these, which, after being broken, are slightly wetted so as to render them soft, and when the camels or cows come home in the evening after a day's labour they find their supper awaiting them.

The woman is called by her name and the name of her father; never does the name of the husband apply to the wife. Thus, if the woman's name be Fatmé and her father's name 'Ali, she will be called Fatmé 'Ali as long as she is without children; as soon as she has a child she will be called after the name of her eldest son or daughter if she has no son. If her son be Eh'mad, she will be called Im Eh'mad, that is "mother of Eh'mad." This is the politest way of calling a woman; if she has no children she can even be called "Mother of 'Ali," her father's name.

CHAPTER VIII.—TRAINING THE CHILDREN.

This is a most neglected matter, at least in my opinion. It is more of a let-it-alone system than anything else. Boys are more left to their own free will than girls, and they are even taught to curse and to swear when they can only just pronounce the first words. As a matter of course, when only one boy is in the family he is the tyrant, and his will dominates over all. When there are more than one, and perhaps some girls, then necessarily the parents are more severe, and sometimes administer brutal correction; there is nothing like a kind, systematic bringing up. As with all illiterate people, amusement of some sort must be had, and the children naturally form one source of general amusement. They are considered most clever when they can abuse the bystanders or the squatters in the circle of visitors. No wonder, then, if the stranger riding through a village finds himself assailed by the younger generation, cursing, and even throwing stones for nothing more than their own

childish amusement. This is rarely done to Arab strangers, but is reserved for Occidentals, as these are considered in all Mohammedan countries, and more so in out-of-the-way places, to be mortal enemies. The boys and girls of six to ten years old keep the kids and lambs round about the village. When the girls are older, but not after puberty, they may also be shepherdesses, if the family have no boy. But after puberty a boy is taken, who may at the same time serve as shepherd for seven years and receive a girl for his wages, as Jacob did with Laban. Thus in a family where there are more boys than necessary for the wants of the family, one or two may be sent to serve outside, and villages which are near towns send their boys to work in the stone quarries or at mason's yards. Mohammedan girls are kept at home till they marry, but some villages near Jerusalem have begun to send their daughters as servant girls to the town. Amongst the Christian population of Bethlehem, Ramallah, and some other places, girls are regularly found in the houses of Occidentals as cooks, or the like.

A servant girl from Bethlehem, staying as cook in a French hotel at Jaffa (illiterate, as they generally are), one day received a letter from her mother, and though fully acquainted with the contents several days before receiving it, as the letter was written in public, the girl brought the letter to me and asked me to read it. She told me her mother wanted two wooden bowls and a trunk. The letter was worded thus:—

“From Bethlehem to Jaffa.

“3rd November, 1891.

“Eastern calendar.

*“To the most honoured and excellent lady the respected Catherina,
God liveth and endureth for ever. Amen!*

“After having settled on the principal question, that is, your dear health and security, which is with us the essential cause of writing, and the occasion of our prayers; firstly, if your question about us be admitted, we are, God be praised, in perfect happiness, and do nothing but ask about you and the security of your health which is with us the essential cause of writing, and the occasion of prayer. Secondly, that you send to ask us why we never answer, seeing ‘by the Almighty God’ we have sent you four answers, two by the post and two by the camel drivers, nor do we know what is the matter that they never arrived. After that we assure you that we are continually pleased with you, and ask the

Virgin the mother of the beloved, that you may soon be united with us, by the help of the Lord Christ. Then your brothers, Elias and Jirius, salute you with many salutations, and your sisters, Sultany and Maria, are in perfect health and salute you. You have sent to ask about the health of Joseph, your brother's son; he is, to God be praise, in all health and security, so you must not be troubled at all. Also we ask of you, our beloved and honoured daughter, to send us two wooden bowls, without mistake, by the kind camel driver, my contentment rest on you. I also announce to you that we have let the house to Aziz, the son of 'Otallah Ody, and he sends you salutations, and even Khaleel 'Otallah salutes you, and your brother, Elias, salutes you, and begs you to send him a Hungarian trunk, like the trunk of Tufaha, the daughter of your uncle, Jirius. For its price is from us, and when you will face us we will repay you its price. What we now want we have told you, and if you want anything tell us. God liveth and endureth!

“Praying for you. In the honoured, holy and blessed Nativity Church, Helwy.

“The writer of these words, your uncle's son, Salamy, salutes you with many salutations, may you live and endure.

“To be addressed to the esteemed and honoured Mister Baseel, whose presence may it live. Jirius and Khaleel.

“'Otallah salute him, and from his hand to be rendered to the excellent lady the respected Catherina.”

On account of their going to European mission schools many Christian villagers are brighter, cleaner, and more up to the times, though despised by the more austere Mohammedans, who either never go to any schools at all, or else go to the village schools, which have been instituted of late, and are intended to be obligatory under penalty of paying a certain sum for those who do not attend; this last object is never missed by the greedy officials, ever ready to take advantage of the slightest money-making occasion. A teacher is appointed to every village by the Government to oppose the Christian mission schools. Months and months may pass ere this unfortunate schoolmaster receives his pay, but as the school children have to furnish him with a certain quantity of bread and whatever they may happen to possess, he is at least kept from starving.

In and about the house the countrywoman is more of a personality than her sister of the town. She has all the house-

hold affairs necessarily under her control, as the husband is often absent for days and even weeks. Being never veiled, like the townswoman, she can step in and out freely, look after the animals, and to some extent give information to her husband, and at least strongly influence him in regard to his business with strangers.

When visitors come the elder girls and wife are to keep aside, bringing only the food; but they never entertain male visitors. Female visitors are very rare, except on solemn occasions—as births, deaths, marriages, and in these cases they are received only by the women. The younger children, boys or girls, of course, come to sit down in their father's lap and listen to what is said, or partake of the food with the strangers. Women come and congratulate when a child is born, as has already been mentioned. When the children grow older, a boy of twelve or more is utterly out of his mother's control. Girls are influenced a few years longer, but obedience is next to unknown; yet there exists a natural reciprocal dependence which makes the families very intimate, especially as regards the family interests. Thus a child of seven or eight will defend the family rights like a grown-up person among Occidentals. Their living in one room and assisting in all conversations explains how they are so soon versed in all family incidents, and can even keep secrets; for necessarily their bloody feuds often oblige them to have secrets. Even before a boy arrives at the age of puberty he may receive a turban, which he gets either when he marries or even before, on a feast day. If the proud father, anxious to show off his offspring, hands him a turban, it is wonderful, if not amusing, to see the little man of ten or twelve years old squatting down gravely for the first time, seemingly conscious of the new era of life now dawning upon him.

Then, also, the sexes separate in their play, which up to this first growing out of childhood had been in common.

Still, brothers and sisters protect each other for the causes already mentioned, the family circle is holy, and every inmate is considered of one flesh. Therefore, also, the mother, though very much esteemed by her children, still, in family matters, may be wholly sacrificed for the sake of her family, who are perhaps on bad terms.

CHAPTER IX.—SICKNESS AND DEATH.

When a person is reported to be seriously ill, the room is soon filled with noisy visitors—men, women, and children; if it is winter, a fire is made, filling the room with dense smoke, whilst all kinds of remedies are discussed by all and every one at a time, so that the person interested may hear a portion of this remark and another of that. Fresh visitors pour in, the others leave, and, in fact, such a sick room is easily recognised by its beehive appearance, where continually some are going and some are coming. They are not in the least sympathetic with the sick; they talk of his malady in the harshest way, or draw him into their conversation, however disagreeable this may be, and coffee-drinking and pipe-smoking are continually indulged in.

No matter how contagious the sickness, none refrain from visiting. They have sometimes doctors of their own, but generally this is the priest, who writes a few mysterious nonsensical words, and may give this to the patient to swallow, or put under his pillow, and so forth. Barbers are the doctors in more serious cases, and they either give purgatives or bleed the patient. Yet, again, the national remedy is fire applied to any part of the body and in very different ways—either simply with burning lint, or with a red-hot iron or nail applied to the crown of the head, to the arm, temple, and so forth. Efficacious as the fire remedy may be in some cases—as, for instance, a venomous bite—yet they do not apply it then, as they believe the bite is burning already, and fire would make matters worse. European doctors are called for in extreme cases, and are also paid highly; but doctors' prescriptions are never followed fully, they follow them partially, and should the remedy not produce immediate benefit it is at once discarded, and the doctor called a humbug. Hygienic rules are still more difficult to be enforced, thus rendering the doctor's task difficult, if not impossible. Nature, as everywhere else, helps more surely and rapidly. Strained nerves are unknown, and so is punctuality.

They are subject to the same ills as are foreigners, with this difference—that the foreigner more surely gets the intermittent fever and is harassed by it, whilst the indigenous inhabitants may sometimes escape from it, according to the position of the village and the occupation, whether they stay at home or are obliged to go to the low lands during the summer months. The

plains of Sharon, Jezreel, and the Jordan Valley are terrible centres, especially the last-named. In the year 1874 I passed two months there with several hundred Fellahîn of the Judean mountains; I do not think that a single person escaped the fever, and more than fifty per cent. lost their lives. Though more than twenty years have passed I still feel the effects.

They live, however, to an old age too, as in northern climes. It has often been supposed that, as they really begin life so very much earlier than Occidentals, they die earlier too. But though they do not count their age, and if asked will reply: "God alone can know"; still the age can be discovered by periods which they point out. I have known many very old people of eighty or ninety, and above. Thus it may be safe to say that the average is the same as everywhere else. Great events in Palestine history, which impressed themselves on the minds of the people, are: — Buonaparte's war in 1798; the first Jerusalem revolt, 1820; Grecian wars, 1820-30; Egyptian invasion and government, 1830-40; Crimean War, 1855-58; Christian massacre in the Lebanon, 1860; Loensts in 1866-67; and so forth.

A moslem of either sex when dying is turned with the face towards the Kibleh, *i.e.*, where the religious feelings are concentrated at Mecca, and if any strength or presence of mind be left, the dying person says: "I witness, that there is but one God, and that Mohammed is the prophet of God." Everybody present witnesses the same. As soon as he or she is dead, the mollah is called for a man, and the midwife for a woman. The corpse is wholly washed by one of the abovenamed persons, with soap and water, the performer chanting slow and melancholy chants all the time: "There is but one God, and Mohammed is God's prophet. God! Prayer be to Him and salutation." As at the burial of Jesus, new shirting is bought, and when all the issues have been stopped with cotton, the corpse is wrapped in this shroud and wholly sewed up. No woman may look at the face of a man after his burial ablution, except such as could never have expected to marry him, that is, his mother, sister, or daughter. His own wife is divorced, either because he pronounced a divorce himself, or else by the fact of his death; in consequence, a look from her, who is now a marriageable woman, would be considered as adultery. The same applies to a man in the case of a deceased woman. When the body is washed it is clean and ready to enter into judgment.

The body is always carried by men on a litter or in a

carpet towards the mosque, where it is put down for awhile, the men chaunting all the time in two parties: "There is but one God," &c.; whilst one party chaunts, the other takes breath. When the body is put down, the whole assembly of men sit down round about in front, the women further off. The priest reads chapters of the Koran, and when this is done they take up the body, and proceed chaunting to the cemetery. The women follow behind, crying and shouting and singing; the next of kin and friends with dishevelled hair and no head-cloth on; the clothes are rent from top to almost bottom (but for decency's sake, as they have only this one on, they sew it up in large stiches, to show that it was rent). They put earth on the head, and sometimes their faces are blackened with soot. Though they are reprov'd occasionally by the men, and bade to be quiet, as it is siuful to mourn, yet this goes on, the warnings or threatenings being unheeded.

The grave is very shallow, the body is placed between two rows of large stones, and covered with flat stones above, thus forming a space in which the dead may move, if asked to do so after the burial is over. It is believed by Mohammedans that when the body is alone in the grave he or she awakes, and sits up, and says: "God! have I died?" Then they see two executors of justice—Nakir and Nekeer—armed with clubs, fiercely looking at the person. In front is Roman, the examining angel. He interrogates about the good and bad deeds done during lifetime; of course, here is no denial, and for the good, Roman shows the most shining face and widens the grave, whilst for the wicked he shows an ugly face, and the grave becomes so narrow as to make the bones crack in crossing each other. For every bad deed, moreover, the executors give two stripes with all their might. Good deeds are almsgiving during lifetime, and all other virtues. After this examination the person lies down to die again, and the soul of the Mohammedan goes to the Well of Souls at Jerusalem, whilst the Christians or Jews at once go to the devil, all awaiting the judgment day, which is to take place on the platform of Mount Moriah before the Temple.

Whilst the grave is being prepared the priest and all the people sit down, the priest chaunting all the while. The men are solemn, but the women now and then give vent to a shout, and are energetically called on to be quiet. "May God curse them," the men will say; nevertheless, this has no effect whatever on the women. As soon as the grave is covered all men embrace each other as a token of reconciliation for all wrongs they may have

done each other. All male relatives are invited to a supper by one of the relatives of the departed, no matter whether the departed be man, woman, or child. The supper differs in nothing from a wedding supper, except that the women do not sing or dance; yet it is not true that they are glad when a person dies, as has been represented by some writers. Some have pretended the joy to be on account of the supper to follow, yet again many are under the impression that the Mohammedans are glad when they have dead friends because they know them to be in Paradise. They really do believe that all true believers are admitted into eternal joy and luxury of all kinds, manufacturing their happiness as they expected it to have been on earth if wealth could have given it. but from this belief to joy for the departure of a dear person is a great way off, in spite of all their stoicism. An Arab proverb says: "A day on earth is worth more than one thousand below." This says more than heaps of commentaries. They also believe in purgatory. The pious go directly to Paradise, and generally such as die on Friday, but those that have done any deed needing expiation must suffer in the most cruel way for a time. A legend about a woman gives an idea of what this purgatory is like:—"A woman had a son very dangerously ill, and she vowed that if he should recover she would leave the world for seven days. When the son actually recovered she did not know how to fulfil her vow, so she went to one well-versed in law and religion, and asked him how she could perform her vow. He told her that she must be buried seven days; so she was buried, but had food and air to support her. As soon as the burial was over, a round opening was seen in her grave, by which celestial air entered. She ventured out and saw people in torture. Some were hanged by their eyelashes, others by the ears, others upside down, and they were receiving floggings. She also saw a woman of her own village hanged by her hair-plaits. The tormented woman smelt the earthly smell, and asked her if she would go back. When she had told her how she was only temporarily buried she begged her to tell her husband, who was still living, that she had stolen money from him and hid it in a certain place, and that he should look for the money and forgive her, as without his forgiveness she would continually be tortured. Accordingly when the seven days were over, the buried woman was disinterred and came back, but nobody would acknowledge her, as purgatory air had wholly blackened her. When at length they were induced to believe it was herself, and had been told what sufferings await the wicked beyond the tomb, and especially when she told the man about his wife's message, they

believed in these things, and also now know what it is to be dead and buried."

The day after burial the women assemble early in the morning and go to the grave, where they wail, now quietly weeping for the dead, now with dishevelled hair jumping and dancing in a circle, holding each other's hands. From time to time they loose the hands, and while hopping strike themselves in the face with both hands at a time, three or four times in succession. Having wailed for the space of an hour they go home, to begin again the next morning, till the following Thursday. On this day oil-cakes are made and eaten at the cemetery by everyone present.¹ Men never join in these wailings. Thus the wailing goes on seven consecutive Thursdays, or until the great Thursday of the dead, which is in Spring, about the Greek Easter. This duty-day is obligatory to everybody. Food of all kinds is carried to the tombs and eaten by everyone. This practice is common to Christians and Mohammedans, townspeople and villagers. They carry the food according to wealth in greater or lesser quantities to be given to all present. The food is called "Mercy," and nobody is expected to refuse. When I was a small boy I remember the quantities of food the Jerusalem people had at the entrance of the cemetery. Usually there was cooked wheat, well sweetened with honey, which the women distributed, giving the passers a big spoonful, or throwing it into the pails of the beggars who flock around the cemeteries on Thursdays. This food distributing, as its name implies, is made to implore mercy for the repose of the departed.

The women go about with rent garments for months, or even years, according to the degree of affliction. Some do not wash the white head-cloth as long as they are afflicted, others do not even wash their own faces. This last practice is the more striking amongst the Christians of Bethlehem, because they are particularly careful about the cleanliness of their clothes, and the whiteness of the head-cloth.

Mohammedan men never show by any outward and visible sign the real affliction caused by a death; all show is considered sinful, though some are as sorry as they can be. A young man had two wives, one very ugly, who had sons and daughters, but was not loved in spite of this. His second wife was beautiful, and

¹ *Eating at Graves.*—This is also an ancient and widespread custom. It appears to originate in the idea of feeding the spirits of the dead, who can be nourished, as it were, on the ghostly part of the food eaten by the living.—C. R. C.

had an only daughter. Being very pretty, this child was the pet of the family, at least the half of the family which was on the side of the beautiful wife. When the girl was about three years old she got the whooping cough and died. The disconsolate father was angry with Providence, and thus expressed himself: "God left me my stupid, ugly son, but my good and wise daughter was too good for this world. I think the world is only made for the foolish to live on, the clever are taken away prematurely."

Another case of a man who lost his wife, and whom I assisted, shows the deep sorrow which men feel, and even show, on some occasions. When the corpse was brought and laid down in front of the tomb, a kind of ossuary, the husband objected for fear of the rains entering in and wetting her. He told the assembly that he had lost his own self; though he had many grown up sons and married daughters, he considered them all not even worth repeating their names.

Several men tried to console him in some way or other, but to no effect.

Now Ibrahim, the husband of the deceased, said: "Carefully put her alone; don't mingle the bones of the other dead with hers."

One of the assembly said: "At the resurrection all creation will be gathered, and there will be no fear about the individualities; every bone will go to its owner, no matter how dispersed they may be."

Says Ibrahim: "Don't talk nonsense; this is the priest's invention. I think that all flesh is as grass: it withers, decays, and will never be restored to its primitive form."

One of the assembly: "This is blasphemy; we all know that the resurrection of the body is true, and you will meet her again."

Ibrahim answered: "Good people, then I am an unbeliever, and if God had anything to do with it, or power to do so, he would have spared my wife. For myself I see and know she is dead for ever and ever."

CHAPTER X.—RELIGION AND PRACTICE.

Whether among Christians or Mohammedans, religious life does not extend beyond keeping the feasts and fasts, and in very rare cases also saying prayers. Application in practical life of any precept is almost unknown. And especially women, who consider themselves inferior to men, are convinced that as long as the men do not show by their deeds what a pure and holy life represents,

women are exempt from every religious practice, or rather they do not think at all about it.

Crimes, such as murder, theft of the burglarious order, or incest, are really considered sinful, but outside this the everyday incidents—minor thefts, lying, and slandering—are not considered such crimes as can throw a shadow on a person's character.

In the Bible women are mentioned very often, and their religious feelings must have been very much the same as those of the modern Fallâha if we except a few here and there. We can very well follow their lives and classify them as now into townswomen, Fellahîn, and Bedawîn.

As already mentioned the feasts and fasts of Ramadân are kept by the women as well as by the men. Prayers are also said by a few. Two principal feasts are observed—the Thursday of the dead may be excepted, for this is considered a duty day.

The feast of Bairam lasts for three days after the thirty days' fasting, when clothes are renewed. To the prayer everybody then comes in his best clothes. At this feast every head of a family kills a goat or sheep and eats it with his friends and relatives. The greeting on the feast days is: "May you be in peace (or present without infirmity) every year"; and the answer: "And you, too, in peace"; this is exchanged by everybody. The women do not stretch out the bare hand, but cover it with their long sleeves, and bow down to kiss the hand of the man.

The second feast is held sixty-five days later. According to Mohammedan tradition, this is the feast held in commemoration of Abraham's sacrifice of his son Ishmael on Moriah. The centre of the feasting is on Mount 'Arafat, near Mecca, whither thousands and thousands of sacrifices are brought by the pilgrims, and as every pilgrim brings a sacrifice, it is evident that a very small quantity of the meat can be eaten. Immeasurable heaps of meat are left to putrify and poison the whole neighbourhood. Though the Government employs men to bury the remaining meat, and though a certain class of pilgrims from Central Africa and the Soudan remain there and dry the meat and live on it for a year, still it is not possible to destroy all the blood and skins and so forth, or to prevent the whole region being filled with a pestiferous odour, and diseases of all kinds are carried home into all countries inhabited by Islam. During this great feast everyone at home also sacrifices, and portions of meat are sent to the relatives, usually to a daughter or sister married in another village. Olive twigs are stuck around the door-posts as a sign of peace, and the blood of the sacrifice is sprinkled on the posts and the lintel.

The mollah, who is the only literate person in the village, reads chapters of the Koran before the whole assembly after having said prayers. Most of the features of this feast have evidently been handed down from generation to generation. The blood sprinkling dates as far back as the departure from Egypt. The sending of portions is found in Nehemiah, together with the reading of the law: Ezra then opened the book and the people listened attentively, lifted up their hands and bowed their heads. Just as, after the prayer, Nehemiah commanded the people to *bring portions* to them for whom nothing is prepared, the Fellahîn carry the portions to all relatives and friends. Years ago, when I lived in the village of certain Mohammedans, almost every family sent me portions, though not a Mohammedan; and we all were considered as worthy of receiving the sanctified food. Though it is meant only for believers in their faith, the people never considered us as thorough infidels, as we always respected their feelings and assisted at such of their religious ceremonies as allowed of our being present. The native Christians are called Nazarenes by the Mohammedans, whilst Europeans in general are called Franks. Those who have more to do with European and native Christians make this a marked difference, but in out-of-the-way places, such as have no contact with strangers, call all non-Mohammedans *kufar* or infidels. Their law leaves a margin for the Christian as long as he lives, *i.e.*, he is not accursed by law, for he may convert himself on his death-bed, whilst the dead Christian is accursed, as having departed this life without passing into Islam. A Jew is accursed while alive, for a Jew can only become Mohammedan after having previously become a Christian, and then turning Mohammedan. Wherefore the Koran says: "Cursed be the dead of the Christians, and cursed be the Jews." The aversion Islam has towards images and pictures, with which most Christian churches are decorated, and to the cross surmounting religious edifices is a great obstacle against conversion to Christianity. But the most serious obstacle, besides the mystery of the Holy Trinity—as against their one God—and a single wife in marriage, is the rivalry of the different churches, and the manifold pitiful quarrels in which they are often engaged.

Be it said, to the shame of many Christian churches, that they even buy their converts with money and promises, and, what is yet more sad to confess, that the churches buy their adherents from each other—that is, take them away from one church into another. Mohammedans are rarely converted in Palestine. The few who have been made Christians are such as have been

brought up as orphans in Christian schools. As an instance of such religious traffic I knew a full-grown man with wife and children receive money one day from a priest of another church to become one of his flock. Accordingly Christian A for a trifle of about 20 dollars becomes Christian B. After a lapse of nine months he returned to his old creed, and on being questioned why he no more assisted at Divine service he said: "I think it has been long enough to assist at your services for nine months for 20 dollars, but if it please you I will continue another month, and I hope you will have nothing to claim after that." This traffic, which is carried on very largely in all Christian centres in Palestine, has lamed the efforts of the real Christian, who tries to show by his works and example what an honest Christian life is expected to be. Priests are considered by the natives as sly persons, be they Mohammedans or Christians. The legend goes that a Christian priest on his way to town met the devil, and as they walked together the priest proposed that they should carry each other by turns, that as long as the rider could say *tara-lam* he was to continue to ride; the devil, being the more polite, offered his shoulders to the priest, who readily accepted. As they proceeded the priest went on saying *tara-lam* till they neared the town. The devil then said: "Please excommunicate me," but the priest refused for some time; on the devil's insisting, he finally granted it and excommunicated him, but as to the cause the devil said: "If ever I carry a priest again, then let me be excommunicated." This is to show how they believe the priest slyer and more mischievous than the devil himself. Such anecdotes or legends abound among the people.

The Fellahîn have the same belief about the underground dwellers as the townspeople. The Jinn lurk everywhere and take advantage of the forgetful housekeeper. In general the same ghosts and ogres are thought to exist as those in which townspeople believe.

Shrines or tombs of prophets and saints are visited either on special feast days for the said saint or to accomplish a vow as above described. The tomb of the prophet Moses,¹ near the Dead Sea, and that of the prophet Reuben near the Mediterranean,

¹ *The Grave of Moses.*—This shrine (*Neby Mûsa*) is a great place of Moslem pilgrimage in spring. The peculiar bituminous shale close by burns like coal. The legend of the transference of the shrine, no doubt, is intended to meet objections that Moses really died and was buried on the opposite side of the Jordon Valley in Moab.—C. R. C.

south of Jaffa, are visited—the first in Passion week and the second in September.

It is said:—When Moses was old, Ozrain, the Angel of Death, appeared to him and announced to him his death, but Moses entreated of him to allow him at least to say his prayers before death; Ozrain consented, and Moses asked him to wait awhile till he had performed his ablution. Having gone out, Moses went into the wilderness, and the Angel of Death lost sight of him. Six years went by and Moses was still wandering away in a straight line from Jerusalem. Then he saw two men making a grave (they were Ozrain and an angel), so Moses greeted them: "Peace be with you," and they answered: "And to you peace." "What are you about?" said Moses. "Well," answered the Angel of Death, "we are digging a grave for a man exactly of your stature, and as we lost his measure will you kindly descend and see if it is right?" Moses consented, and lay down. Ozrain asked him: "Are you comfortable on all sides? Is the grave wide enough?" Moses answered in the affirmative. "Well then, please remain in, for you are the man." Moses begged for time to say a prayer, and gave his word of honour not to escape, and it was granted him. Moses now earnestly prayed to God and said: "Why am I to die so far away from Jerusalem in a wilderness, seeing this place is six years' distant from Jerusalem, and there is neither sanctuary nor are there inhabitants?" God said: "That is my business, henceforth nobody shall go to Mecca on pilgrimage, but shall visit thy tomb; the years' distance I will change into hours, and the very stones I will cause to become fuel." In fact God himself transported the tomb to a spot six hours' distant from Jerusalem, and as the region is desert the stones were turned into bitumen. Thus pilgrims can perform their pilgrimage and can burn this material.

CHAPTER XI.—CONCLUDING REMARKS.

When a man comes back from Mecca, or from some other journey, or has done his four or five years of military service, obligatory to all able-bodied men, the women meet him singing, and though the man gives his hand to shake hands a woman must always cover hers with the big sleeve and kiss the man's hand. In busy places, as at Siloam, near Jerusalem, the man, woman, and children lead something of a family life, as being absorbed in business on the one hand, and often secluded from obligatory causes, distance of houses, and so forth. The covering of

the hand is because a woman is ever considered as unclean, and the bowing and kissing as a sign of inferiority. Amongst villagers no prefixes to names or titles are used, except for a mollah, dervish, or mayor of the village, who is invariably called Sheikh, whilst politeness bids the use of many terms. For elder men or women, uncle or aunt is used before the name, and for young persons of the same age "brother" or "sister" is prefixed, whilst for children or persons very much younger, "my son" or "my daughter" is prefixed. When they address townspeople or powerful Bedawîn Sheikhs, they will address the men as "my lord" or the women as "my lady," as Abigail in her distress, when she saw David, lighted off her ass, and said: "Upon me, my Lord, upon me let this iniquity be." Never may a woman respecting herself and the man she meets remain on the ass, but like Abigail must alight from any animal she is riding. Rebekah also when seeing Isaac from afar came down from the camel and walked.

Before slavery was abolished in Turkey, late in the seventies, wealthy Fellahîn often possessed slaves whom they bought from slave dealers who had brought them from the Soudan. In 1871 I saw such a string of slaves driven past the village of Urtas; a Fellah bought one of the slaves for £120 (about \$5 dollars), but the slave fled a few days afterwards and was never heard of again. Another who had been bought in Urtas more than forty years before had stayed with his master, and they grew so attached to each other that when I knew him he had been married by his master, and on the death of his master had inherited one-fifth of the property, receiving an equal share with the four sons. He had married a black girl, and their children again married black men and women of the same origin, that is, liberated slaves. The old man and his children talked Arabic very well, but the woman had been brought to Palestine by American settlers, who died, and she married in Urtas; though she knew no other language, she never learned to talk Arabic properly, always confounding the genders and the numbers.

On afternoons, when the principal work is done about the house and yard, the women of the quarter assemble together to chat about one thing or another, and more is often said than is necessary.

The Fallâha is very inquisitive. The story goes:—One day a Fellah, whilst killing a man, was asked by the man who was being murdered to stop a moment; the murderer listened, when the dying man said: "My murder will be known." The murderer said: "But I'll bury you below this huge heap of stones, and it will not even be

found out that you are murdered at all, seeing we are far away from any human being." "But," said the dying man, showing a thorn-bush flying past, carried by the wind: "The thorn-bush will repeat the news." He was killed and buried. In the village he could not be traced, and was forgotten. Years passed by, and the murderer one day looking out of his window saw a thorn-bush flying past, carried by the wind. He smiled; his wife asked him what he was smiling at, but he would not say, till, finally, he said he had remembered something that happened on a day like that, when a thorn-bush was carried by the wind, and that made him smile; but the daughter of Eve insisted on knowing all about it. At length he told her, but begged her to keep it secret, and both laughed at such foolishness. One day the man and woman had a dispute, and from harsh words they began fighting, till the woman shrieked out so that everybody could hear: "He is going to murder me as he did X, under the heap of stones, in such and such a place, and of course a thorn-bush will reveal everything." Quick as lightning the news spread, and the murderer was punished for his crime by being killed. Therefore the proverb: "Dirt, son of dirt, who tells a secret to a woman."

Living in the country where no artisans live, we had always tools of all kinds to repair or make many articles, especially wood-work. The women of the village always had this and that to mend. Though I never refused to do anything that I thought myself capable of doing, and without ever asking the least remuneration, but, on the contrary, even furnishing nails and pieces of board into the bargain, they would be greatly astonished if by chance I declared a work impossible for me to accomplish, and even show a certain annoyance if all was not punctually done at a given time. We had even to be doctors and dispensers—of course in light matters. But many a time we had to cure fevers, sore eyes, and the like; and when an animal had a broken leg I was supposed to be enough of a surgeon to put things into order again. In many cases I had very good success, and just these successes made them believe that where I failed it was through bad will.

I am now far away, but am sure my return amongst these villagers would be greeted by feasts and songs, as was the case when, after an absence of five years, I returned once before. Certainly the women showed their greatest joy—dancing and singing in honour of my return through whole nights.

(To be continued.)

NOTICES OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

Revue Biblique, vol. ix, 1900 ; published by the Practical School of Biblical Studies at the Dominican Monastery of St. Stephen, Jerusalem.

PÈRE LAGRANGE, the Superior of the Monastery, discusses the route of the Israelites from Goshen to the Jordan. The passage of the Red Sea is placed at the Serapeum, and the proposed route, after leaving *Wādī Gharendel*, runs by the *Debbet er-Ramle* (Wilderness of Sin) to *Jebel Mūsá* (Sinai). Thence by *‘Ain Hudhera* (Hazeroth) and the *Nagb el-Mirad* to *‘Ain Kadís* (Kadesh), and thence across the *et-Tih* desert to Eziongeber, near the *Gulf of ‘Akaba*. From this point the route runs up the *‘Araba* to *‘Ain el-Weibe* (Oboth), and thence by *Khurbet ‘Aī* (Ije-Abarim), between *W. el-Hesi* and *Kerak*, to *Dhibán* (Dibon) and the Jordan. Portions of the *et-Tih* desert have not been sufficiently explored to enable anyone to express a definite opinion upon the route. But it seems to me that Père Lagrange has not succeeded in solving the many difficulties connected with it, and that he has not given sufficient weight to the argument that the Israelites, with their wheeled transport, would have followed the easiest road through the country, especially from Eziongeber to Dibon. Père Lagrange also contributes an article on Deborah (p. 200*f*), in which he adopts the view that the Kedesh of Barak was at *Tell Abu Kadeis*, between *Lejjún* and *Ta‘annuk*. The campaign of Sisera against Barak is further discussed by M. Marmier (p. 594 *f*), who identifies Hazor with *Teiasir*, and Harosheth with *Khurbet Yerzeh*, makes *Tell Abu Kadeis* the site of Sisera’s death, and places Kedesh near Mount Tabor. These identifications seem somewhat hazardous.

Père H. Vincent, who closely watches all discoveries at Jerusalem, notices a small church of which the Armenians have found remains between the Sion Gate and the so-called “House of Caiaphas” (p. 118). He also gives a description, with plan, sections, and sketches (p. 451 *f*, 603), of the *Yákúbieh*, a mosque close to, and immediately east of, Christ Church, which was formerly the Church of St. James-the-Less. Mr. Schick’s plan (*Quarterly Statement*, October, 1895) is corrected, and it is maintained that no part of the church is older than the time of the Crusades. He also describes the *tomb on Mount Scopus*, and the ossuaries with Greek and Hebrew graffiti which were found in it (p. 106, and comments by M. Clermont-Ganneau, p. 308), and gives a plan and sections of the tomb, and photographs of “squeezes” of the ornament and graffiti on the ossuaries. A short notice of this tomb by Mr. Hornstein is given in *Quarterly Statement*, 1900, p. 75. There are also notices of the remains of a church found in the Muristan in the position assigned to the Church of St. Mary Latin-the-Less (p. 117); and of four *Greco-Roman sarcophagi* found in a tomb in the grounds of the Alliance Israélite, north-west of the city (p. 603, plan, sections, and sketches).

There are also papers by M. Schlumberger (p. 427) on a variety of the seal of the old Abbey of St. Mary Latin, which is compared with that

attached to a document dated 29th October, 1267, in the Archives of Malta; by Père Séjourné (p. 119), on a curious mosaic found at *Husa*, in the *Haurán*, which he believes represents a mathematical division of the circle, but is considered by M. Cognat to be for a game of hop-scotch; by M. van Berchem (p. 288), on an Arab epitaph, dated 14th November, 1208, found in the grounds of the Dominican Monastery; by M. Michon (p. 95 *f*), on the inscription copied by Mr. Hornstein at Ba'albek (*Quarterly Statement*, 1900, p. 74); and on two fragments of tiles stamped with the emblems, a galley and wild boar, of Legion X Fretensis, from the collection of Baron Ustinov (*see* M. Clermont-Ganneau's comments, p. 307); by P. Germer Durand, on inscriptions from Damascus, Gerasa, &c.

Each number of the "Revue" contains an appreciative notice of the excavations carried out for the Fund by Dr. Bliss and Mr. Macalister; and there is a very favourable review (p. 463) of M. Clermont-Ganneau's "Archæological Researches" lately published by the Fund.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins, vol. xxii, 1899.

THE volume opens with a memoir, by Professor Kautzsch, on the life and work of the late Dr. Socin, who was one of the founders of the German Palestine Society. Professor Socin was perhaps best known in this country by the excellent handbook to Syria and Palestine which he wrote for Baedeker's series, and by his articles, Palestine, Syria, &c., in the ninth edition of the "Encyclopædia Britannica." He was a sound scholar, a man of engaging personality, and an ideal scientific traveller. Almost his last work was the revision of his valuable list of Arabic place-names in Palestine, and of his reading of the Siloam inscription for the present volume (p. 18 *ff*).

Amongst other papers are Professor Hartmann's geographical and historical notes on that part of the Syrian Desert which lies between Damascus, Aleppo, Palmyra, and er-Rakka. The notes, based in part on personal observation, are an important addition to our knowledge of the district. Dr. Schumacher's description (p. 178 *ff*, and map) of the changes in the Jaulán and Haurán since his survey in 1884-86. Interesting details are given with regard to the Jewish colonies on the Upper Jordan, and the Rothschild colonies in Jaulán, and to the rapid, widespread destruction of the ruins of Gadara by the *fellahín*. Dr. C. Mommert's paper (p. 105) on the orientation of Arculf's plan of the Zion Church in the seventh century. The writer holds that, according to early tradition, the place where the Virgin died was south-east of the Cœnaculum, and not north-west of it, in the ground presented by the Sultan to the German Emperor. Dr. Fries's paper (p. 118) on the most recent investigations into the origin of the Phœnician alphabet, in which it is maintained that the Phœnician characters were derived from the Mykenean, and were imported into Palestine B.C. 1500-1000, and that their names were taken from those of the early cuneiform symbols. Dr. Sobernheim's account of his journey

from Palmyra to Selemiyeh with the place-names in Arabic characters, and a table of altitudes. Dr. Christ's article (p. 65) on the lily of the Bible; and two papers by Dr. Schick—one supporting the view that *Min Kárim*, and not *Futta*, was the birthplace of St. John the Baptist, and the other maintaining that Christ entered Jerusalem on Palm Sunday by the "Golden Gate," and not, as Dr. Sepp holds, by the "Double Gate."

Vol. xxiii, parts 1, 2, 1900.—Professor Hartmann continues his valuable notes on the Syrian Desert, and gives a sketch-map of the country showing the Roman and early Arab roads and towns. Dr. Christ contributes a review of Dr. Post's standard work on the "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai."

Mittheilungen und Nachrichten des Deutschen Pal. Vereins, 1899–1900.

THE volume contains a series of interesting letters written by Dr. Schumacher during his survey of part of 'Ajlún in 1898, with views of places not hitherto photographed; a short account by Baron Brünnow of his journey east of Jordan, with copies of the inscriptions which he collected, and photographs—one of a tomb he discovered at el-Kahf, south of 'Ammán; a note on Beersheba, where there are now two *sakiehs*, erected by a sheikh of the 'Azázime Bedawín, for raising water from the wells, and a khán.

1900–01, No. 1.—Dr. Sellin continues the account of a journey in Palestine made in 1899; and discusses various sites, amongst others Ai, which he places at *et-Tell*, and Bethaven, identified with *Khurbet el-Jir*. Dr. Schumacher publishes inscriptions from *Jerash* and its vicinity.

Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale, par C. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, M.I., &c.,
vol. iv, parts 1–8, 1900.

A NOTICE of the contents of each part of M. Ganneau's valuable "Recueil" is published, on its issue, in the *Quarterly Statement*, and attention is drawn here only to articles which are directly connected with Palestine. In his first two papers the author discusses the stamped Jewish jar handles, and inscribed Jewish weights, nearly all of which have been found during the excavations of the Fund. In form and dimensions the jars, probably, were not unlike the large Phœnician and Carthaginian jars, and they were distinguished from the amphoras of Hellenic make by their short thick handles, which probably served as rings for the passage of ropes. The handles are divided into two groups—those stamped with the four-winged solar disc, and those with the four-winged scarabæus. The inscriptions may be translated: (for the service—equivalent to our O.H.M.S.), of the King, Hebron, &c., and, perhaps, were intended to indicate that the jars had a certain capacity. The form of the letters seems to show that they are earlier than the Exile, but much later than the time of Rehoboam. They may have been made at royal potteries, the existence of which seems probable from 1 Chron. iv, 23.

Of the five known *inscribed weights*, that obtained from Samaria by Dr. Chaplin is the oldest, and dates from a period when Assyrian influence was strong in Palestine. The others are later and Egyptian in form.

The Levitical town, *Mephaath* (p. 57), known to Eusebius, and probably the Mesa (Mefa?) of the *Notitia*, appears to be Meifa'a, a village in the Belka mentioned in the *Marásid* (A.D. 1300). This name may still linger as Khurbet Meifa'a. In *Les trois Karak de Syrie*, a correction of Mr. le Strange's translation of a passage in the *Marásid* ("Palestine under the Moslems," p. 480) is proposed, and some interesting information is given with regard to Kerak of Moab. In discussing (p. 66) the original Greek of the Latin version of the story of the *finding of the relics of St. Stephen*, M. Ganneau takes the *exopyla* of the Greek to be one of the heaps of refuse outside Jerusalem upon which Stephen's body was thrown, and "*the Kedar*," which indicates the position of the heap, to be the mutilated name of an unknown place near the city. Another view, that of Père Lagrange, is that *exopyla* simply means outside the gate, and that the gate was the one leading to Kedar, near Damascus. The Cedar of the Latin version was probably the origin of the transference of the scene of Stephen's martyrdom to the Cedron valley, with which the word has nothing to do. Recently discovered inscriptions in Palestine and Syria are also discussed.

At the *Congress of Christian Archaeology* in Rome last spring an interesting discussion arose with regard to the celebrated fourth century mosaic in the Church of St. Pudentiana, which is figured in Di Rossi's great work, in Spithövers Roman mosaics, and in Mr. Jeffery's pamphlet on the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. A suggestion of Père Grisar that the Roman edifices in the background were the great churches erected by Constantine at Jerusalem appears to have found general acceptance.

A Report of the Recent Excavations and Explorations conducted at the Sanctuary of Nazareth, by Br. VLAMINCK, O.F.M., Jerusalem.

THE excavations showed that the "Holy House," before it was transported to Loretto, stood upon the rock in front of the "Grotto of the Annunciation"; that that grotto had three apses; and that the altar, now standing in front of the north apse, was originally in the east apse, which was decorated with mosaic. Amongst the discoveries were the opening by which alone the grotto received light, and was reached from the "Holy House"; a chamber, 10 feet square, to the west of the "Chapel of the Angel," with a floor of mosaic, on which appears the name of Deacon Kononos, of Jerusalem, in Greek characters; a tomb with an ante-chamber floored with mosaic; an ancient rock-hewn staircase leading to the "House of St. Joseph"; and a pier of the old basilica on which an Armenian pilgrim, called James, had scratched his name. The report is accompanied by plans of the church, the grotto, and the mosaics.

C. W. W.

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

In Memoriam.

HER MAJESTY QUEEN VICTORIA

BORN MAY 24, 1819.

PATRON

OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND FROM ITS FOUNDATION IN 1865.

DEPARTED THIS LIFE JANUARY 22, 1901.

HER MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY, of happy and blessed memory, was among the first who started the work of exploration and excavation in Palestine by contributing one hundred pounds towards the Fund at its inception, and has continued from that day to this our Patron. For the Queen always recognised that the primary object of the Fund was to aid in making the Bible better known and understood by a systematic study of the archæology, natural history, and physical geography of the Holy Land, and of the manners, customs, and arts of its inhabitants. And it was because anything that directly or indirectly serves to throw light upon the sacred page is thus earnestly and perseveringly sought for and fearlessly welcomed by the Palestine Exploration Fund, come it from what source it may, that Her Majesty was pleased to evince her continued interest in its operations. Even before the inception of these, the present King, by Her Majesty's desire, visited the Holy Land in the spring of 1862, under the guidance of Dean Stanley, who was

afterwards one of the founders of our association. And the subsequent visits to Palestine of so many members of the Royal Family, in order that they might thus be afforded an opportunity for the better appreciation of the history and records of our religion, were due to Her Majesty's initiative. At her coronation the Queen received, as her ancestors had done for six generations, from off the altar at Westminster Abbey, by the hands of the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bible "as the most valuable thing that this world affords," and with the charge from his lips: "Here is Wisdom, this is the Royal Law; these are the lively oracles of God. Blessed is he that readeth and they that hear the words of this book, that keep and do the things contained in it. For these are the words of eternal life, able to make you wise and happy in this world, nay wise unto salvation, and so happy for evermore, through faith which is in Christ Jesus, to whom be glory for ever." And when his successor in the See of Canterbury in 1885 presented in the name of Convocation a copy of the revised version to the Queen, she wrote that "she must congratulate those who had laboured so anxiously and so successfully, and assured the Archbishop and Convocation of the deep interest with which she would read these sacred volumes." These were no empty words. The effect of the study thus referred to was daily and practically manifested in Her Majesty's exemplary life. Instances, too, of the Queen's happy application of Scripture are before the public in the choice of the texts that are quoted on the monuments she erected to her relatives and personal friends. Under the medallion of Dean Stanley that faced Her Majesty in the private chapel at Windsor Castle is engraved, "Now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity" (1 Cor. xiii, 13). On the brass erected in the same place to Sir John Cowell's memory, Ps. xv, 1, 2—"Lord who shall abide in Thy Tabernacle, who shall dwell in Thy holy hill. He that walketh uprightly and worketh righteousness, and speaketh the truth in his heart." On that to Sir Charles Grey, Ps. xxxvii, 37—"Mark the perfect man, and behold the upright, for the end of that man is peace," and Rev. xiv, 13. On that to Sir Thomas Biddulph, St. Matt. xxv, 23. On that to Sir Charles Phipps, Prov. x, 7—"The memory of the just is blessed." On that to Sir Henry Ponsonby, 1 St. Peter, ii, 17;

and on Dean Wellesley's, 2 Tim. ii, 19. But perhaps the most impressive and aptly chosen of all is that on the monument in the nave of St. George's Chapel, to the blind and exiled King: "Here rests in peace among his kindred, the Royal family of England, George the Fifth, King of Hanover. Born at Berlin, 27th May, 1819; died at Paris, 12th June, 1878." "Receiving a kingdom which cannot be moved." "In Thy light shall he see light."

The following resolution, passed at a meeting of the Executive Committee of the Fund, was signed by the Archbishop of Canterbury, as President, and transmitted by His Grace to the Home Secretary:—

"That the President, Committee, and Members of the Palestine Exploration Fund, of which Society the late venerated Queen and Empress was, from its foundation in 1865, the Patron, desire to express their profound sense of the loss sustained by the nation in the death of its beloved Sovereign Queen Victoria; and, at the same time, beg most respectfully to tender their heartfelt sympathy to their Majesties the King and Queen, and other members of the Royal Family, in this heavy bereavement. Furthermore, they respectfully desire to offer the expression of their sincere loyalty to his Most Gracious Majesty upon his accession to the Throne of his ancestors, and to express their hope that the reign of His Majesty King Edward VII may be long, happy, and prosperous."

Signed on behalf of the Committee
and Members of the Palestine
Exploration Fund } F. CANTUAR, *President*.

By the death of Mr. Basil Woodd Smith the Executive Committee loses a zealous and kind fellow-worker, and the Fund a good friend. Mr. Woodd Smith was for some thirty years Chairman of the Hampstead Bench of Magistrates, and actively interested himself in the welfare of that neighbourhood. For many years he served on the Committee of the Bible Society, as he did also on the Board of Managers of the Royal Institution. It was, indeed, mainly due to him that the use of their lecture theatre was granted to the Palestine Exploration Fund for its

Annual General Meetings on several occasions. Mr. Basil Woodd Smith, with his many and wide interests, his useful activity, his scholarly instincts, and his genuinely kind simplicity, was a good type of the cultured, unaffected, English gentleman to whose voluntary effort this country owes so much. He died at St. Leonards on January 27th, after an illness of some months' duration, in his 70th year.

It is with deep regret that we have to announce the death of the Rev. H. Falscheer, of the Church Missionary Society, at Nâblus, on February 12th last. Mr. Falscheer, whose missionary labours at Nâblus are well known, was always ready to place his intimate knowledge of the district and the people at the disposal of the officers employed by the Fund. In 1866 he cordially assisted Sir C. Wilson and the late Major Anderson during their excavations on Mount Gerizim; and his tact and influence enabled them to secure photographs of part of the Samaritan Pentateuch and its case. He also gave ready assistance to Sir C. Warren and Colonel Conder. During his 40 years' residence amongst the most unruly people in Palestine he won the respect and esteem of every one, whether Christian, Moslem, or Samaritan.

Through the courtesy of His Excellency Hamdy Bey, the director of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, the Committee have received duplicates of some of the objects found during the recent excavations of the Fund. The duplicates include Jewish and Rhodian stamped jar-handles, some of the curious little figures in lead which M. Clermont-Ganneau supposes were intended to represent persons against whom incantations were directed (*Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 58), lamps, and pottery of various ages. All are being placed in the Museum of the Fund, at 38, Conduit Street.

The Committee have applied for a firman to enable the Fund to continue its excavations in Palestine, and they hope to be in a position to publish full details with regard to further operations in the July *Quarterly Statement*.

The Committee have pleasure in announcing that M. Clermont-Ganneau, whose valuable contributions to the work of the Fund

are well known, has kindly promised to supply a series of archæological and epigraphic notes to the *Quarterly Statement*. The first notes of the series, which will be found in this number, include two of great interest—one on the hitherto unknown seal of the Leper Hospital of St. Lazarus, the other on inscriptions found on the “high level aqueduct” at Jerusalem.

Dr. Torrance, in forwarding the meteorological observations taken at Tiberias during the year 1900, informs us that a mark has been made on the sea wall, and that the level of the lake is noted every month. Already the lake has risen 32 inches.

An easterly gale of unprecedented velocity occurred on January 25th and 26th of this year, and destroyed several portions of the ancient wall on the lake shore, as well as some houses built near the shore. The inhabitants do not remember having experienced such a storm before.

In commemoration of the Sultan's semi-jubilee, clock towers have been erected in most of the towns in Galilee, but as yet no clocks have been placed in them.

Small-pox has been raging in Tiberias and in many other towns in Palestine for some months past. Most of the people in Tiberias have been vaccinated.

On February 17th Tiberias was visited by 430 Russian pilgrims, male and female, who came on foot from Jerusalem.

Dr. Schick has sent the following notes:—

Quarantine against Egypt has been removed, and travellers are beginning to arrive in Palestine.

By order of the Porte there is to be a *census* this year throughout the Ottoman Empire.

There has thus far been a deficiency in the rainfall at *Jerusalem* this winter. Great anxiety is felt for the crops. The water in the cisterns is low, and it is feared that all building operations will have to be stopped, and many labourers thrown out of work. Towards the end of January there was a heavy fall of snow, which lay on the ground for two days.

In the Armenian quarter of *Jerusalem*, not far from the Zion Gate (Bâb en-Neby Dâûd), is the Armenian convent, Deir ez-Zeitûn, with a church which is regarded as the house of Annas,

the father-in-law of Caiaphas. Near this place the Armenians have shown me a long tunnel-like vault in which a number of Franciscan monks took refuge in 1244 when the Kharezmians took the city by storm and destroyed the church and monastery of Zion.

About 30 years ago I had to make a model of the *Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem*, on a scale of $\frac{1}{75}$, for the Armenian Patriarch. Whilst doing this I found that, besides the caves usually shown to travellers and noticed in guide books, there was a crypt, with square pillars and low arches, beneath the basilica. It was so full of bones and mould that I was obliged to creep on my hands and knees, and did not go very far. But I could see by the light of my candle that the crypt was of great size, and it seemed to me to extend the whole length of the church. The crypt must have been used as a Christian place of burial for many centuries. I think I should mention this fact lest it be overlooked.

The Imperial Ottoman Post has opened a branch office at *Jericho*.

Bîr es-Seb'a, *Beersheba*, has been made the headquarters of a kaza, under a Kaimakâm; barracks and other buildings have been erected near the wells, and a small garrison has been quartered in the place to control the Bedawîn.

The Rev. J. E. Hanauer writes that on December 5th last he visited the ruin near *Hebron*, known as *Deir el-Arb'aîn*, with Dr. Masterman and Professor Torrey, the Director of the American School of Archæology at Jerusalem. On entering the south-east court of the ruin they found that part of the apse of a chapel or small church had been recently uncovered. The south wall of the Deir is built across the apse, and several stones cut into a curve and apparently belonging to the apse are built into the wall. Outside the Deir, within which is the reputed tomb of Jesse, and a little distance from its south-west angle, are two or three courses of cyclopean masonry which possibly formed part of a tower. These remains do not seem to be specially mentioned in any description of the place.¹

¹ In Baedeker's "Handbook" the Deir is said to consist of "old cyclopean walls and modern buildings."—ED.

On February 15th Mr. Hanauer and Dr. Masterman visited the ruin described in Palestine Exploration Fund "Memoirs," vol. iii, p. 351, as lying about half a mile to the south of *Khurbet Beit Sawir*. It is about 350 paces west of the twentieth kilomètre stone on the road from Jerusalem to Hebron, and consists of the west and south walls of a square building with 14-mètre sides. The west wall, of which portions of six courses remain, lies due north and south. The south wall, which also had six courses, is almost entirely overthrown—"the great slabs of which it was built standing on edge in parallel lines in the ground." There are no traces of a north wall, and but slight indications of an east wall. The building commands an extensive view in all directions. Mr. Hanauer and Dr. Masterman suggest that the two walls may have supported an earth platform, and that the building was a "high place" for sacrifice which was intentionally destroyed. Four photographs of the ruin were forwarded with Mr. Hanauer's letter.

From a correspondent:—

The rainfall in Palestine is much below the average this season, less than 15 inches having fallen up to March 10th inclusive. In Jerusalem drinking water is already running short, and there are serious apprehensions that, unless the last rains of the season are copious, the crops will greatly suffer.

It is reported that the municipality of Jerusalem have received from the Ottoman Government permission to bring water to the city from Wady 'Arrûb and its neighbourhood, and that steps have already been taken to interest European capitalists in the undertaking, and to raise the requisite funds.

The dyeing business in Jerusalem has long been in the hands of Moslems, although, according to Benjamin of Tudela, the exclusive privilege of carrying on this trade, at the time of his visit, was purchased from the King of Jerusalem for a yearly rent by Jews, who lived under the Tower of David. A recent visitor to the Holy City notes that on a wall exactly opposite to the gate of the Castle, which includes the "Tower of David," there is now a board announcing in the Hebrew, Arabic, German,

French, and Russian languages that the dyeing establishment of a Jew is close by.

The Rev. Putnam Cady writes with reference to the current in the Dead Sea :—

“Major-General Sir Charles Wilson, in his note on my article on the Dead Sea published in the January *Quarterly*, says that it would be interesting to ascertain the cause of the strong current that sets toward the north. It occurred to me that the millions of tons of water rushing daily down the Jordan and going with such terrific force out into the sea might make a strong current down the centre of the lake. Striking El-Lisan and the southern shore this might be turned back again to follow the east and west shores northward. Lieutenant Lynch’s ‘Expedition to the Dead Sea and the Jordan’ (6th edition, revised) calls attention to the fact that he observed this northward current while at Ain Jidy. P. 291: ‘Observed some branches of trees floating about a mile from the shore toward the north, confirming our impression of an eddy current.’ Again on p. 295, observing from the same point: ‘We again noticed a current setting to the northward along the shore, and one farther out setting to the southward. The last was no doubt the impetus given by the Jordan, and the former its eddy deflected by Usdum and the southern shore of the sea.’ ”

The Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright (Hon. General Secretary, U.S.A.) writes :—

“A quiet but very important expedition has been made through Syria and the Hauran at the expense of four gentlemen of New York. The route was mainly that traversed by De Vogüé in 1861–1862, but some places not visited by him were included. Although German archæologists have done something in this field, it has lain for the most part neglected on account of lawlessness and the scarcity of water. The expedition carefully attended to correcting the map, to the collection of inscriptions, and to the study of architectural remains.

“Entering Syria at Alexandretta in October, 1899, the expedition went northward and eastward for eight weeks, visiting all the towns seen by De Vogüé and 30 others. Many new inscriptions were found. Many churches were found, and these in

some uninhabited towns were in excellent condition. Going on through Aleppo to the Euphrates the expedition continued its work until compelled by wintry weather to return and rest two months at Beirut.

“In March, 1900, the expedition started again, being joined by Dr. George E. Post, and going southward of its previous field, keeping on to Palmyra and then back through the Hauran. Inscriptions were collected in ‘Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Syrian, Palmyrean, Nabatean, Safaitic, and Kufic,’ to the number of some 400 in all, half of these altogether new. Seven new inscriptions were found in Palmyra. The inscriptions in some cases seemed to the explorers to have been erroneously taken by Waddington.

“The work was completed in June, 1900, but one of the party remained to prosecute anthropological studies. The others, having returned to America, are at work at Princeton University in preparing a full report, which will probably be ready next year. The expedition was authorised by His Excellency Hamdy Bey, and was helpful to the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, as it certainly will be to scholars.”

A subscriber offers for sale a complete set of the “Memoirs” of the Survey of Western Palestine in 8 vols., comprising:—“Memoirs” (3 vols.), “Name Lists,” “Jerusalem,” “Special Papers,” “Fauna and Flora,” “Index”; also one Great Map in Portfolio (1 inch), one Old Testament Map, one New Testament Map, one Water Drainage Map, one Portfolio of Jerusalem Plates. “All in a very good condition.”

The concluding volume of Professor Gauneau’s “Archæological Researches in Jerusalem and its Neighbourhood” has been published and issued to subscribers. This completes the set of four vols. as advertised under the title “Survey of Palestine.” There are only three sets left of the first 250 copies of this valuable work. Those who wish to secure a set at £7 7s. before the price is raised should write to the Secretary of the Fund.

The “Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai,” by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of

all the Phaenogams and Aerogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21s.

In order to make up complete sets of the "Quarterly Statement," the Committee will be very glad to receive any of the back numbers.

The income of the Society from December 22nd, 1900, to March 22nd, 1901, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £582 8s. 11d.; from Lectures, £10 5s. 4d.; from sales of publications, &c., £143 9s. 10d.; total, £736 4s. 1d. The expenditure during the same period was £445 19s. 5d. On March 22nd the balance in the Bank was £538 19s. 7d.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38 Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but all are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

While desiring to give 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.

TOURISTS are cordially invited to visit the Loan Collection of "Antiques" in the JERUSALEM ASSOCIATION ROOM of the Palestine Exploration Fund, opposite the Tower of David, Jerusalem. Hours: 8 to 12, and 2 to 6.

Maps of Palestine and Palestine Exploration Fund publications are kept for sale.

Photographs of Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. Sets of these photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible Lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following:—

“Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale.” Tome IV, Livraison 9, July.

Sommaire :—§ 19. Les inscriptions du tombeau de Diogène à el-Hâs. § 20. Les inscriptions Nos. 2197 et 2491 Waddington. § 21. Le martyre de Saint Léonee de Tripoli. § 22. Héron d'Alexandrie et Poseidonios le Stoïcien. § 23. Inscriptions de la nécropole juive de Joppe. Livraison 10, September to December, 1900. *Sommaire* :—§ 23. Inscriptions de la nécropole juive de Joppé. § 24. La reine Arsinoé et Ptolémée IV Philopater en Palestine. § 25. L'envoûtement dans l'antiquité et les figurines de plomb de Tell Sandahanna. § 26. Secan phénicien au nom de Gaddai. § 27. Inscriptions grecques de Syrie. From the Author, Ch. Clermont-Ganneau.

“The Great Mosque of the Omeiyades, Damascus.” From the Author, R. Phenè Spiers.

“Flavius Josephus Judischer Krieg.” By Dr. Philipp Kohout, Professor in Linz. From the publisher, Quirin Haslinger, Linz.

From Dr. Hingston Fox:—

“Memorable Remarks upon the Jewish Nation.” 1786.

“A Religious Journey in the East in 1850 and 1851.” By the Abbé de St. Michon.

“Mélanges de Littérature Orientale.” Par M. Cardonne. 1788.

“Journal of a Tour in the Holy Land.” 1841. By Lady Francis Egerton.

- “Travels in Upper and Lower Egypt.” By Vivant Denon. In 2 vols. 1802.
- “Letters on Egypt.” By Savary. In 2 vols. 1786.
- “Two Discourses and a Sermon.” By Dr. Claudius Buchanan. 1811.
- “Damas et le Liban, 1861, Journal d’un voyage à.”
- “Eastern Europe and Western Asia in 1861-3.” By H. A. Tilley. 1864.
- “The Massacres in Syria.” By J. L. Farley. 2nd edit. 1861.
- “A Journey due East.” By Chr. Cooke. 1876.
- “Visit to Holy Land, Egypt, and Italy.” By Ida Pfeiffer. 2nd edit. 1853.
- “Correspondance d’Orient.” In 6 vols. 1830-31. Par M. Michaud et M. Poujoulat. 1835.
- “Bocharti Opera.” In 2 vols. 1682.
- “Neale’s Syria, Palestine, and Asia Minor.” In 2 vols. 2nd edit. 1852.
- “Carlisle’s Diary in Turkish and Greek Waters.” 4th edit. 1854.
- “Farley’s Two Years in Syria.” 1858.
- “Hamer L. Dupuis on the Holy Places.” 1856.
- “A Field Officer of Cavalry’s Diary of a Tour through South India, Egypt, and Palestine.” 1823.
- “Countess Hahn-hahn’s Travels and Letters from the Orient.” 2nd edit. 1845.
- “Morison—Voyage en Italie, Egypte, Arabie, Syrie, et Grece.” 1704. 4to.

For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects write to the Secretary.

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

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

Signature _____

Witnesses { _____

NOTE.—Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America; Two suffice in Great Britain.

STATEMENT OF RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE FOR THE YEAR ENDING 31st DECEMBER, 1900.

RECEIPTS.	£	s.	d.	EXPENDITURE.	£	s.	d.
To Balance in Bank 31st December, 1899, including £41 11s. 6d. Subscriptions paid in advance for 1900..	241	5	4	By Exploration..	..	..	1,063 9 0
Donations and Subscriptions ..	1,999	7	5½	Printing, Binding, including <i>Quarterly Statement</i> ..	..	..	391 0 3
Proceeds of Lectures ..	11	5	6	Maps, Lithographs, Illustrations, Photographs, Casts, Lantern Slides, &c. ..	..	..	209 7 0½
Sales of Books, Maps, Photographs, Casts, and Lantern Slides ..	518	13	11½	Advertising, Insurance, Stationery, and Sundries	..	..	89 12 0½
				Postage of the <i>Quarterly Statement</i> , Books, Maps, &c. ..	..	..	131 12 1
				Salaries and Wages ..	..	..	327 17 3
				Office Rent, Gas, Coals, &c. ..	..	..	266 6 8
				Balance in Bank 31st December, 1900, including £10 8s. 0d. subscriptions paid in advance for 1901 ..	..	..	291 7 11
					..	..	£2,770 12 3

Examined and compared with Vouchers and Bank Books and found correct.

WALTER MORRISON, *Treasurer.*

THE TREASURER'S STATEMENT.

The income of the Fund during the year 1900 amounted to £2,529 6s. 11d., which was contributed under the following headings:—

From Donations and Subscriptions, £1,999 7s. 5½d.; from Lectures, £11 5s. 6d.; from sales of publications, £518 13s. 11½d. At the end of 1899 there was a balance in the bank of £241 5s. 4d., which included £41 11s. 6d. paid in advance for 1900, making the total available balance £2,770 12s. 3d.

On comparing these sums with those of 1899 it will be seen that the subscriptions are less by £82 10s. 0d., and sales of publications by £91 5s. 0d., nearly.

The expenditure during the same period was:—

On exploration, mainly carried on at Tells Sâfi, Judeideh, and Sandahannah, descriptions of which appeared in the *Quarterly Statement*, £1,063 9s. 0d.

On printing, binding, including the *Quarterly Statement*, £391 0s. 3d.

On maps, lithographs, illustrations, photographs, &c., £209 7s. 0½d., which included a reprint of the 12 and 20-sheet Old and New Testament maps, collotype print, &c.

Against these two sums (£600 7s. 3½d.), the Fund received £518 13s. 11½d.

On advertising, insurance, stationery, &c., £89 12s. 0½d.

On postage of the *Quarterly Statement*, books, maps, &c., £131 12s 1d.

On the management, which includes salaries, wages, office rent, gas, coals, &c., £594 3s. 11d.

The balance in the Bank on December 31st, 1900, was £291 7s. 11d.

ASSETS.			LIABILITIES.		
	£	s. d.		£	s. d.
Balance in Bank, December 31st, 1900.. ..	291	7 11	Printers' Bills and Current Expenses	605	10 4
Stock of Publications in hand, Surveying Instruments, Show Cases, Furniture, &c.					
In addition there is the valuable library and the unique collection of antiques, models, &c.					

WALTER MORRISON, *Treasurer.*

ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC NOTES ON PALESTINE.

By Professor CLERMONT-GANNEAU, M.I.

1. *Seal of the Crusading Period, from the Leper Hospital of St. Lazarus at Jerusalem.*—Father Paul de S. Aignan, of the Jerusalem province of the Franciscan order, has lately acquired from a fellâh a very curious *bullâ* of lead of the Crusading period. He has been good enough to send me casts and photographs of it. He believes, and with good reason, that it is the hitherto unknown seal of the Leper Hospital at Jerusalem, placed under the invocation of S. Lazarus.



(B)



(A)

On one of the sides (B) is engraved the figure of a bishop or mitred abbot, holding a crosier in his left hand and giving his blessing with his right. On the other side (A) is a leper, his head encowled in a sort of bonnet with hanging ear-pieces; his face bears the marks of his terrible disease, and in his right hand he brandishes the triple clapper or rattle¹ with which he was bound by the sanitary rules of the period to give warning of his approach, and put people on their guard against a dangerous contact. His left hand is placed against his breast.

The legend, which is partly defaced, seems as if it ought to read:—

A. + *Sigillum* [? *d(omus) lepro*]sorum.

B. + *S(ancti) Lazari* [? *de Ihe*]rusalem.

¹ Compare, for example, the "Custom" of Hainault (revised in 1483), "Coutumier Général," vol. ii, p. 36. This document speaks also of a "hat," probably of special shape.

For the restoration of the word *domus* I rely upon the official qualifications of the establishment, as they are given in contemporary documents, of which I shall speak hereafter. Considering the small extent of the *lacuna*, I suppose that the word was in the contracted form *D'*. Father Paul de S. Aignan, who has the advantage of having the original before him, is inclined rather to read [*H*](*ospitii*). I am unwilling to accept this reading, because the term *hospitium* does not appear in the official documents. On the other side he proposes to read *Lazari*[*C*]*ivitatis*[*S*]*anetae Jerusalem*.

The convent of lepers of St. Lazarus of Jerusalem must not be confounded with the abbey of St. Lazarus of Bethany, which was a convent for nuns founded under this invocation by Queen Melisenda, sister to Fulke I. We know the seal of this latter establishment by a copy of moderate merit made by Pauli;¹ it is altogether different: on one side there is a representation of the Raising of Lazarus, with the legend *Resuscitatio Lazari*; on the other is the portrait of the Abbess Judith (Joette, sister to Melisenda?) with the legend *Abatissa Juditta*.

We know from the *Assises de Jerusalem* (p. 417) that the House of the Lepers at Jerusalem was managed by a *magister*, "le maistre de Saint Ladre des Mesiaux," who was a suffragan of the patriarch of the Holy City. We must suppose that he was a dignitary invested with an ecclesiastical character, like the archbishop of the Ermins (Armenians) and the archbishop of the Jacobins (Syrians), in company with whom his name appears, and who are also reckoned as suffragans of the patriarch. Perhaps it is he whom we ought to recognise in the figure with the mitre and the crozier who appears on our *bulle*, unless he be the *capellanus* of the order, who is mentioned, as well as the *magister*, in the documents which I am about to quote. Or is it the patriarch himself?

It should be noted that the *magister* of St. Lazarus is mentioned in the very last line of the *Assises de Jerusalem*, after even the spiritual representatives of the native religious communities,

¹ Pauli, "Codice diplomatico," Pl. II, No. 20. I owe this reference to my learned colleague, M. Schlumberger.

as though he himself were in some sort put in quarantine like the poor wretches of whom he was in charge. Nevertheless, the establishment over which he presided was of great importance, as is proved by a fragment of the Cartulary of the Order, dating from the thirteenth century, which is preserved among the archives of the Order of St. Maurice and St. Lazarus at Turin.¹ This document confirms the passage in the *Assises de Jerusalem*, and also gives us valuable hints as to the organisation and resources of the institution. I quote the following paragraphs, which may throw some light on the legends on our *bullæ*:—

“Domus leprosorum Sancti Lazari (No. 1); ecclesia S. Lazari et conventus infirmorum qui miselli vocantur (No. 2); infirmi S. Lazari secus muros Jerusalem (No. 5); domus beati Lazari Jerosolimis—ecclesie S. Lazari capellanus (No. 6); fratres S. Lazari extra muros Jerusalem leprosi (No. 7); leprosi de S. Lazaro (No. 8); leprosi S. Lazari (No. 9); S. Lazari leprosi fratres (No. 10); conventus S. Lazari infirmorum de Jerusalem, Bartholomeo ipsorum existente magistro (No. 11) fraternitas leprosorum domus S. Lazari in Jerusalem (No. 30); leprosi qui manent extra portam civitatis sancte Jerusalem (No. 32); domus leprosorum S. Lazari Jerosolimitani (No. 33); frater Gualterus de Novo Castello magister domus S. Lazari in Jerusalem et conventus ejusdem domus (No. 34).”²

We know already from a passage in “La Citéz de Iherusalem” (§ xv), that the House of Lepers of St. Lazarus was situated

¹ Published by M. de Marsy in the “Archives de l’Orient Latin,” vol. ii, B, p. 121, *sqq.* It contains some forty charters and letters, ranging from 1130 to 1248.

² We see by No. 13 that there was also at Tiberias a “house of lepers,” organised on the plan of that at Jerusalem: “ecclesia beati Lazari de Tiberiade et fratribus ibidem commorantibus”; the document, which is dated 1154, is signed, “Fratre et magistro pauperum S. Lazari existente.”

I take this opportunity of remarking incidentally that the editor, M. de Marsy, has misunderstood the expression “octo cereos IIII rotularum,” which occurs in Nos. 37 and 38. He translates this by “eight wax candles of four rolls of wax.” *Rotula* in this case is not the Latin word which he imagines it to be, but a transcript of the Arabic word *rotöl*, the name of a weight; it should be “eight candles weighing four *rotöls*.”

outside and close against the wall enclosing the city, between the Kasr Jâlûd and the Damascus Gate, near a postern which was named after the establishment: "A main destre de la porte Saint Estene estoit la maladrerie de Iherusalem tenant as murs. Tenant a la maladrerie avoit une posterne, c'on apeloit la poterne Saint Lasdre."

This notice agrees, as the reader will see, with the statements in the Cartulary, and likewise with the remarks of Theoderich,¹ although the latter does not, perhaps, speak with the same degree of accuracy.

Another allusion, from a far less commonly known source, is given us in the *Estoire d'Eracles*, p. 82.² It is in the account of the investment of Jerusalem by Saladin; the line of investment reached from the Tower of David up to the Gate of St. Stephen: "De lez la maladrerie des femes et par devant la maladrerie des homes." We gather from an important difference of reading in the MSS. that the women's hospital stood beside the Tower of David (the Kal'a), while the men's was beside St. Stephen's Gate, that is, the Damascus Gate. This is the only evidence which we have as to the existence of a special establishment for leprous women, distinct from that for men and at a considerable distance from it, although, perhaps, connected with it in the sense of being under the same management. This fact is worth notice. It is, however, the men's lazarus house in which we are specially interested, and the more so because it raises a topographical question of much importance: the position of the postern of St. Ladre, otherwise called St. Lazarus.

This question of topography has been frequently discussed by Tobler³ and subsequent writers, and has been solved in various ways. Of late it has been proposed⁴ to fix the site of

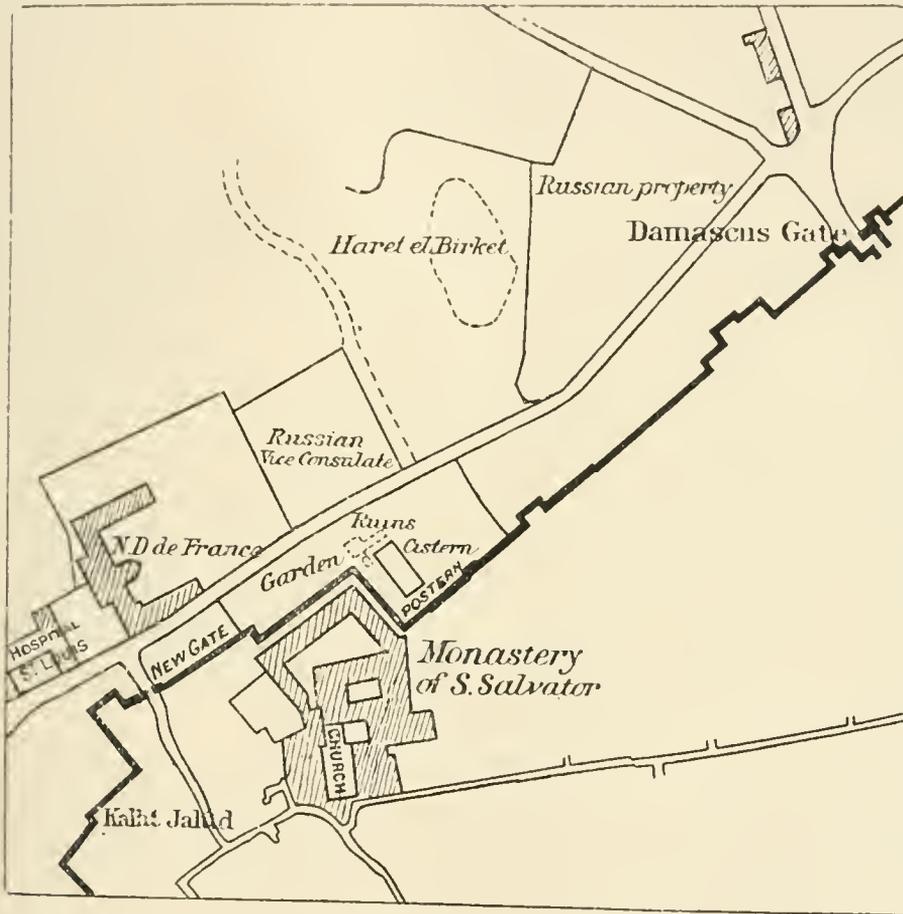
¹ Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, vol. v (p. 43, § xxvi). According to Theoderich's account, one must regard the establishment of the lepers as extending to a considerable distance to the south-west, seeing that he places it at the western angle of the city.

² See also p. 97, "porte de joste Saint Ladre."

³ Tobler, "Top. von Jerusalem," vol. i, p. 172; "Denkblätter," p. 414.

⁴ Palestine Exploration Fund, *Quarterly Statement*, 1889, p. 64; 1895, p. 30. See the plans of mediæval Jerusalem in the various volumes of the

this postern, which seems to correspond, not, as has been sometimes said, to the gate *Báb er-Rahbeh* of Mujîr ed-Din, but rather to the gate *Deir es-Serb* (?) of the same author, at a point in the city wall about 540 feet from the Damascus Gate, in a south-westerly direction.



This is not the opinion of Father St. Aignan, who proposes to place this postern some 560 feet further to the south-west. He is in a peculiarly favourable position for the examination of this topographical question, for the Franciscans some years ago purchased the land to the north of their monastery up to and beyond the city wall. The result of excavations undertaken by them along the angle which the wall forms at this point, looking to the north-east, has been to establish the

Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, and the new Plan of Jerusalem, on the scale of $\frac{1}{30000}$, published in October, 1900.

existence, at a depth of two metres below the surface of the ground, of an arch leading through the wall. This arch is built of stones bearing the diagonal tool-marks which I long ago proved to be characteristic of the work of Crusaders. The upper part of this arch has hitherto alone been disinterred, the space where the door once stood having been made use of at some uncertain epoch for the passage of a sewer which drains this quarter of the town. This would be the true Postern of St. Lazarus of the Crusaders.

In a charter of the year 1177¹ mention is made of the high road which leads from the House of the Lepers of St. Lazarus towards the "lake" of Legerius, from which another road branched off to St. Stephen's Church. The position of this pool, on the north side of Jerusalem, has not hitherto been fixed. Its memory, however, is possibly preserved by tradition, in the form of a curious survival which has been opportunely noted by Father Paul de St. Aignan. Ancient legal Arabic documents, or *kuchans*, give the singularly suggestive name of *Hâret el-Birkeh*, "the street" or "quarter of the pool," to a piece of ground situated about 1,000 feet due north of the supposed site of the postern of St. Lazarus. Here, indeed, is a piece of evidence which may perhaps lead to the solution of this little topographical problem.

I must add that I have sometimes been tempted to ask whether the *Lacus Legerii* may not really be identical with the "great cistern of the Hospitallers," mentioned by Theoderich (§ xxvi), which lay just between the hospital for lepers on one side and St. Stephen's Church on the other, before one came to the north (Damascus?) Gate.

2. *Rhodian, and not Jewish Amphora-handles*.—The two stamped amphora-handles, which Professor Wright has brought to notice,² although they undoubtedly came from Palestine have no connection with the history and religion of the Jews. They are simply Rhodian jar-handles, like those that I obtained

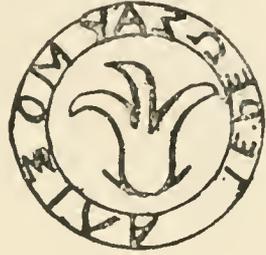
¹ De Rozière, "Cartulaire de l'Église du St. Sepulchre," No. 168: "Stratum regium que ducit a domo leprosorum S. Lazari versus lacum Legerii."

² *Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 62.

years ago at Jerusalem and Jaffa,¹ and those which have been found in such numbers during the excavations of Dr. Bliss at Sandahannah and Tell ej-Judeideh. The first has in its centre the flower emblematic of Rhodes (the rose, or rather the flower of the wild pomegranate, *βαλαύστιον*). The legend should really read

[ΕΠ' or ΕΦ'] ΙΕΡΕΩΣ Α(Ρ)ΜΟΣΙΛΑ

“Under the priest Harmosilas.”



It may be remarked that the name Harmosilas, with the letters complete and the same emblematic flower, occurs on three of the Sandahannah series of Rhodian handles.² We have here, then, a simple Rhodian priest acting as magistrate, and not a high priest of the Jews, Ishmael, or another.

The legend of the second handle is not a wish-for-good-luck, but another name of a Rhodian magistrate, in this case a civilian. It should read

ΕΤΤΙ ΚΑΛ
ΛΙΣ ΤΟΥ
ΜΟΡ:



ΕΠΙ ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΟΥ ΜΟΡ[ΜΙΟΣ]

“Under Kallistos son of Mormis.”

The name of this magistrate, qualified by the same patronymic, had already been noticed on handles notoriously Rhodian,³ associated with the same symbol—the bull's head—which has consequently nothing to do with the calves of Aaron and Jeroboam.⁴

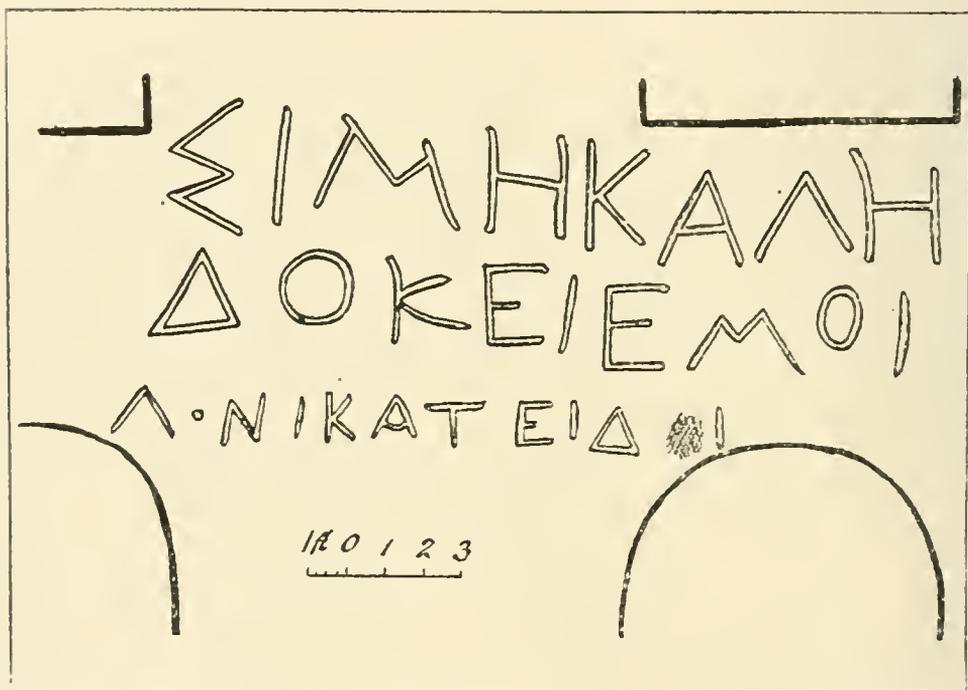
¹ Clermont-Ganneau, “Archæol. Researches in Palestine,” ii, 148, 149.

² *Quarterly Statement*, 1901, pp. 34, 35; Nos. 55, 56, 57.

³ Dumont, “Inscriptions Céramiques de Grèce,” p. 292; Nos. 127, 128. Perhaps the same patronymic ΜΟΡ[ΜΙΟΣ] should be restored on the Rhodian handle from Tell ej-Judeideh (No. 121, pp. 40, 41, of the List of the *Quarterly Statement*), which has also the same device, “the bull's head.”

⁴ Similar criticisms on Professor Wright's paper have been received by the Secretary of the Fund from Père Hugues Vincent, of St. Stephen's Biblical School at Jerusalem, and one of the most constant contributors to the “Revue Biblique”; and from Mr. Macalister.—[E.D.]

3. *The Inscription from the Columbarium es-Sûk at Tell Sandahannah.*—The Greek inscription¹ discovered by Mr. Macalister on one of the walls of this remarkable cave is of great interest. To judge by the character of the writing, it may belong to a period before the Christian era, and this would give us a piece of chronological evidence to determine the date both of this cave and of the similar caves of this district; but with regard to this matter we must bear in mind certain counter-indications which I shall mention presently.



Mr. Macalister proposes to read and translate it as follows:—

$$\Sigma\mu\eta\ \kappa\alpha\lambda\eta\ \delta\omicron\kappa\epsilon\iota\ \epsilon\mu\omicron\iota,\ \frac{\Delta}{\Lambda}\cdot\ \text{Νικατειδ}\left[\frac{(\epsilon)\iota}{?}\right]$$

“I, D. [or L.] Nikateidês think this a beautiful cave.”

According to him, it is a sort of visiting-card, in the style of “Ego Januarius vidi et miravi,” which is scrawled all over the Tombs of the Kings at Luxor. I do not think that this interpretation is tenable. The Greek word *Σιμή* never has the meaning of “cave” which Mr. Macalister attributes to it.

¹ For *ft.* in the scale in the cut read *in.*

Σιμή is a female proper name, well known from other sources, and meaning etymologically, "snub-nose." The true translation of this little inscription is "Simè seems pretty to me, &c." It is nothing more than a lover's greeting, written according to a form of which Greek epigraphy furnishes numerous examples: ὁ δεῖνα καλός; ἡ δεῖνα καλή, καλή δοκεῖ, &c. I even find on a painted vase in the Campana collection (*Corpus Inscr. Graec.* No. 8035) a greeting in exactly the same fashion, and actually in honour of a namesake of our Simé (the letters and spelling are archaic): **ΣΙΜΕ ΚΑΒΕ**, Σιμή καλή.

The personage who felt himself thus impelled to write the name of his sweetheart on the subterranean cavern which he visited, and to proclaim his passion in a place which does not seem very suitable for such a purpose, was perhaps some soldier on his travels, or it may be in a garrison in the country. The simple sentimentality of "Tommy" belongs to all ages alike. The name borne by our man offers certain difficulties, **Λ. ΝΙΚΑ-ΤΕΙΔ**  **Ι**

We have here obviously a name of patronymic form, as shown by the termination *ειδης = ιδης*. *Νικατείδης* (derived from *Νικήτας*) seems, certainly, a very plausible reading; only, I doubt whether it would be written *Νικατειδ[(ε)ι]* in the dative, as Mr. Macalister, not indeed without hesitation, reads it. I should prefer to read either *Νικατείδ[η]*, regarding the final **Ι** as the right hand limb of an **Η**; or even *Νικατειδ[η]ι*, with the iota ascript. This latter reading would imply a sufficiently remote date, but still one which, on the whole, would not be out of harmony with the period to which the writing apparently belongs (compare, for instance, the archaic form of the **Σ** and the **Μ**s).

A more important matter, because of the chronological inferences which it may imply, is the question raised by the group **Λ.**, which precedes **ΝΙΚΑΤΕΙΔ**  **Ι**. If the actual reading were certain, one could only interpret this *siglum* as an abbreviation for some Roman *prænomen* such as *Λούκιος*. This would tend considerably to bring down the date of the inscription, and might perhaps disagree with the palaeographic evidence which it contains; but, on the other hand, it might

suit the archaeological view of the matter better, for the internal arrangement of the cave strongly reminds one of the Roman *columbaria*. We may, however, remark that the reading Λ. is anything but sure. Mr. Macalister himself does not seem certain as to whether the dot is intentional or accidental, and, as to the letter, he hesitates as to whether it be Λ or Δ. Under these circumstances it is permissible to enquire whether ANIKATEID~~Σ~~Ι might not be the proper reading, regarding the A as an integral part of the proper name; Ἀνικατείδης (= Ἀνικητίδης) would be derived quite regularly from the proper name Ἀνίκητος (= Ἀνίκατος), which actually exists. The question evidently is not without importance, and it is greatly to be wished that one could have a good squeeze which would enable it to be decided.

If it were decided according to my second hypothesis, that is, if we are to read Ἀνικατείδης without any *prænomen* after the Roman fashion, and if we can get over the objection, which I admit is a serious one, of the Roman origin of the *columbaria*, one would be led, considering the paleographic character of the text, which might easily go as far back as the end of the third century B.C., to admit that Anikatides may have belonged to one of the armies which met at the battle of Raphia in 217 B.C., who are proved to have visited Sandahanna by the official Ptolemaic inscriptions whose true date and meaning I have lately been endeavouring to establish (*cf. Quarterly Statement, 1901, p. 54 ff.*).

4. *Roman Inscriptions on a Jerusalem Aqueduct.*—Father Germer-Durand, of the convent of Augustin monks of the Assumption of our Lady of France, at Jerusalem, who has already rendered such great services to the epigraphy of the Holy Land, has just discovered a series of Roman inscriptions, carved along an ancient Jerusalem aqueduct, whose construction has been successively attributed to Solomon, Pontius Pilate, and Herod. It follows from these inscriptions that this aqueduct, which is remarkable from an engineering point of view as containing a siphon, was really, at any rate for a certain portion of its extent, constructed in 195 A.D., in the reign of

Septimius Severus, by the military engineers of the Tenth Legion, at that time quartered in Jerusalem. I can do no better than reproduce the interesting letter which he has been good enough to write to me upon this subject:—

JERUSALEM, *December 3rd*, 1900.

. . . . We have just discovered a series of Latin inscriptions on a conduit which in former times brought spring water to Jerusalem. This conduit appears in the English map under the name of the “high level aqueduct,” to distinguish it from another on a lower level, which has been frequently restored in times more nearly approaching our own.

In one part of its course¹ this aqueduct formed a siphon, and consisted of a series of perforated blocks of stone, firmly fitted together so as to form a tube with an interior diameter of no less than 0·40 metre (15½ inches). This fine work, which has long ago been allowed to fall into ruin, has been broken at several points, and many of the perforated stones have been utilised as cistern mouths.² Such as have been broken have either been left where they lay or built into dry stone walls.

It was in one of these walls that we found by chance our first inscription. Its interpretation offered some difficulties. I have, not without hesitation, published a version of it in the *Echos d'Orient* for October, 1900,³ of which I send you a copy. I should be glad to have this version approved or corrected by competent scholars. Convinced by this discovery that the Titianus inscription was not the only one, we examined the whole length of the conduit, and found more than we had ventured to hope for.

Our most precious discovery is that which gives the date of the work, which we can find from the consulate. This inscription runs thus—its style is cursive rather than lapidary:—

CO5 · IOLEMENT^Ϟ
Co(n)sule I(ulio) Clement(e).

It was in 195, in the reign of Septimius Severus, that Julius Tineius Clemens held the post of consul, together with Scapula Tertullus. The *cursus honorum* of this personage is known to us from an inscription carved on the Memnon colossus. The aqueduct with the siphon, then, was built about 80 years after the founding of Aelia Capitolina, and this

¹ In the vicinity of Rachel's so-called Tomb, which perhaps only represents, as I have tried to show (“Recueil d'Archéol. Orient.,” vol. ii, p. 134 ff.) the tomb of *Archelaus* mentioned by St. Jerome.—[Cl.-G.]

² That is for drawing water.—[ED.]

³ On p. 9 Father Germer-Durand proposes to read STITIANIP *s(umptibus)* or *s(umptu) Titiani pr(afecti)*. A photograph of this inscription accompanies his letter. Comparison with other inscriptions of the same character subsequently discovered suggest a different reading to him now—*c(enturionis) Titiani p(ræpositi ?)*.—[Cl.-G.]

fine work must not be attributed either to the kings of Judah, or Herod, or Pontius Pilate, but to the engineers of the Tenth Legion (Fretensis), who were in charge of the public works of the colony.

As a subsidiary proof, here are three other inscriptions, discovered at various points along the conduit. Each of them bears the name of a centurion, who, no doubt, was the gang-master in charge of a body of workmen. The first inscription is carefully carved, and, although mutilated, confirms the date given by the consulate by the shape of its letters. It runs thus:—

7 CLO · SAT 
C(enturionis) Clo(dii) Sat(urnini).

The two other names are carved with less care: the shape of the letters reminds one of the inscription which mentions the consulate. One need not be surprised at this, for all these inscriptions were intended to be buried in a thick mass of rubble masonry. None of them were originally visible, and their discovery is due to the partial destruction of the conduit. Here is a copy of them:—

7 SEVERI
C(enturionis) Severi.

The third name had been so badly written that it was repeated lower down, in a more correct fashion.


7 VEΓ Π
VERI
C(enturionis) Veri.¹

It looks as if the stonecutter had at first made use of Greek letters, as did some stonecutters in the catacombs at Rome.

It has been impossible to obtain the originals of these two last inscriptions, but the first three have been placed in the Museum of Notre-Dame de France, which already contains a number of valuable pieces of evidence which throw light upon both historic and prehistoric times in Palestine.

Father Germer-Durand's important discovery reminds me of certain facts which seem to have an interesting connection with it.

I will remark, in the first place, that in 1850 M. de Sauley,² when examining the ruins of this same aqueduct, which is

¹ Perhaps we ought to emend this, as in the preceding inscription, into (Severi) ?—[Cl.-G.]

² De Sauley, "Voyage autour de la mer morte," vol. i, p. 136, and Atlas, Pl. XLII, No. 6.

called by the Arabs Kanât el-Chuffar,¹ "the Aqueduct of the Infidels," discovered in this same region, close to Rachel's so-called Tomb, on one of the blocks forming the casing of the conduit, the solitary word STROSI, cut in Latin letters 10 centimetres high (3·9 inches). The shape of the letters seemed to him to point to the twelfth century, and he was disposed to see in it the name of some Italian Crusader, belonging perhaps to the illustrious Strozzi family. To-day it is permissible to ask whether this brief inscription, which is susceptible of quite a different interpretation, may not be one of the group discovered by Father Germer-Durand, whose cursive writing is capable at first sight of deceiving one as to their real age.

In any case, it is to this group without doubt that we must refer another inscription, on the subject of which I have found in one of my old note books the following note:—

Bethlehem—on a fragment of stone from the aqueduct. From a rough copy sent in 1877 to M. Arsène Darmesteter, which he sent on to me in that year : some letters out of which I think I can make—

7 QVART . . . (*centuria*) *quarta* ?

One might also read *c(enturionis) Quart(ini)* ?

Moreover, it may be that the fragments of hewn stone² seen by Berggren on the road from Bethlehem to Jerusalem, in the vicinity of Rachel's Tomb, that is to say, on the line of this same aqueduct, on which he traced the words TITI, and EL . . . AVREL, belong to this same epigraphic group.

With regard to the very elaborate system of aqueducts of various periods, which brought water to Jerusalem from the plenteous springs which lie to the south of the Holy City (Wâdy el-'Arrûb and Wâdy el-Biâr), and especially with regard to the aqueduct which has just given us this series of Roman inscriptions, the reader is referred to the plans and technical

¹ قنات الكفار, with the countrified pronunciation ك = ch.

² Berggren, "Guide français-arabe vulgaire," vol. 466. Compare A. Scholz, "Reise," &c., 1822, p. 162 : 7 EL . AVREL . and "Auctarium additament. ad C.I.L.," vol. iii, No. 1328. The passage from Scholz, quoted in the "Auctarium," had been pointed out by me to Prof. Mommsen, and also that from Berggren.

observations of Sir Charles Wilson, "Ordnance Survey," 1865, pp. 80 *et seq.*, Plates VII and XXVIII, and to Schick, in the "Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins," vol. i, pp. 132-176, with plan.

As I pointed out some time ago,¹ it is this truly remarkable system of waterworks, extending as far as Tekû'a—the ancient Tekoa—some 15 kilometres south of Jerusalem, that Behâ ed-Dîn, in his account of the council of war held by the Crusaders under Richard, Cœur de Lion, speaks of under the name, at first sight rather surprising, of "the river (nahr) of Tekû'a."

5. *A Greek Inscription from Beersheba and the Gerar Question.*—During a recent journey in Palestine, M. Sellin² obtained a short Greek inscription which seems to deserve special attention from the certainty of its *provenance*. It came, in fact, from excavations made at the famous Beersheba in the extreme south of Palestine, by natives in search of building material for the steam mill, barrack, hotel,³ &c., which are being erected on the patriarchal site. It is a small fragment of a fine quadrangular slab of white alabaster. M. Sellin copied the following characters, but only gives them typographically:—

On the small side :

KAI H

On the large side :

ΞΕΩΣΣΙΛΟΥΑΝΘ
ΗΥ

I propose to read

. καὶ ἡ [? ὑπὲρ ἀναπαύ] (σ)εως Σιλ(ο)υανού
. ἡι?

The one point certain is the name Σιλουανός, which is not without interest, for it at once reminds us of the celebrated Silvanus, "the father of the monks," who founded an important monastery at Gerar, "in the torrent." Now, as I tried to show⁴

¹ "Études d'archéologie orientale," ii, pp. 135, 136.

² "Mitth. und Nachr. des D. Pal. Vereins." 1899, p. 9.

³ "Mitth. und Nachr. des D. Pal. Vereins," 1899, p. 30.

⁴ "Rec. d'arch. or.," iii, pp. 237-240.

some time ago, Gerar should be looked for, not as is usually done in the vicinity of Gaza, at Umm Jerar, but in the direction of, and, perhaps, close to, Bir es-Seba'. Without going so far as to identify the Silvanos of the inscription with the founder of the monastery, whose epitaph we should then have, we may ask whether we have not here a namesake, either one of his successors or a simple monk belonging to the community. Possibly we should restore the first line: *καὶ ἡ[γουμένου]*. In any case, the numerous remains, columns, slabs of marble, &c., turned up with this fragment, during the recent excavations to the north of the Bir es-Seba' wells, might well be explained by the hypothesis that they are the ruins of the Monastery of Silvanus. That would have an important bearing on the obscure question of the site of Gerar. To make the matter certain it would be necessary, as I have pointed out, to find in that district a name representing *Aphta*, a village near the Monastery of Silvanus, and consequently of Gerar. I recommend this desideratum to the attention of future explorers in that region.

AMPHORA HANDLES, WITH GREEK

By R. A. STEWART

(Continued)

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
146	Rectangular..	..	Badly stamped, end broken off.	(?) Small corner only appearing
147	„ ..	× 1·7	Nearly all flaked away ..	.. ..
148	Circular ..	2·6 diam.	Slightly worn	Rose ..
149	Rectangular ..	3·15 × 1·5	„ „ .. ..	.. ..
150*	„ ..	3·4 × 1·5	Badly stamped .. ..	.. ..
151*†	„ ..	3·4 × 1·5	Slightly worn .. ..	.. ..
152	„ ..	4·2 × 1·6	Badly stamped .. ..	.. ..
153†	„ ..	3·1 × 1·9	Worn	Dotted square frame.
154	„ ..	× 1·3	Worn; end broken off ..	.. ..
155	„ ..	3 × 1·5	Perfect .. ..	.. ..
156	„ ..	2·8 × 1·4	„ .. ..	.. ..
157	„ ..	3·2 × 1·5	„ .. ..	.. ..
158	Oval	2·6 × 2·3	Smearcd	Rose ..
159†	Rectangular..	4·4 × 0·9	Badly stamped and abraded ..	.. ..

STAMPS, FROM TELL SANDAHANNAH.

MACALISTER, M.A.

from p. 43.)

From similar, but not identical, stamps. || From Tell ej-Judeideh.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
Above	ΛΥΣΙΩΝ[	I.
..	M[A[	III.
Surrounding ..	ΜΑΓΝΩΡΟΣ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ	I reversed.
..	ΜΑΡΣΥΑ ΠΑΝΑΜΟ	Similar to 157.
..	ΜΑΡΣΥΑ ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ	Similar to 155.
..	ΜΑΡΣΥΑ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ	<i>See Fig. 29.</i>
..	ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ ΜΑΡΣΥΑ	Similar to 155.
Inside	ΜΑΡΣΥΑΣ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ	<i>See Fig. 28.</i>
..	ΘΕΣ[ΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΥ] ΜΕΝ[	VI.
..	ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ	I.
..	ΜΕΝΙ ΠΗΟΣ	V; ε, π VII.
..	ΜΕΝΤΟΡΟΣ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ	IV.
Surrounding ..	ΜΕΝΩΝΟΣ [ΠΑΝΑ]ΜΟΥ	IV, with slight tendency towards characteristics of VIII. Reversed.
..	ΜΙΔΑ[Σ]	IV large lettering.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
160†	Rectangular..	4 ×	Badly stamped and abraded ..	.. .. .
161†	„ ..	4·1 × 1·15	„ „ ..	Aeorn? ..
162	Oval	2·7 × 2·5	Slightly worn	Rose
163	Rectangular..	× 1·6	End broken off.. ..	.. .. .
164	„ ..	3·4 × 1·1	Bottom line smeared ..	.. .. .
165†	„ ..	2·65 × 1·7	Slightly worn	Helios head ..
166	„ ..	3·15 × 1·2	Broken in two .. ..	.. .. .
167	„ ..	3·6 × 1·3	Chipped	Anchor? ..
168*	„ ..	4·3 × 1·2	Worn .. ..	.. .. .
169	„ ..	4·5 × 1·5	Badly stamped and chipped ..	.. .. .
170†	„ ..	2·5 × 1	Top smeared .. ..	.. .. .
171	„ ..	4·1 × 1·7	Perfect .. ..	.. .. .
172	„ ..	2·4 × 1·2	„ .. ..	.. .. .
173†	„ ..	3·5 × 1·5	„ (stamp slipped slightly)	.. .. .
174	„ ..	4 × 1·5	Worn and slightly flaked ..	.. .. .
175	„ ..	3·5 × 1·6	Perfect	Blazing torch (<i>cf.</i> Fig. 38).
176†	„ ..	3·9 × 1·4	Slightly worn .. ..	.. .. .
177	„ ..	3·9 × 1·5	Perfect .. ..	.. .. .
178†	„ ..	3·6 × 1·5	Worn	Rose

¹ A seal bearing this name

‡ From similar, but not identical, stamps.

|| From Tell ej-Judeideh.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
.. .. .	ΜΙΔΑ[Σ]	IV large lettering.
To left : a line drawn under inscription.	ΜΙΔ[ΑΣ]	" "
Surrounding ..	ΜΙΝΘΙΟΥΣ	I.
.. .. .	ΜΙΡ[Ζ[Φ[	IV ; ζ VII, μ with uprights curved inward.
.. .. .	ΠΑΝΑΜΟ [ΜΟΛ?]Υ	VI.
To right : a dotted square round all.	ΕΠΙ ΜΥ ΤΙΩΝΟΣ	See Fig. 31.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΜΤΤΙΩΝ ΟC	IV ; ω VII ² .
Above	[ΜΟ?]ΚΛΕΥΣ	VIII.
.. .. .	ΝΑΝΙΟΣ	I.
.. .. .	ΝΕ[ΜΙ?]ΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ	V ; μ with straight vertical.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΝΗ CΙΠΟΤΟΥ	See Fig. 30.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΝΙΚΑΣΑΓΟΡΑ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ	II.
.. .. .	ΝΙΚΟ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ	IV ; σ VI.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΞΕΝΟΦΑΝΕΥΣ ¹ ΜΕΤΑΓΕΙΤΝΟΥ	See Fig. 33.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΞΕΝΟ ΦΩΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΡΙΑ[ΝΙΟ]Υ	III ; α, ο, I.
To left	ΟΛΥΜΠΟΥ	II first ο large.
.. .. .	ΟΝΑΣΙΟΙΚΟΥ	I.
.. .. .	ΟΝΑΣΙΟΙΚΟΥ	I.
Above	ΠΑ[ΥΣΑ]ΝΙΑ	II.

has been found at Pergamon.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
179†	Rectangular..	3·2 × 1·55	Worn	Rose
180	.. ..	2·8 × 1·5	Perfect .. .. .	.. .. .
181	.. ..	3·35 × 1·4	End flaked .. .. .	.. .. .
182	.. ..	2·5 × 1·5	Perfect .. .. .	.. .. .
183	.. ..	4·4 × 1·4	Beginning smeared .. .. .	.. .. .
184	Oval	× 3	Badly stamped and worn	Rose
185	Rectangular ..	× 1·45	Much worn, beginning broken off.	.. .. .
186	.. ..	3 × 1·7	Bottom slightly smeared .. .. .	.. .. .
187	.. ..	4 × 1·5	Top smeared .. .. .	.. .. .
188*†	Circular	3·2 diam.	Bottom smeared	Helios head
189	.. ..	2·7 diam.	Perfect	Rose
190	Rectangular ..	2·9 × 1·65	.. .. .	.. .. .
191†	.. ..	4·3 × 1·6	Worn	Sword
192	.. ..	4·1 × 2·2	.. .. .	.. .. .
193	.. ..	3·5 × 1·4	Worn and chipped .. .. .	.. .. .
194*	.. ..	4·5 × 1·8	Worn	Stars
195	.. ..	3·2 × 1·3	Stamp slipped, and reading very difficult.	.. .. .

¹ A seal bearing this name

‡ From similar, but not identical, stamps. ¶ From Tell ej-Judeideh.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
Above	ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ ¹	II.
..	ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ	II, minute lettering.
..	ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ	V.
..	ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥ ΣΑΝΙΑ	II without finals; v VII.
..	ΕΠΙ ΠΑΥΣΑΝΙΑ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΥ	I, second σ VII. The 6th of the first line shows traces of having been corrected from something else.
Surrounding ..	[ΕΠΙ? Π]ΑΥΣΑΝ[ΙΑ ΣΜΙ]Ν[Θ]ΙΟΥ	I; o II.
..	Ε[ΠΙ ΠΕ[* ΘΘ?]ΕΟΥ ΒΑΔΡΟΜΙΟΥ	(?)
..	ΕΠΙ ΠΕΙ ΘΙΑΔΑ	VI.
..	ΕΠΙ [ΠΕΙ]ΣΙ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ	VIII, second vertical of π slightly shorter than first.
Surrounding ..	ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΥΤΑΡΑΤΟΥ ΑΡ[ΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ]	See Fig. 35.
..	ΕΠΙ ΠΟΛΥΚΡΑ ^o ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟΥ	III; σ, 1; o, θ small.
..	ΠΟΛΥΧ ΑΡΜΟΣ	V; π as in II, without finals.
Above	ΡΟΔΩΝΟΣ	See Fig. 34.
Below	ΡΟΔΩΝΟΣ	Similar to 194.
..	ΕΠΙ Σ*** ^Λ ^Δ [] ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΥ	I; o II.
Stars in corners of seal, as in Fig. 6.	ΣΑΡΑΠΙΩΝΟΣ	I.
..	ΕΠ' ΙΕΡΕΩΣ [ΣΙΜΤΑΕΙΝΟΥ?] ΔΑΛΙΟΥ	II, very minute.

has been found at Pergamon.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
196†	Rectangular..	3·1 × 1·2	Slightly worn	Helios head on stand.
197	„ ..	3·25 × 1·4	Worn	„
198	„ ..	× 0·8	End broken off	Line and dot under X as shown.
199	„ ..	..	Top and bottom flaked off, end broken.	Helios head on stand.
200	„ ..	× 1·0	Badly stamped, end broken off.	„
201†	„ ..	4·8 × 2·15	Badly stamped.. .. .	Human figure on pedestal.
202	Circular ..	2·7 diam.	Worn	Rose
203†	Rectangular..	× 2	Badly stamped and smeared ..	Bunch of grapes
204	„ ..	× 1·5	Beginning broken off	„
205†	„ ..	3·85 × 1·4	Perfect	Blazing torch: ..
206†	„ ..	× 1·5	Beginning broken off	„ „ ..
207	„ ..	3·8 × 1·6	Worn	„ „ ..
208*†	„ ..	× 1·4	Worn ; beginning broken off..	„ „ ..
209	„ ..	4·65 × 1·9	Badly stamped and broken ..	Caduceus ..
210†	„ ..	3·6 × 1·5	Worn	„
211	Oval	2·5 × 2·2	Slightly broken	Rose
212†	„	2·4 × 2·1	Slightly worn	Bird flying ..
213†	Rectangular..	7 × 1·1	End badly stamped	„
214	„	4 × 1·4	Worn	„

¹ Seals bearing this name have been found at Telos and Nisyros.

From similar, but not identical, stamps. || From Tell ej-Judeideh.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
To right	ΕΠΙ ΣΙΜΥ ΛΕΙΝΟΥ	See Fig. 32.
..	ΕΠΙ ΣΙ[ΜΥΛΕΙ]ΝΟΥ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ	IV.
..	ΣΙΝΧ[Ι?	I; Intersection of X high up.
To right	ΕΠΙ ΣΠ[ΧΑ[Ρ?	II.
..	ΕΠΙ ΣΤΑΣ[ΦΟΥΤΙ[	IV; σ IV ² .
To left	ΣΤΙΝΟΜΟΥ ΗΜΙΟΥΤΟΥ [ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟ?]Υ	See Fig. 36.
Surrounding ..	ΣΤΡΑΤΟΝΙΚΟΥ	I.
To right	ΣΩ *** ΒΟΥ	See Fig. 37.
..	ΕΠΙ ΣΩΔΑΜΟΥ ¹]ΔΑΓΕΙΤΝΟΥ	Similar to Fig. 33, N reversed.
Device under end of name.	ΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ ²	See Fig. 38.
To left	[ΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΥ]Σ	See Fig. 39.
Device above end of inscription.	ΣΩΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ	I.
To left	[ΣΩΚΡΑΤ]ΕΥΣ	See Fig. 40.
Above	ΣΩΣΙΚΛΕΥΣ	VIII.
..	ΕΠΙ ΣΩΣΠΑΤΟΥ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ	See Fig. 49.
Surrounding ..	ΣΩΤΗΡΙΔΑ	I.
..	ΣΩΤΗΡΙΧΟΣ	See Fig. 41.
..	ΣΩΤΗΡΙΧΟΣ	See Fig. 42.
..	ΛΟΙΘΝΙΜΥΛ ΕΠΙ ΤΕΙΩΝ	VIII: ν reversed.

A seal bearing this name (associated with Σωδάμων) has been found at Telos.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
215	Rectangular..	3·5 × 1·6	Badly stamped and worn .. .. .	.. .. .
216	„ ..	4·4 × 1·9	Worn .. .. .	.. .. .
217	Circular ..	2·7 diam.	Fractured	Rose
218	Rectangular..	4 × 2·1	Top slightly smeared .. .. .	.. .. .
219	Circular ..	2·9 diam.	Much battered.. .. .	Rose
220	Rectangular..	3·1 × 1·45	Perfect .. .. .	.. .. .
221	„ ..	3·1 × 1·6	Much worn	Helios head
222†	„ ..	3·1 × 1·4	Perfect	Wreath.. .. .
223	„ ..	4 × 1·7	Slightly worn .. .. .	.. .. .
224	„ ..	2·6 × 1·7	Perfect .. .. .	.. .. .
225	„ ..	2 × 0·3	„ .. .. .	.. .. .
226	Oval	2·9 × 2·3	Worn	Rose
<i>Seals bearing names of months</i>				
227	Rectangular..	4·3 × 1·2	Worn .. .. .	.. .. .
228†	„ ..	3·6 × 1·1	„ .. .. .	.. .. .
229†	„ ..	3·6 × 1·3	Slightly chipped .. .. .	.. .. .
<i>Seals which cannot be</i>				
230	Rectangular..	× 4·9	Worn and flaked; beginning broken off.	(?)

¹ Seals bearing this name have been found at Rhodes and at Pergamon.

† From similar, but not identical, stamps. †† From Tell ej-Judeidch.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
.. .. .	TIMA * * ΟΥ	VI, with tendency to characters of VIII.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΤΙΜΟΔΙΚΟΥ ΑΓΡΙΑΝΙΟΥ	VI; α, VII.
Surrounding ..	TIMO[ΘΕ]ΟΥ	I.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΤΙΜΟ ΘΕΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ	VIII.
Surrounding ..	[Τ?]ΙΣΟΥ * ΚΛΕΩΣ	I.
.. .. .	ΤΟΧΟ	IV.
To right; all in a square.	ΕΠΙ Φ [ΕΙ?]ΔΑ	IV.
To left; lettering in square compartment.	ΔΑΛΙΟΥ ¹ ΦΙΛΑΙΝΙΟΥ	See Fig. 43.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΦΙΛΟΔΑΜΟΥ ΔΑΛΙΟΥ	II.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΦΙ ΛΩΝΙΔΑ	VI.
.. .. .	ΧΡΗ	IV reversed.
Surrounding ..	ΧΡ[ΥΣΗ]ΜΟΥ	I.
<i>only (see introductory remarks).</i>		
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΤΑΜΙ ΤΙΟΥ	VIII carelessly written.
.. .. .	ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ	IV.
.. .. .	ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ ²	IV.
<i>reduced to alphabetic order.</i>		
To left .. .	]ΔΕΤΗΣ]ΔΕΟΥΤΟΥ]ΜΗΝΙΟΣ]ΑΠΟΜΩΡ * * *	IV; σ VI with curved horizontal bars; ω VII ² .

† There has been a second line, which has been intentionally effaced from the stamp.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
231	Rectangular ..	4·4 × 1·45	Top smeared .. ..	.. ..
232	„ ..	2·75 × 1·4	Chipped .. ..	.. ..
233	Oval	2·8 × 2·6	Worn and flaked	Rose
234	Rectangular ..	× 1·65	Top smeared, end broken off..	.. ..
235	„ ..	4·8 × 1·75	Fractured and worn .. ..	.. ..
236	Oval	× 2·2	Worn and defaced	Rose
237	Rectangular..	4 × 2·2	Badly stamped and worn ..	.. ..
238†	Oval	3·1 ×	Fractured and sealed	Rose
239	Rectangular..	2·75 × 1·45	Badly stamped and flaked ..	.. ..
240	„ ..	..	Beginning lost, bottom badly stamped.	.. ..
241†	Lozenge-shaped.	5 ×	Worn and defaced .. ..	.. ..
242	Rectangular..	..	Top clipped, end fractured ..	.. ..
243	„ ..	× 1·6	Both ends broken off .. ..	.. ..
244	„ ..	× 1·9	Badly stamped and indefinite	Sprig of plant ..
245	Oval	2·9 × 2·5	Badly stamped and worn ..	Rose

From similar, but not identical, stamps. || From Tell ej-Judeidah.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
.. .. .	E[ΠΙ] ΘΙΟΥ ΥΑ ΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ	VIII.
.. .. .	** ΝΑΩΝΙΔΑ ΑΓ[ΡΙΑ]ΝΙΟΥ	III ; o II.
Surrounding ..	]ΟΡΟΣΑ[Σ ? ΑΡ]ΤΑΜΙ[ΤΙΟΥ]	I.
.. .. .	E[] ΘΕΑΙΔΗ[] ΣΜΙΝΘΙΟ[Υ]	I ; θ IV?
.. .. .	***** MA ΝΙΟΥ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ	VIII.
Surrounding ..	]ΩΝΟΣ ΘΕΣΜ[ΟΦΟΡΙΟΥ]	V reversed; μ with straight verticals.
.. .. .	[Α ?] [ΔΑΙΜ] ΑΜΑΡΨΙΟΥ	VI ; o IV. The ψ may be a trident.
Surrounding ..	[ΕΠ' ΙΕ]ΡΕΩ[Σ **]ΜΝΑΓΟΡ[	See Plate I.
.. .. .	E[ΠΙ *****]ΥΣ ΒΑΔΡ[ΟΜΙΟΥ]	VI.
.. .. .	] ** ΠΑΥΤΟΝ]ΤΕΥΣ * ΣΑ ***** ΙΝ **	I.
.. .. .	]ΩΡΟΥ ΑΡΤΑ[ΜΙΤΙΟΥ]	See Fig. 44.
.. .. .	[] ΑΙΝΩ[Ν ?] ΟΥ ΔΑΛ[ΙΟΥ]	I.
.. .. .	]ΠΑΝΔ[ΙΟΥ ΔΑΛΙ[ΟΥ]	I.
To left	[—ΤΥΝΟΚΟΥΝΤ] ? [ΤΙΟΥ] []	(?)
Surrounding ..	ΕΠΙ [Υ[ΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ]	I.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
246	Oval	2·8 ×	Half broken off	Rose
247	Rectangular..	4·85 × 1·9	Top smeared .. ..	.. ..
248	Oval	× 2·9	Badly stamped.. ..	Helios head ..
249	„	× 2·7	Badly stamped, half broken off	Rose
250	Rectangular..	..	Badly stamped, top broken ..	.. ..
251	„	× 1·6	Stamp slipped, beginning broken off.	.. ..
252	„	× 1·6	Beginning broken off .. ..	.. ..
253	„	× 1·7	Worn, beginning broken off..	.. ..
254	„	3·7 × 1·7	Chipped .. ..	.. ..
255	„	× 1·2	Worn	Helios head on stand.
256	„ .. ..	..	Badly stamped .. ..	.. ..
257	Circular	2·5 diam.	Worn	Rose
258	Rectangular..	..	End and bottom broken off ..	.. ..
259	„	× 1·35	Worn	Sprig of plant ..
260	„ .. ..	..	Bottom badly stamped, begin- ning broken off.	.. ..
261†	„	× 1·6	Beginning broken off .. ..	.. ..
262	„ .. ..	..	Badly stamped.. ..	.. ..

From similar, but not identical, stamps. || From Tell ej-Judeideh.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
Surrounding, reading outwards.	]ETAKOY ΔA[ΛIOY	I.
.. .. .	]EIMA ΔAΛIOY	VIII.
Surrounding ..	[EΠI * * * * * E?]PΓΩΣ[* * * * * TΣ?]	Reversed.
.. .. .	E[] TAP[M?]A[P ^I _Φ O]T	I.
.. .. .	]ΘI** ΣM[INΘIOY	I; o, II.
.. .. .	]KΛEYΠ]TETΣ]N	VI.
.. .. .	ΣM[INΘI]EIAA	VI; oblique lines of α and λ curving outwards.
.. .. .	]APXO]HPET ^H _{I+}	VI; o, IV.
.. .. .	ΔVΛIOY EΠI * * * * *	See Fig. 45.
To right	EΠI [** KΛEIDA[	Similar to 177
.. .. .	A?]BOYΔ[Ω?]OY []	III.
Surrounding ..	EΠ' IEPEΩΣ * * * * *	I reversed.
.. .. .	EΠ' IEPEΩΣ []	Similar to 58, reversed.
To left	EΠI [MHΔOY	II; bar of II oblique slightly.
.. .. .	]IEΣ ^M _T EIOY []	VIII
.. .. .	(reading uncertain).	See Fig. 46.
.. .. .	[] ΣMINΘIOY	IV; σ, VI, o Δ-shaped.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
263	Rectangular ..	× 1·7	Beginning broken off .. ..	.. ..
264	Oval .. ..	..	Fragment only.. ..	Rose
265	Rectangular ..	× 1·45	Worn, beginning broken off ..	.. ..
266	„ .. ..	..	Badly stamped, beginning broken off.	.. ..
267	„	4·7 × 1·2	Top line effaced .. ..	.. ..
268	„ .. ..	..	Beginning and top broken off	.. ..
269	„	× 1·3	Beginning broken off; much worn.	.. ..
270	„	× 1·15	Beginning broken off .. ..	.. ..
271	„ .. ..	..	Badly stamped.. ..	.. ..
272	„	× 1·65	Beginning broken off .. ..	.. ..
273	„	5·5 × 1·45	Much worn .. ..	.. ..
274	„	× 1·3	Worn, end broken off.. ..	.. ..
275	Oval .. ..	..	Chipped and fractured	(?)
276	Circular ..	2·8 diam.	Fractured and flaked	Rose
277	Rectangular ..	× 1·5	Beginning broken off .. ..	.. ..
278	Oval	× 2·4	Fragment only.. ..	Rose
279	Rectangular ..	× 1·4	Much worn .. ..	.. ..
280	„	4 × 1·5	Much abraded.. ..	.. ..
281	„	× 1·3	Worn, beginning broken off ..	.. ..

From similar, but not identical, stamps. || From Tell ej-Judeideh.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
.. .. .	]ΣΩΘΑΙ]ΒΟΥ	I; θ, ο IV.
Surrounding ..	] ΑΝΔΡΟΥ Α[	I.
.. .. .	]ΓΡΑΜΙΟΥ	I.
.. .. .	]ΚΡΑΤΕΥΣ []	VI.
.. .. .	[] ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ	V.
.. .. .	]Σ]ΥΡΑΤΟ	VI.
.. .. .	]ΙΑΤ]ΘΥΣ	III.
.. .. .	]ΔΑΝΙΟΥ	IV.
.. .. .	ΑΡ?]ΗΝΙΑ[	I.
.. .. .	]ΠΙΣΤΟΥ	VI; π VII.
.. .. .	Ε * * * * * ΑΝ * * * * * [Υ?] Α * * * * *	I.
.. .. .	[I?] $\frac{\Lambda}{A}$ -ΤΟΝ[	IV; ο III. Large letters.
Surrounding ..	]ΚΡΑΤΗ[	I.
.. .. .	* * * * * ΝΙΚΟΥ	I; ο II.
.. .. .	]ΝΟΣ []]ΟΥ	I; ο II.
Surrounding ..	]* * * * * ΣΑΣΜΟ[	I reversed: 2nd σ VII.
.. .. .	]* * * * * ΤΩΝΟΣ	IV.
.. .. .	$\frac{I?}{\Phi}$ ΡΟ $\frac{N * * * * *}{\Delta}$	(?)
.. .. .	ΒΡΟ?]ΜΙΟΥ	IV.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
282	Rectangular ..	2·85 ×	Top badly stamped .. .. .	.. .. .
283	„ ..	× 1·1	Beginning badly stamped and disintegrated.	.. .. .
284	„ ..	× 1·5	Beginning broken off ..	Small fragment only remaining.
285	„ ..	..	Flaked, end broken off	.. .. .
286	(?) .. ..	..	Very badly stamped ..	.. .. .
287	Rectangular ..	× 1	Beginning broken off ..	.. .. .
288	„ ..	× 1·65	„ ..	.. .. .
289	Oval .. ..	..	Badly stamped and flaked	Rose
290	„ .. ..	..	Badly stamped ..	„
291	Rectangular ..	× 1·7	Beginning broken off ..	.. .. .
292†	„ ..	2·9 × 1·1	Perfect .. ..	.. .. .
293	„ ..	× 1·65	Badly stamped and worn	Acorn
ADDENDA.				
294	Rectangular ..	× 2·4	Badly stamped, end broken off.	.. .. .
295	„ ..	5·1 × 1·2	Badly stamped ..	.. .. .
296	„ ..	× 2·1	„ ..	.. .. .
297	Oval	2·56 ×	„ ..	Rose
298	Rectangular ..	× 1·3	End broken off ..	.. .. .
299	Circular ..	2·5 diam.	Badly stamped one side	Cornucopia ..
300	Rectangular ..	× 1·6	End broken off ..	.. .. .

From similar, but not identical, stamps. || From Tell ej-Judeideh.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
.. .. .	[] MNOY	V.
.. .. .	*** ^O Δ POΣ	IV; o III.
Below	A?]Π[A?	I.
.. .. .	*** IAA[	III.
.. .. .	]OAN[	III.
.. .. .	]IΣ	VI.
.. .. .	]OY []	v VII.
Surrounding (reading outwards).	]IE[	Reversed.
Surrounding ..	]TΣ	I reversed; large letters.
.. .. .	ΩΣ	<i>See Fig. 47.</i>
.. .. .	illegible	
To right	illegible (two lines)	
ADDENDA.		
.. .. .	EΠI API[KOY AΓPIANIOY	VI; α V; carelessly written.
.. .. .	AYCAΩ	I; s C-shaped; large bold letters.
.. .. .	* HΣI KΛETΣ	I; large bold letters.
Surrounding ..	]ANO[	I.
.. .. .	KEFY[	I; large letters.
Surrounding ..	ΔIONTEIOY	I.
.. .. .	EΠI ΞENOΦANEYΣ APTAMITIOY	Similar to 173.

* Found in duplicate.

† Illustrated

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.
301	Rectangular..	..	Badly stamped .. ..	.. ..
302	„ ..	3·15 × 1·3	Worn .. ..	.. ..
303	„ ..	4·3 × 1·7	Top smeared .. ..	.. ..
304	„ ..	4·8 × 1·65	Chipped	Bunch of grapes
305	„ ..	× 1·5	End broken off .. ..	.. ..
306	„ ..	..	Worn .. ..	.. ..
307	„ ..	2·3 × 1·8	Much worn	Caduceus? and rose?

ERRATA.

January "Quarterly Statement."

In Fig. 1, p. 14 *ante*, for "ft." in the scale," read "in."

P. 27, line 29, for "55, 56, 57," read "56, 57, 58."

P. 39, last column, No. 106, for "51," read "52."

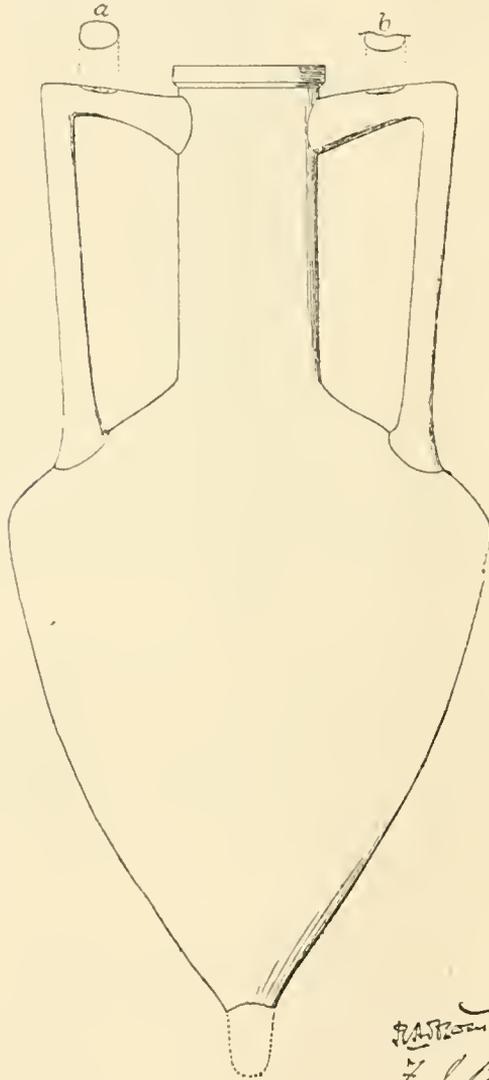
P. 49, for "Rev. Putnam Cary," read "Rev. Putnam Cady."

‡ From similar, but not identical, stamps. || From Tell ej-Judeidh.

Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.	Alphabet and other Epigraphic Notes.
.. .. .	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ[ΟΥ] [ΑΡΡ]ΙΑΝ[ΙΟΥ]	III.
.. .. .	ΣΑΚΡΑΤΗ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡ	Similar to Fig. 27.
.. .. .	ΕΠ[Ι ΑΡΙ]Σ ΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ	III.
To right	ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ	III.
.. .. .	[Μ]ΑΡΣΥΑ [ΑΡΡ]ΙΑΝΙΟΥ	Similar to Fig. 29.
.. .. .	ΕΠΙ ΑΓΕ ΣΤΡΑΤΟΥ ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ	I.
(?)	inscription not traceable	See Fig. 54.

PLATE I (see *January 'Quarterly Statement,'* p. 25)

TELL SANDAHANNAH EXCAVATION
RHODIAN STAMPED AMPHORA



ΠΑΣΤΩΝ Μισολόκου
F. S. Blair

THE ROCK-CUT TOMBS IN WÂDY ER-RABABI, JERUSALEM.

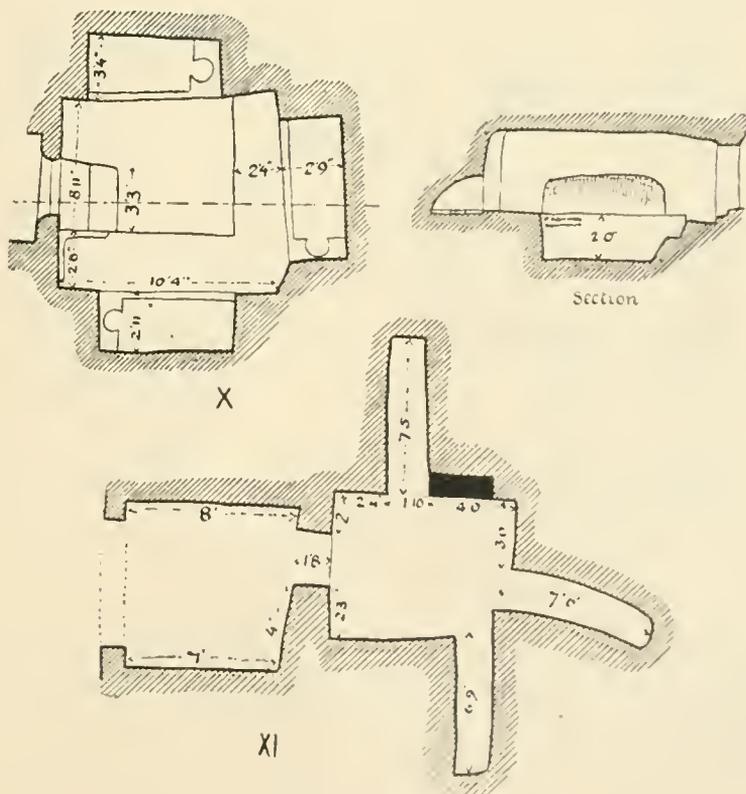
By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A.

(Continued from the "Quarterly Statement," July, 1900, p. 248.)

27. The angle of a tomb-chamber of which the rest has been quarried away. Portions of two sides, respectively 8 feet and 6 feet 4 inches, remain together with fragments of the roof. The bottoms of the walls have been quarried out, and with them two loculi in the longer side. In this side are red marks resembling a painted inscription: two strokes, much like the uprights of an H, are especially conspicuous. These are, however, mere red veinings in the stone.

The five following tombs are on or near the top of the hill, above the level of the preceding series, but to the east of it:—

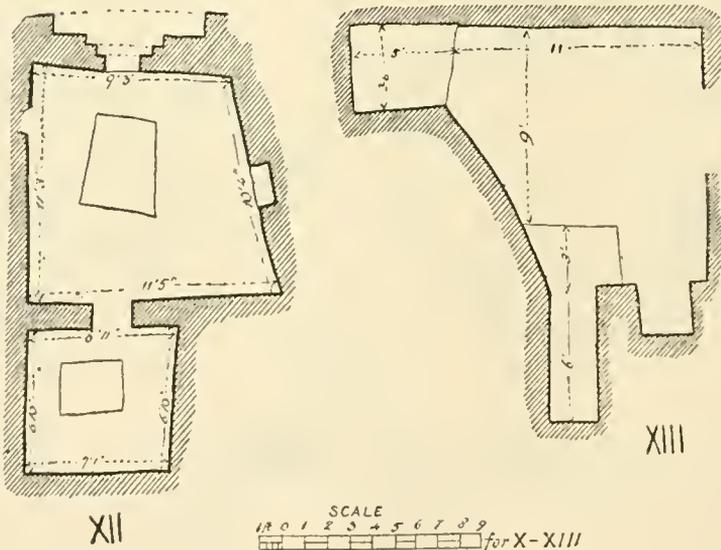
28. (Plan X).—A single chamber tomb: two steps lead down from the door to the floor of the chamber. Round two sides of the chamber is a raised bench, 2 feet high, and on a level with the



upper surface of this bench is an arcosolium in each of the sides not occupied by the door. These arcosolia have depressions for the head, like the benches in No. 23 already described. On the face of the bench, at its southern end, is inscription No. 9.

29. (Plan XI).—A very roughly executed tomb. It consists of a four-sided vestibule open to the north, in the centre of whose floor is a block of stone 2 feet $4\frac{1}{2}$ inches by 3 feet 6 inches by 2 feet, most probably the stone that blocked the door of the tomb-chamber. The floor of the latter is at a level of 2 feet 8 inches below that of the vestibule. There are three large deep irregular kokim. Part of the east side has been repaired by building, the rock being rotten; this part is blackened in in the plan.

30. (Plan XII).—An irregularly cut group of two chambers. The door is coarsely moulded. Both chambers, as may be seen from the plan, are crooked, and in their floors are four-sided depressions, 1 foot 2 inches deep in the outer, 2 feet in the inner chamber. The roof of the outer chamber is 6 feet above its floor, that of the inner 5 feet 2 inches. The rock in the west side of the outer chamber is fractured; on the south side is a niche, 2 feet 6 inches high. There are no graves of any kind in the excavation.



31. (Plan XIII).—A ruined tomb, fallen in, and in winter full of water. The chamber is 11 feet long, 9 feet broad. There is a raised bench, 3 feet broad, on the south side of the chamber. There are three kokim, two pointing south, one pointing west;

the latter is very wide, and, no doubt, was intended for the reception of more than one body.

32. Just over the monastery, a large natural cave, 30 feet deep and 25 feet across. It has been artificially enlarged: there are traces of working at the inner end. In the roof is a cylindrical shaft, now blocked up.

The following series of tombs are at the level of the row ending with No. 27, and immediately below Nos. 29-32:—

33. A small opening in the rock, the top of which alone is visible. It is certainly artificial, but may be a mere quarry.

34. (Plan XIV¹).—A large cave, with two openings, but so much destroyed by quarrying that an exact plan would be useless. The chief feature remaining is a shaft 3 feet 7 inches diameter, cut vertically through the pier separating the two doors.

35. A small hole, perhaps merely a quarry.

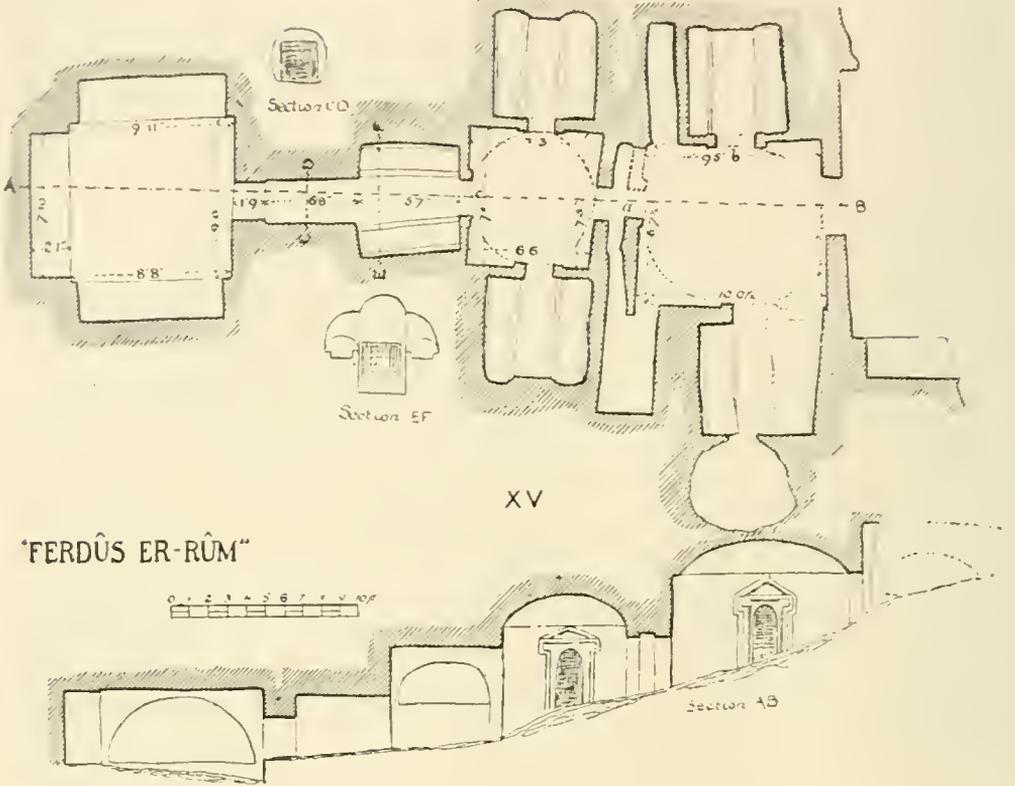
36. A larger hole of similar character. The tooling visible here and there seems better than would be expected in a mere quarry.

37. An irregular hole, 9 feet across, 7 feet deep. At both the east and the west sides are openings reduced by the accumulation of *débris* to mere slits, through which chambers are visible.

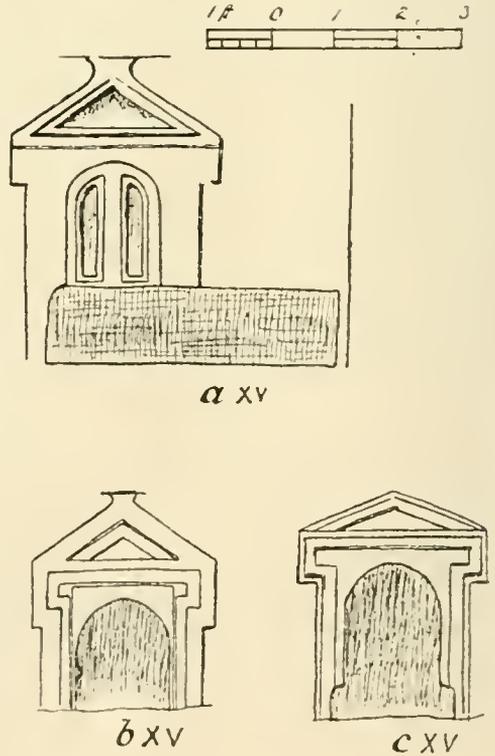
38. (Plan XV; Tobler, 13; Baedeker, 13A).—The elaborate cave known as *Ferdûs er-Rûm*. The vestibule is quarried away: in the east side is the spring of an arch like the vault of an arcosolium, but this could scarcely have been sepulchral, as the bench under the arch must always have been in the open air. The door is small, but as it is remarkably irregular for a system of tomb-chambers otherwise carefully finished, it must originally have been even smaller and subsequently roughly enlarged. To the east of the doorway the wall of the vestibule is covered with a diaper of little crosses, the work of pilgrims to the "Aceldama."

The first chamber is a quadrangular room with domed roof. Doorways, the design of which is shown in the cut, lead into subordinate chambers, each with two sunk bench graves. (The letters in the cut refer to corresponding letters on the plan and indicate the position of each door.) The doorway on the east side has been half quarried away, and the chamber into which it leads breaks into an irregular natural cavity in the rock. There is also a deep kok-grave to the south of the western subsidiary chamber,

and opposite it the door of what may be described as a "false kok."



This "false kok" forms a portion of the elaborate system of defence by which it was hoped the inner chamber would be protected from spoliation. It is evident that a rolling stone ran in front of the entrance to the inner chamber, and that it was held in position by a block which could be manipulated in the little secret chamber to which the false kok gives access. The rolling stone itself was concealed by a long slab of stone, now disappeared, which no doubt was ornamented with a completion of the panelling of the blank doorway shown on the plate. When this slab was in position



the sepulchre would present the appearance of a single main chamber, with two side tomb-chambers and two kokim; and having a mock door in the back wall, imitating the "practicable" side doors, and completing a uniform scheme of ornamentation. Whether thieves were ever put "off the scent" by these elaborate devices we cannot say; rolling stone and cover slab have disappeared, and the door now stands open to give admission to the second chamber. This is similar to the first, but on a slightly smaller scale; there are two side tomb-chambers, as in the first room, and the doors are of the same character as those already met with. There is, however, no attempt at concealing the entrance to the inner members of the sepulchre. The ceiling of the second chamber is domed like that of the first.

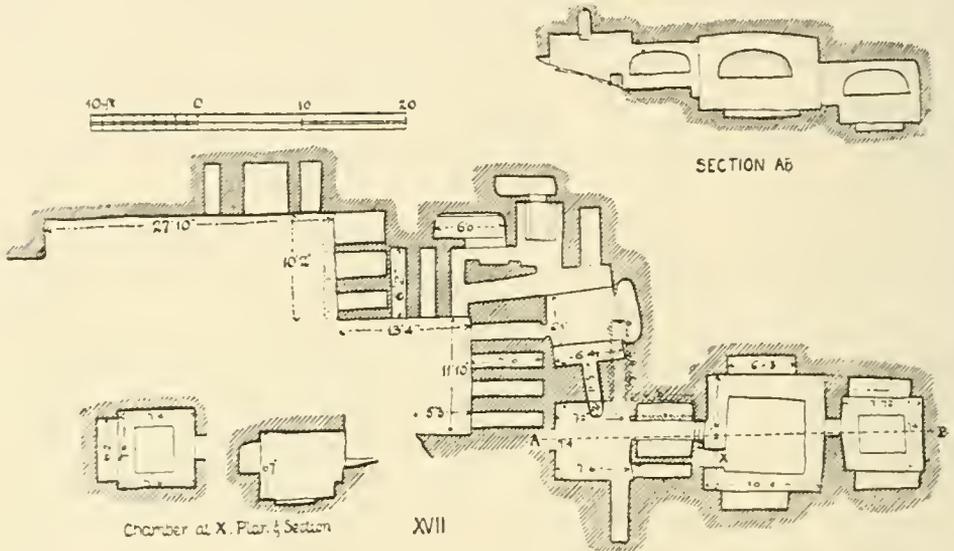
A long passage leads downwards to the third and last chamber. The first half of this passage is higher and wider than the second, and contains a sunk bench tomb on each side. The innermost chamber is quite plain, and contains three arcosolia. The floor is covered with rubbish. Except the dimensions, which are figured on the plate, there is nothing to be said about this room.

39. (Plan XVI,¹ mentioned in Tobler under 13).—Fragment of a tomb, destroyed by quarrying. One arcosolium is left, 2 feet 10 inches high. The ceiling of the chamber is 1 foot 10 inches above the top of the arcosolium.

40. (Plan XVII; Tobler, 13B, c?).—A complicated system arranged in three storeys. The outer chamber, or pair of chambers, have been laid open by quarrying. The large, open outer chamber to the east has six shallow kokim (the central kok on the south side remarkably wide), probably very much shortened by cutting back the walls. In the north-east corner is a hole, as though for tying horses, drilled through the projecting angle of rock. The western open chamber has seven kokim, one of which is converted into a passage to the inner chambers. This is another method of deceiving would-be thieves. The chamber at the end of the passage is four-sided, having on the north one kok, on the west an arcosolium, and on the south a kok and an entrance to another chamber. The entrance to the chamber itself is on its eastern wall. The southern door leads to a room having on its floor a sunk grave rebated for cover-slabs,

¹ Not published.

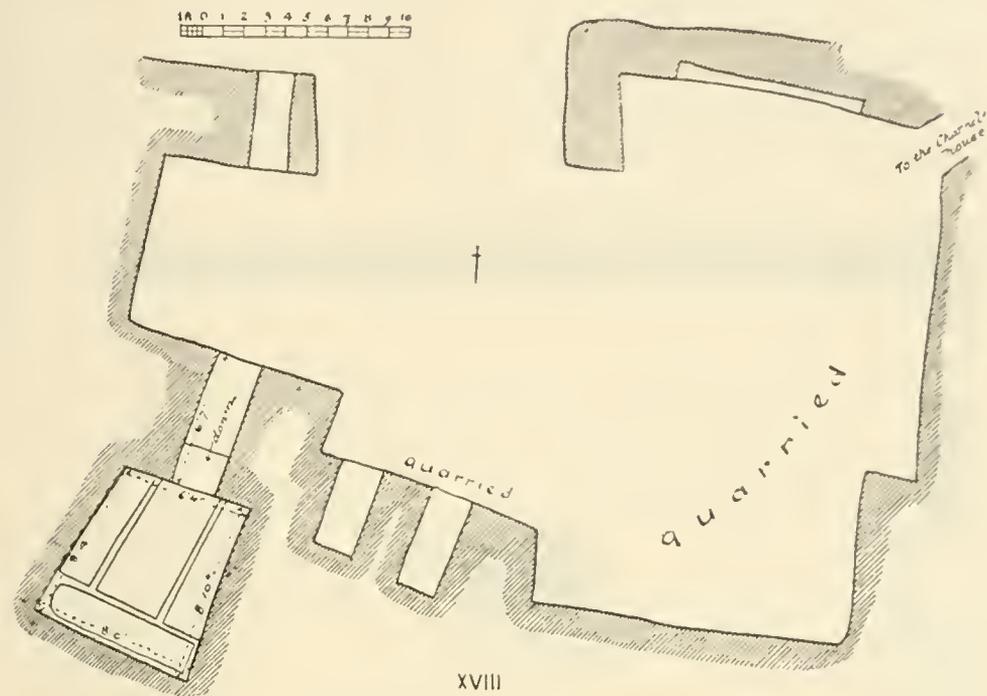
and additional graves in the south and east. The northern kok breaks into the roof of a chamber with an independent entrance, now blocked; it was probably made for convenience in clearing away the loose *débris* resulting from the work of cutting out the chambers. (But was it found open by Tobler? His descriptions seem to imply this, but they are rather confused.) This separate entrance is directed eastward; there is a kok to the north and another to the south, and westward a passage and two kokim.



The passage has a bench-grave on each side; it leads into a fine chamber with a step surrounding it. There are two arcossolia, and in the west one kok. A door to the west connects this chamber with another, similar to it and with arcossolia similarly disposed, but without kokim. Another door near the north end of the eastern side of the first of these two chambers communicates by two steps downward with a small chamber having one arcossolium.

41. (Plan XVIII).—This is a large cave which has been much injured by quarrying. One kok alone remains uninjured. At its end is a square hole which communicates downward with a small chamber having three sunk bench-graves. Its floor is 4 feet 10 inches below the level of the kok serving as an approach, and the height of its roof above the floor is 5 feet 7 inches. Here, again, we see an example of a secret room hidden in an unlikely place; Professor Clermont-Ganneau reports similar examples from Wady Yasûl. There are remains of two other kokim: a curious window-opening beside the door, 2 feet 3 inches above

the present level of the floor of the chamber, and a communication with the well-known charnel-house called "Aceldama," next



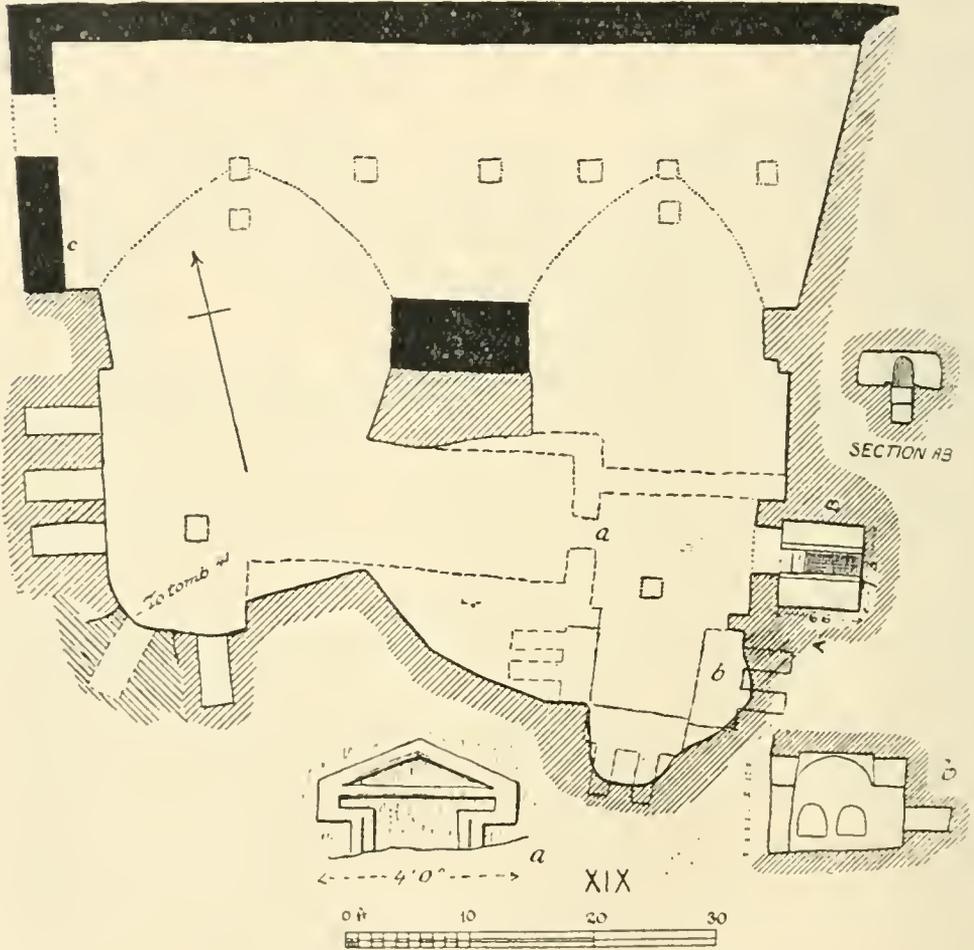
to be described. The floor of the latter is 9 feet 4 inches below the level of the tomb under discussion.

42. (Plan XIX).—This is the group of tombs which in the Crusaders' period was united under one roof to form a cemetery or charnel-house for the bones of pilgrims who died at Jerusalem. It consists of a passage, scarped through the rock, running east and west, and having tomb-chambers excavated on the south side. A good description, with plan, was communicated by Dr. Schick to the *Quarterly Statement* some years ago, and it is necessary for me only to refer to this article, and to indicate a few supplementary details. The plan deduced from my measurements is less regular than that prepared by Dr. Schick, and we restore the tomb-chambers (which have suffered severely from quarrying) rather differently. This will easily be understood by anyone familiar with the site, as the indications that remain are meagre, and not very distinctive. There is, however, no doubt that there was a door at *a*, as its top still remains (*see* the separate sketch). This seems to me to require the restoration of the passage behind it, as indicated on the plan by a broken line. The elevation, *b*, shows the grounds for restoring the small chamber with arcossolia

and kokim. At *c* are five well-cut crosses of different sizes, with expanding ends to the arms, but the Armenian inscription reported by Tobler is no longer to be seen. In the south-west corner is the entrance to tomb No. 41.

In the plan masonry is *blackened in*, rock is *hatched*, features of the vault (holes, &c.) are *dotted*, restorations are indicated by a *broken line*. The reverse direction of the hatching at the corner

THE CHARNEL-HOUSE



doorway indicates that the kok there shown, as well as the kokim associated with it, are at a lower level than the doorway itself.

43. A little north of the charnel-house; a rectangular chamber, of which the back wall alone remains perfect. It is 10 feet 8 inches long. This is nearly full of rubbish.

44. East of the above; a chamber, much choked with *débris*, 7 feet 8 inches by 7 feet 6 inches, having two kokim running east and west, close to the back wall. These are respectively 6 feet

and 7 feet 3 inches long. The longer of these kokim is 2 feet 9 inches broad and 2 feet 8 inches high, and is covered with a vaulted roof.

Tobler describes an elaborate system about 20 paces north of Acedama. Strange to say, I searched in vain for this.

45. (Plan XX¹).—This tomb is at the side of the new road leading up to the monastery of the Acedama. It consists of one chamber, irregular in shape, 5 feet 6 inches high, with a bench of maximum height 1 foot 6 inches round two sides. An irregular fracture interrupts the bench on the east side, and behind it is a crooked cavity 6 feet deep and 5 feet maximum width. This may be a natural hole. In the middle of the west side is a sunk grave 2 feet deep, 6 feet 6 inches long, and 2 feet across; and at the north end of the same side is a small chamber 5 feet long, 3 feet broad, and 2 feet 7 inches high. The entrance door is raised about 2 feet above the floor. Over it, on the exterior face of the rock, is inscription No. 10.

46. A chamber 10 feet long, 6 feet broad, recessed behind a vestibule nearly full of stones. It is much destroyed by quarrying.

47. This tomb has been turned into a cess-pit, and the entrance is blocked with stones. Above the door is inscription No. 11.

The nine tomb systems following (48–56) are contained within the precincts of the modern Greek monastery of Acedama, and are adapted for various purposes in connection with it:—

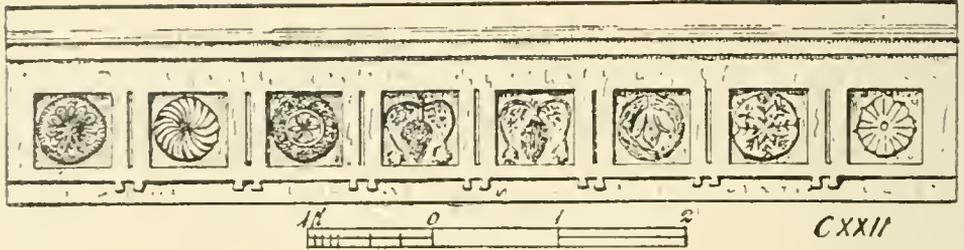
48. A small chamber, nearly full of rubbish; all that is left of a system that, in addition, possessed at least one kok. It has nearly all been removed, in order to make room for a pathway.

49. (Plan XXI¹).—This excavation is now the wine cellar of the monastery. Its members are:—(1) A vestibule, 10 feet 7 inches across; over the doorway leading into the chamber beyond it is a single red spot, probably the sole relic of an inscription. (2) A chamber, 10 feet 2 inches by 9 feet 11 inches, with three arcosolia and one kok. (3) A chamber, 6 feet by 7 feet 6 inches, at a lower level, approached by a short flight of steps. In this chamber are two kokim beside the entrance to the staircase, two arcosolia (one on each of the side walls), and, on the back wall, a niche and a passage that communicates with some

¹ Not published.

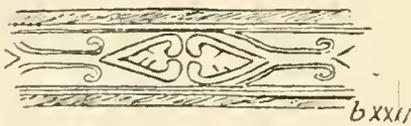
place outside the monastery—perhaps tomb No. 47. This passage is therefore securely closed with fixed iron bars.

50. (Plan XXII; Tobler, 10; Baedeker, 9).—An elaborate but much-injured excavation, part of which is now the monastery chapel. The doorway has been restored in modern masonry;



above it is a frieze divided by diglyphs into eight metopes (Fig. *c*), containing wreaths and rosettes. The vestibule has been covered with modern painting, which destroys nearly all traces of the ancient decoration. The only visible remains of the latter are a red line with black spots in the cornice, and the letters **A—W** in the spandrels of the inner doorway.

The east wall of the first chamber has been cut away, and an extension has been made so as to give space for the chapel. Of the ancient wall paintings that once covered the plastered rock-surface, very little remains; time, the vandalism of former Fellah inhabitants, and modern restoration, have all had their share in obliterating them. The few relics consist of a border round the ceiling in red and green (Fig. *b*), which enclosed five almost full-size

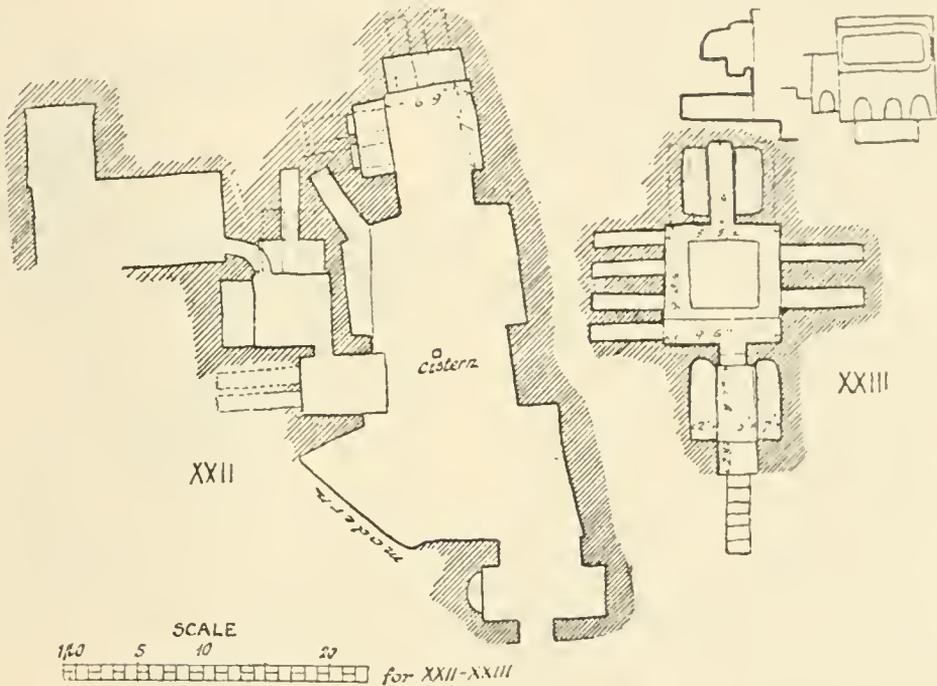


figures (these have been completely repainted), and the tops of square panels that no doubt once also contained figures, which, owing to the destruction of the plaster, have disappeared. The broken east wall shows the top of an arcosolium.

To the right of the entrance is the name of a saint, which formerly explained a now destroyed figure, and there was a similar inscription on the north wall; but both are now too much battered to be legible. On the east face of the remaining fragment of the east wall are also traces of painting.

Behind the present chapel is a long irregular chamber, that has apparently been considerably interfered with; it is difficult to believe that the present is the original plan, though the latter

cannot be restored with certainty. On the western side an arcossolium has been broken away to form a recess for a row of stalls; further south is a recess with a now blocked shaft running upwards from its ceiling. In the centre of the floor is the entrance to a cistern, now used as one of the water stores of the monastery. On the east side is a quadrangular space partly recessed in the wall, and sunk about 1 foot below the level of the floor; on its eastern side are two kokim, blocked up, and on the south side a door communicating with a small chamber containing two arcossolia and three kokim—two which are rather shallow

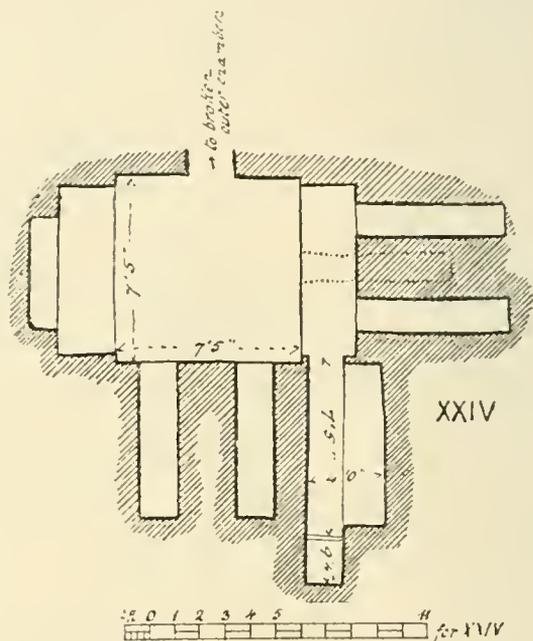


recesses, under, one behind the arcossolium in the southern wall. From this chamber a curved passage gives access to another, now much broken, and used as a store and lumber room. There are traces of painting on the walls of the quadrangular space (figures in outline, indefinite fragments only left), and in the small tomb-chamber (a few red and black lines, apparently part of a figure in outline, on the eastern arcossolium; some plain red crosses on the southern).

Returning to the first chamber, and proceeding southward, we enter by an arched doorway into a chamber 7 feet by 6 feet 9 inches, containing two arcossolia—one on the east, one on the south—with two kokim under each. In the wall behind the arcossolium on the eastern side are two niches.

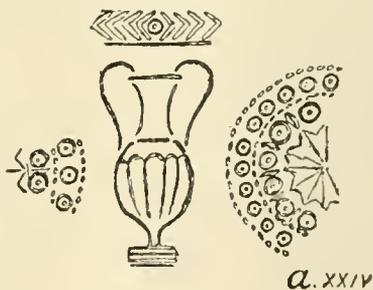
51. (Plan XXIII).—A flight of steps downward gives access to a chamber 3 feet across, 8 feet 7 inches long. On each side is a sunk tomb in an arcosolium. Behind is a square chamber, having a raised bench all round, doubled on the north side. This has four kokim on the west wall with a double arcosolium above them; the latter detail is new to me. On the east side are two kokim; on the south two kokim and a passage with an arcosolium on each side.

52. (Plan XXIV).—Two rooms at least, broken together to form a bedroom: in one side is a niche with a plain moulding. Behind is a chamber, intact, 7 feet 5 inches square. It contains on the west side an arcosolium with a niche behind it; on the south, two kokim; on the east an arcosolium, having a kok below it, two at right angles to the wall behind it, and one running parallel to the wall southward from it; on the east



of the latter is a grave-recess, and at the south end a niche. There are fragments of one or two handsome ossuaries (the principal design on which is shown on Fig. a) lying in this chamber.

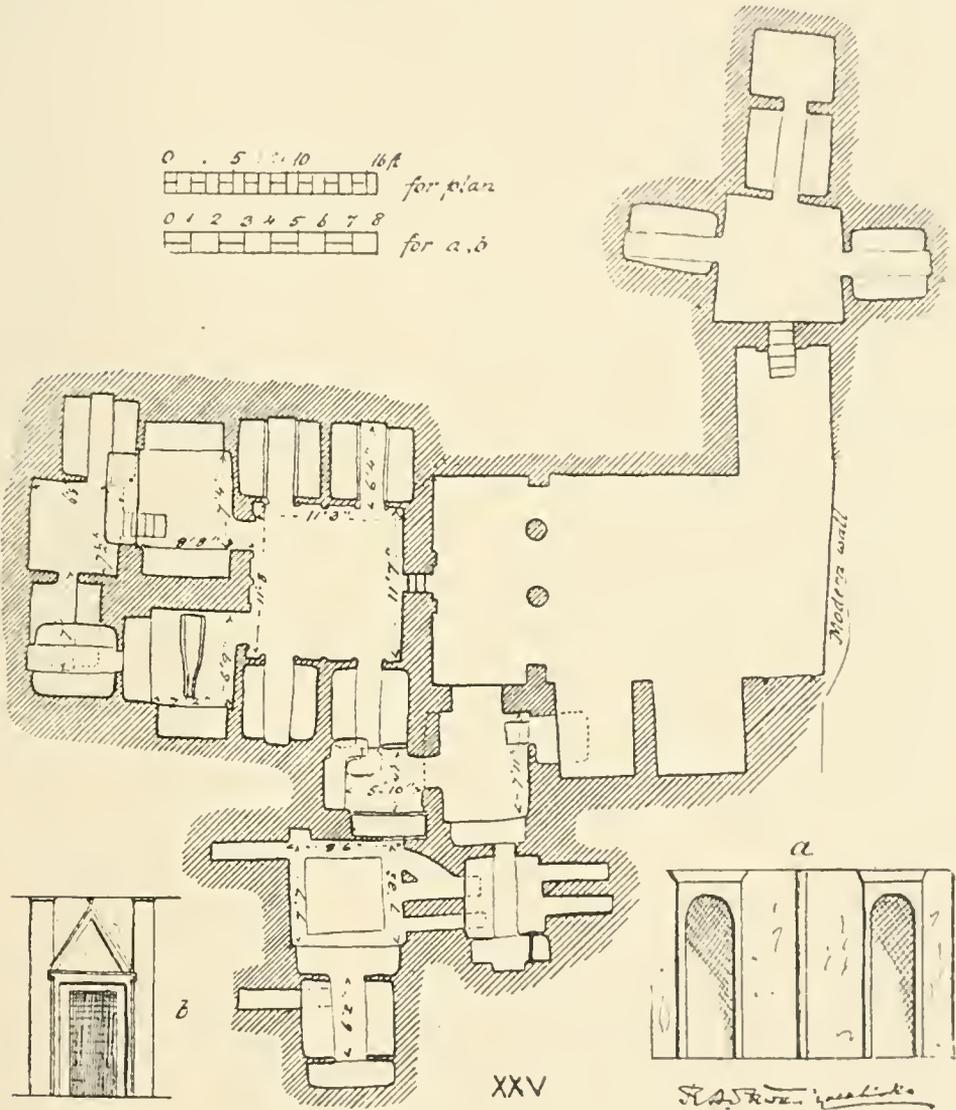
53. A large square room, much injured by quarrying. It is 18 feet by 15 feet 8 inches. At the end is an arcosolium. A bench runs round the wall, and underneath is a cistern. Over the entrance is inscription No. 12.



54. The entrance portion of this tomb has been greatly modified to form the kitchen of the monastery. A chamber remains intact at the back, and contains two arcosolia and four kokim.

55. This tomb, now the wood store of the monastery, is peculiar among those of this group in possessing kokim only. There are three on the south, three on the west side.

56. (Plan XXV ; Tobler, 8 ; Baedeker, 8).—This is by far the most elaborate tomb system in Wâdy er-Rababi. It is at a lower level than the others, and its porch has been ingeniously adapted in the substructures of the monastery. The graves have been filled with skulls and other bones taken from the charnel-house and the other tombs in the neighbourhood.



Before the entrance is a distyle portico, such as exists in a few of the most costly of the tombs near Jerusalem. The other examples known to me are:—(1) The tomb of Queen Helena ; (2) the tomb of the Beni Hazer ; (3) a little-known tri-cameral tomb of unknown appropriation, south of the “Tombs of the Judges” ; (4) a tomb, conspicuous in a valley north-east of the

“Tombs of the Judges,” where the pillars have long been removed, though the portico remains. In this tomb the walls of the portico are blocked in imitation of drafted masonry.

A doorway of peculiar design, Fig. *b*, with a lofty triangular pediment and two side pilasters, gives access to a chamber between 10 and 11 feet square, with a domed roof such as we already met with in Ferdûs er-Rûm (No. 38). To the west are two side chambers, each with two arcosolia; these have round-headed doorways, with a half-column between them. Fig. *a* shows the elevation of this side of the chamber. The eastern side is similar, but the northern of the two chambers leads to a complicated system consisting of five rooms with kokim and arcosolia. The south side of the first chamber also shows two doorways. That on the east leads to a room, 6 feet 9 inches by 7 feet 2 inches, with a sunk grave in the centre of the floor—the only grave in the cemetery that in shape follows the general outlines of a human body—an arcosolium eastward, and another northward, with above it the entrance to a smaller chamber having two arcosolia. The western side door leads to a chamber, 7 feet 4 inches by 8 feet 8 inches, the ceiling of which is covered with crosses smoked by pilgrims. This has three arcosolia, one in each of the walls not containing the doorway, and in the floor an opening giving admission by steps downward to another chamber, 7 feet 2 inches square, having subsidiary chambers eastward and westward, with two arcosolia in each.

There are two ossuaries in the entrance chamber. One of these has an inscription scratched upon its cover; it is in square Hebrew letters, but so defaced that I could make nothing of it.

In front of the entrance portico is a rock-hewn court, with two recesses on the eastern side, and in the south-west angle the entrance to another tomb system. This consists of a vestibule with a staircase leading downward into a four-sided chamber having subsidiary chambers with arcosolia, one in each of the sides not containing the doorway. The chamber on the side opposite the doorway leads to a further chamber (unfinished), 4 feet 10 inches by 5 feet 9 inches, presenting no feature of interest.

I cannot recognise Tobler's No. 9.

(To be continued.)

THE ROCK-CUTTINGS OF KHURBET EL-'AIN.

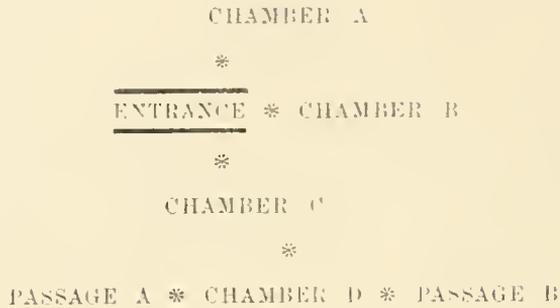
By R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A.

KHURBET EL-'AIN is the name given to a hill by the side of Wâdy ej-Judeideh, immediately opposite to the Tell of the same name. Between it and the next hill (Khurbet Medawwir) runs the road from Wâdy ej-Judeideh to Deir en-Nakhkhas. Near the side of this road, at its junction with the Wâdy, there are certain fragments of pillars and other architectural remains of the Roman period, which tradition asserts to be the remains of a fountain ('*ain*') that once existed here, and from which the hill derives its name. The building, whatever it was, has become completely disintegrated, most of its stones having been removed for boundary marks and other purposes; it is now quite impossible to recover its plan or design.

Among some half-dozen pits of the common bell-shape, a few columbaria, rock-cut graves, and tomb-chambers with kokim, is a number of rock-cuttings which yield to none in interest or variety. I have found no group more worthy of careful study and richer in promise of instruction; and, therefore, have thought it worth while to prepare a short preliminary account of the three most important. Full details and measurements, with plans (precluded by their necessary size from appearing in the *Quarterly Statement*) will be given in the section on rock-cuttings in the forthcoming memoir on the recent excavations.

I.—The first of the three that I have selected for present notice is situated on the summit of the *col* connecting Khurbet el-'Ain with the next hill to the south. It is called *Mughâret Abu Haggein* (حقتين) by the natives: a name which seems to mean "Cave of the Father of two truths," though its application is beyond my comprehension. There are two types of labyrinth among the Shephelah caves. In the first, of which the Great Souterrain at Tell Zakariya is an excellent example, the chambers communicate one with another either directly or less frequently by intervening passages. In the second a long creep-passage is the backbone of the system, and subsidiary passages and chambers radiate from it on each side.

Mughâret Abu Haggein is an admirable specimen of the second, which is much the rarer type.



As a temporary substitute for a plan, which cannot be reduced satisfactorily to the size of the *Quarterly Statement*, the above diagram (based on a system adapted from Tobler's plans of rock-tombs) is offered in elucidation of the description. The entrance is a downward sloping passage, open to the sky. At its lower end are three doorways (represented by stars), each leading into a chamber. These chambers communicate internally as well: indeed, the external entrances to A and B are now blocked. Beyond Chamber C is Chamber D, which has four little subsidiary cells opening off from it (not indicated in the diagram) and two passages. Passage A is 69 feet long; four small cells open off it in its course, as well as a subsidiary passage, communicating by a further subordinated passage with a fifth cell. The main passage terminates in a chamber of considerable size, having four small cells opening off it. Passage B is open for 95 feet of its length, after which it is blocked. Eight cells open from it. A sudden drop downwards in its floor seems to be meant to put an obstacle in the way of invaders.

The cave, therefore, consists of three large main chambers (B, C, D) and one smaller (A); of main lines of passage open for a total length of 160 feet; of one large chamber and 21 small cells subordinated to the main chambers and passages; as well as of certain subsidiary galleries. Besides the open entrance, nine doorways, apparently ancient entrances, are visible at various places inside, blocked up; these were probably merely holes made for convenience in removing waste material.

II.—This is a bell-shaped pit of the ordinary pattern; but it is distinguished by its great size, and by the complicated history

written on its walls, from others of the type. The depth is 60 feet, the diameter at the bottom 40 feet. The bottom is accessible by a staircase.

The most remarkable feature of the cave is a great cross *pattée*, cut neatly on the wall at a height of about 30 feet from the ground. This must either have been made when the cave was being made, or else have been cut with the aid of a ladder or scaffolding. The former view would, of course, date the cave in post-Christian times, and therefore, by analogy, all like it as well—a conclusion which to me seems all but inconceivable. Five other crosses are scattered over the wall in more accessible situations.

In any case, whatever the date of the cave may be, these crosses attest a Christian occupation; and a subsequent non-Christian occupation as a columbarium is indicated by the fact that two of these crosses are interfered with by the encroachment of loculi. In all there are 445 holes for urns cut in the walls of the cave.

There are two characters scratched high up on the wall, near the entrance, which merit attention. The first of these resembles a character in the West Asiatic hieroglyphs; it is the letter like the handle of a bucket, which occurs three times in line 1 of the first three Hamath inscriptions as figured in Wright's "Empire of the Hittites." The difference between this character and the Khurbet el-'Ain symbol lies in the loops, which are open in the latter, closed in the former.¹ The other symbol is more interesting. It is a Swastika, with the lower arm developed into a spiral surrounding the figure. This, I believe, is the first Swastika yet found in the Phœnician archæological area; it is common in districts under Mycænæan and Greek influence, but has hitherto been regarded as foreign to Phœnician and *native* Egyptian art or symbolism.

It is only fair to mention that the credit of first noticing this very interesting pair of symbols belongs to a promising youthful archæologist, Master J. Palmer (son of my friend Mr. R. G. Palmer, late of Jerusalem), who, during a visit to the explora-

¹ In column D, line 2, of the first Jerabis inscription (*op. cit.*), a form of this letter appears more nearly resembling the character in question. But I do not suggest that we have a specimen of the West Asiatic hieroglyphs at Khurbet el-'Ain, which is probably too far south for such a discovery. The comparisons are merely intended to be descriptive, not explanatory.

tion camp, gave me much useful assistance in measuring these caves.

III.—Of all the 120 or 130 caves, large and small, which I examined in the district round Beit Jibrîn, none appeared to me more interesting than the third of those selected for the present notice.

It consists of a long hall, 47 feet in length, and maintaining a fairly uniform breadth of 18 or 19 feet, approached by a vestibule, or rather open passage, sloping downwards. Round the hall is arranged a series of rooms—mostly small cells—opening off its sides by well-made square doorways, which have been prepared for wooden frames; there are in all 14 of these cells connected with the main hall, beside a large number of shallow niches. One of these chambers, on the west side, is connected by a short tunnel (now blocked with stones) with a series of four chambers, one of them a great room of bell shape, about 40 feet in depth.

In the south-west corner of the principal hall is a passage, raised 3 feet 7 inches above the surface of the ground, which, after passing through a very low and narrow doorway, ends at the foot of a straight, steep, narrow staircase, of a form quite unique in these caves. There are 20 steps, ranging in tread from $5\frac{1}{2}$ to 8 inches, and in rise from 13 to 20 inches. The top of the staircase is blocked up; but two passages open off the left-hand side wall, near the top; the upper passage is short, and leads to a small system of three cells; the lower winds for about 50 feet, after which it suddenly comes to an end in a block. Not impossibly it would end in a raised doorway, inaccessible without a long ladder, to be seen in the wall of the large bell-chamber already described.

One more interesting feature of the main hall deserves careful consideration. This is a cupboard above a kind of apse in the centre of the east wall. It is a receptacle of small size—1 foot 3 inches to 1 foot 5 inches in all dimensions, and therefore could not have held many or large objects, but these must have been of considerable intrinsic value, as the cupboard was closed with a board, carefully secured in position by a heavy beam. The sockets for all these are visible in the rock; and it is interesting to notice that for extra security the board must have been slightly warped, so as to fit more tightly.

In my opinion the caves at Khurbet el-'Ain are of much greater interest than even the colossal excavations of Beit Jibrin; and of the series on this hill none can compete in importance with that now described.

Close by it is another, of very similar type, but not nearly so extensive.

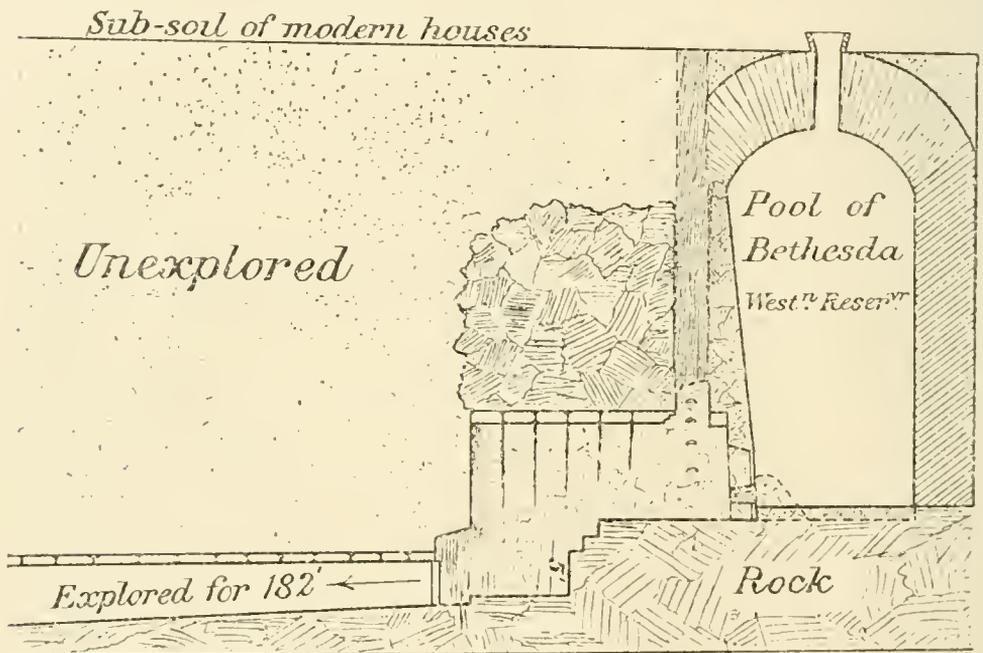
DISCOVERY AT THE POOL BETHESDA.

By PÈRE LÉON CRÉ.

IN the *Quarterly Statement* for 1888 (pp. 115-134) there is a description, with plan and sections, by Dr. Schick, of the twin pools near the Church of St. Anne, which are called by the earlier historians of the Crusades *Piscina Probatica* or Bethesda. The pools, then recently discovered, were only partially examined: and, as more than half of them lie beneath private Moslem houses, complete exploration is still impossible. It was thought, however, that something more might be done, and in 1899 the Committee of the Fund placed a small sum at the disposal of the "White Fathers" who had conducted the previous excavations. The result has been the discovery of the outlet of the western pool, and of the drain connected with it.

Père Léon Cré, to whose initiative the work of exploration is due, writes that when the south part of the western pool was cleared of rubbish they noticed, against the south wall, two masses of rock which resembled the piers that support the sluice-gates of European reservoirs. Digging between these, they found a channel 2 feet $11\frac{1}{3}$ inches wide and deep, and then a rock-hewn opening, 3 feet $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches high, in the south wall, at a depth of 62 feet 4 inches below the present level of the ground. Beneath this opening was another, 1 foot $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches square, which allowed the pool to be emptied for cleansing purposes. Passing through the opening, they found themselves in a high passage with rock sides, which was roofed with large flag-stones, and at the bottom of the shaft by which men passed up and down, by means of small foot-holes cut in the rock, to open or shut the sluice-gate. Beyond the shaft the passage was covered with stalactites, which wainscoted its rocky sides or hung in rows, like petrified snakes.

from the joints between the covering flag-stones. When the hardened mud, which covered the floor to a depth of about 3 feet $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches, was cleared away, they found two rock-hewn steps of 1 foot $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches, then a third 5 feet 3 inches high, and a fourth, all leading down to a drain, of which only the crown of the semi-circular covering arch was visible. The vault is well preserved, and is formed by five parallel lines of voussoirs, each 7.87 inches wide, but varying in length, the maximum being a dimension, 3 feet $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches, met with in previous excavations in the pool. The bottom and sides of this fine drain, which was followed for 182 feet from north to south, are of rock. Father



Cré estimates that the Birket Israil was only 131 feet distant from the point at which they were obliged to stop. Here the channel was filled up, apparently from another source, and a larger drain ran east towards the Valley of Jehoshaphat.

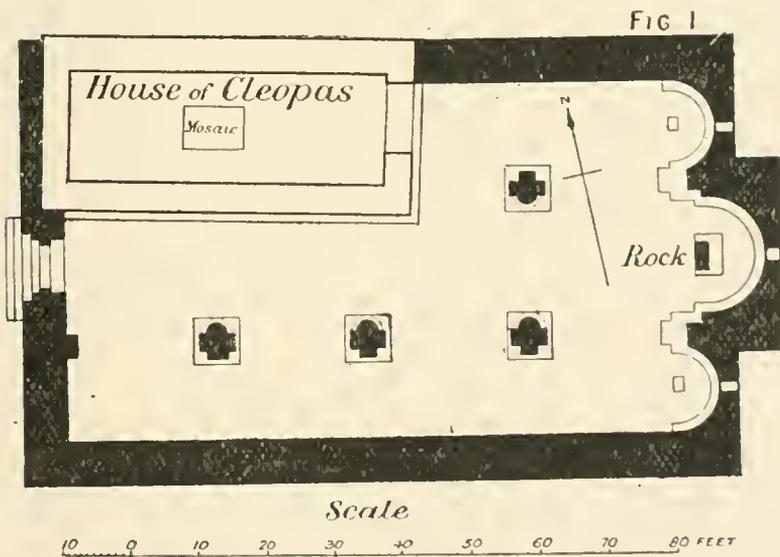
Dr. Schick writes that the western pool, which at the time of his previous report was full of soil, has been cleared, and that the level of its floor is about 54 feet below the level of the street leading to St. Stephen's Gate. The pool is a little wider than it is shown on his 1888 plan, and, like that to the east, from which it is separated by a rock wall 27 feet high, has rock-hewn sides on the south and west, and masonry on its north side. Dr. Schick believes that both pools extend 100 feet further to the north, and

that the large passage and drain were made when the pools were excavated. He says that the outlet of the pool is under the point where there is a drain (marked 13 on the section, Plate 2, *Quarterly Statement*, 1888, p. 118), and that its floor is on the same level as the overflow duct of the Birket Israil shown on Sir C. Warren's section (Plate XVI, "Jerusalem Portfolio of Plans, &c.").

KUBEIBEH (EMMAUS).

Abridged from a Paper by DR. C. SCHICK.

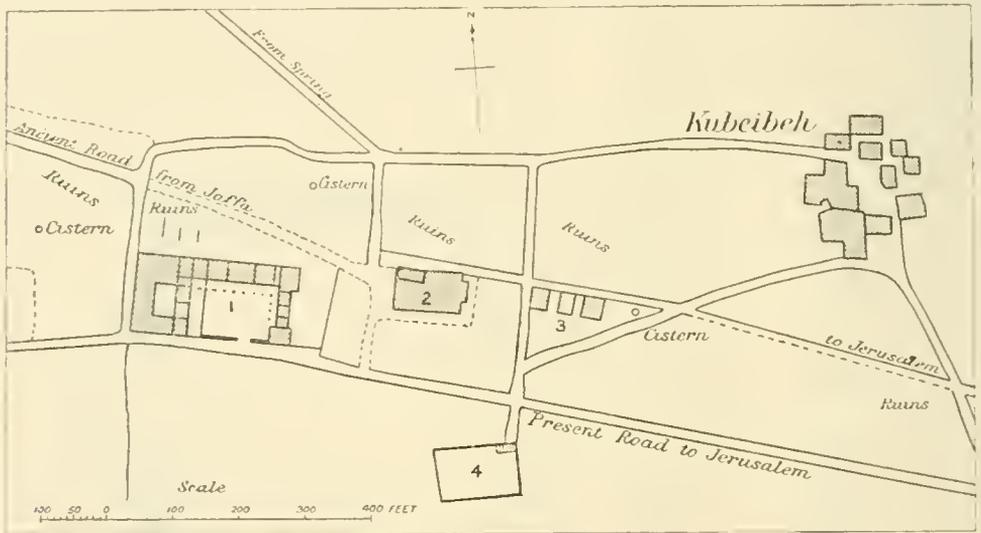
IN vol. iii of the "Memoirs" of Western Palestine, p. 130, there is a description of Kubeibeh, and of the remains near it of an earlier village and church. Since the publication of the "Memoirs" the church has been rebuilt, and much else has been done. I am



now able to forward copies of complete plans of the church, and of the ancient site. The original church contained a building which was apparently older than itself, and this has been restored, and is called the house of Cleopas (Luke xxiv, 29, 30). The walls of the church, curiously enough, are not in line with those of the house. This building gives the church a peculiar appearance, and I have seen nothing like it except the Coenaculum which, as the house in which the Last Supper of the Lord was eaten, was included in the Byzantine Church of Zion. Whether, as in

that case, the house of Cleopas originally had two storeys is unknown. The mediæval house had only one storey, and a single chamber 17 feet wide and 46 feet long, which, I think, consisted originally of two rooms that were thrown into one when the Byzantine Church was restored by the Crusaders. It was supposed that the church was built by the Crusaders, as there is no notice of an earlier church or of the identification of Kubeibeh with the Emmaus of Luke in Byzantine times. But the discovery of part of a Byzantine mosaic pavement, and other details, seems to indicate that the Crusaders only restored an earlier Church.

West of the church is the new Franciscan Monastery of Italian monks, which includes a hospice and a boarding school.



1. MONASTERY. 2. CHURCH. 3. ROMAN VILLAS. 4. POOL.

This place and the church were bought by a French lady and given to the Franciscans in 1862 in the hope and belief that it was Emmaus. There was much opposition to this view at the time, and in 1863 I was asked to measure the distance from the gate of Jerusalem to the ruins of the monastery by three routes—*viâ* Nebi Samwîl, Beit Ikse, and Beit Ulma. I found the average distance to be 37,600 feet, or, at 606 feet to the furlong, 62 furlongs. As John states (xi, 18) that Bethany “was nigh unto Jerusalem, about 15 furlongs off,” I measured the distance from St. Stephen’s Gate to the first house in Bethany along the (carriage) road to Jericho, and found it to be 9,300 feet, or 15½ furlongs. Four times this distance being 62 furlongs, I felt

certain that, so far as distance was concerned, Kubeibeh might be regarded as Emmaus.

The plan of the site shows that the ancient road from Jaffa to Jerusalem passes behind the monastery and along the north side of the church, where it is paved. Eastwards, towards Jerusalem, the remains of three Roman villas have been found, and further east there are ruins in an olive grove adjoining the vilage. From this ancient site a road descends northward to the valley and a spring, called 'Ain el-Ajab (the wonderful, or where wonders happened), which is $5\frac{1}{2}$ furlongs distant. I have also measured the road to the plain as far as el-Barj, and of this I will write another time. West of the monastery, in ground purchased a few years ago by German Roman Catholics, are also ruins; and south of the church is a pool, 80 feet wide and 120 feet long, of which the depth is not known. Towards the south and east the view is limited, but to the north and west it is extensive, Jaffa and the sea being seen. The air is very good, and the place fit for recreation or a change of air.

WOMAN IN THE EAST.

By PHILIP J. BALDENSPERGER, Esq.

(Continued from "*Quarterly Statement*," 1901, p. 90.)

PART III.—THE BEDAWIN WOMAN.

CHAPTER I.—GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

THE third type of Eastern woman is represented by the modern Bedawin woman, very probably unchanged through thousands of years. Just as Sarah, Abraham's wife, lived in tents about two thousand years before Christ, we meet the same way of living amongst the nomads—a continual roaming about from the north to the south, from the east to the west. The tent is pitched where there is plenty of pasturage for the herds and camels, and where water is to be had. As Abraham and Lot had many flocks and herds and tents, the land was not able to support them all, and they parted. The tribes also of the Bedawin live in definite districts, else there would be eternal

strife among the herdsmen. Owing to this class being always either in the sun or in the black tents, they are always dark.

A Bedawîn settlement is composed of three or more tents, generally placed in a line or a square, according to number. When there are enough tents to form a square, a large space is left in the centre; the ropes of the tents cross each other, and close the camp all around, leaving only one entrance.

The women are clothed in huge gowns or shirts of a very dark blue colour; the sleeves are very long and wide, and the dresses are a good deal too long, so that the women trail their skirts far behind or gather half of the length in front, hanging it down from above the girdle. The head-cloth is all of the same stuff and colour, wrapped round the head and hanging down on both sides. As if darkness would not be made complete by the dark clothes, sunburnt faces, and black tents, they are very often tattooed in dark blue round the mouth, and often the lips are deeply tinged with blue.

Certainly this class is the most purely original race, into which no foreign blood has been admitted, as among the townspeople and Fellahîn; for they are, in spite of their roaming life, most scrupulous about their pedigree. Intermarriage with Fellahîn is rare, and if in some tribes strangers are admitted, still they are partially discarded, or the next marriage is again concluded with a stranger.

The tent is always long, in most cases the whole front side open, and usually towards the east. They call the tents "hair-houses," as they are made of goats' hair, spun and woven by the women themselves in long strips not over a yard in breadth, and when sufficient pieces are ready they are sewn together with thick hair-threads. The tent is pitched on one central pole, the two side poles north and south—the fore and the hind foot. For the common Bedawîn there is a single tent, in which all live together; but the more wealthy have the tent divided by a separation of the same stuff, marking off what is called the *me'hram*, , or women's apartment, into which men are not allowed to go. The separation itself is called *m'end*, . When guests are announced, they go to separate guests' tents if the encampment is considerable enough to have such; but if only a few tents form the whole encampment, the guests are received in the tent proper, whilst the women go into the secluded part, just as Sarah also hid herself when the angel came

to visit Abraham and foretold the birth of Isaac. Long ropes are bound to all pole-tops except the central one, and pegs are driven into the ground at some distance in proper proportion. Owing to the eternal moving, the narrow space, and the few wants, the "house of hair" is never over-filled with useless articles.

CHAPTER II.—THE HOUSEHOLD.

Necessarily the household furniture is reduced to such articles as are strictly wanted. Mats or carpets are to be found in every tent, as these are of prime necessity, forming the bedding (for they cannot sleep on mother earth, though they are not very far above it), and a few cushions and covers complete the bedroom articles. As with the townspeople and peasants, these articles are rolled up and put away during day-time, being spread out only in case visitors of importance come to the tents. The skin water-bottle is one of the most precious articles to be found in the house. As the regions in which they encamp are generally devoid of trees and bushes, the hottest part of the country is chosen in winter, away from water, and in summer a slight elevation, but always in desolate places, or at least where there are no villages. The water is very often miles away, and the women can be seen toiling home carrying the water either on their own backs or on the backs of their donkeys. In Palestine the Bedawin women wear a heavy black veil covering the nose and mouth and hanging down in front, so that only the eyes can be seen sparkling, black, and piercing with their disdainful looks. Next in importance to the bottle is the wooden bowl to make the dough; the tanned goat or kid skin, sewed up sack fashion, to hold the flour; and the inevitable hand-mill to grind the corn. A few kitchen utensils, a small pot or two and a wooden ladle, or sometimes an iron pan, complete the household furniture. Everything appertaining to coffee-making is owned by the whole settlement. It is usually in the house of the Sheikh, or else in the guests' tent, and goes round according as this one or that one may want the whole set. The grain stored away which some half-agricultural tribes may possess is put in pits in some isolated, out-of-the-way spot where no stranger will ever venture, as the whole region is considered something like the private property of the tribe, and loafers are not admitted. Thus thefts are very rare. Small quantities of grain, flour, cheese, and butter are always in the house under the absolute control of the woman.

The baby is generally in a home-made hammock hanging across the tent from the front to the back pole, and when the mother moves or goes on an errand the baby is carried in its hammock on her back. A circular concave pan, without handles, is used to bake the bread on, the hollow side turned to the fire, which is built up in front of the tent between two stones, usually in such a place as is out of the way of the prevailing winds, to prevent the smoke filling the tent. During rains or bad weather the whole family huddle around a central fire, and this is the most uncomfortable time in the Bedawîn life. As most Bedawîn live in the deserts, they retire as far south as possible, to avoid rigorous winters or to have the least possible rain. Those of the mountainous districts of Jerusalem—that is, those in the desert of Judea—go towards the Dead Sea district after having ploughed and sowed their lands. The women always have their poultry-yards, and when they are about to start they bind the chickens' feet the night before leaving, and on the journey these are either simply laid across the loads on donkeys or camels, or else the women carry them in a wickerwork basket on the head. Arrived at their new settlement, the fowls are set loose at once, and, like their mistresses, seem accustomed to this roaming life, for no sooner are their legs untied than they run round about the half-finished settlement as if they had never known another spot. A small chicken-house, so low that a child must creep in to fetch the eggs, is soon built, and into it the fowls retreat as soon as it is evening, to avoid being eaten by the ever-ready foxes and jackals, who seem to be acquainted with the camping grounds. When the tent is pitched, a small furrow is dug all round, to prevent the rain running in.

The donkeys, cows, and dogs are almost always left to the women to look after, and when the donkeys and cows are driven out to pasture they are kept by the smaller girls and boys. The dogs always remain by their mistresses, who never forget to feed them with whatever they may have themselves, either dry bread or a bit of bread and butter, or the remains of some milk. After supper to strangers the bones are preserved for the dogs, who have always names, such as "Lion of the Night," "Young Pigeon," "Peacock," "Tiger," and so on.

The further away from towns the fewer wants, and the less to do. When they live near towns, as in the plain of Sharon, where Jaffa and Gaza can be reached very easily, and where minor towns also require many requisites which they themselves

do not produce, they find ready sale for those products they may have, such as milk, cheese, butter, chickens, and eggs, or, in harvest-time, grain. As with the Fellahîn, so also with the Bedawîn, it is the women who carry the articles to market, and bring back sweets or cloth for their dress. In all the Arab towns there are dyers who dye the shirting blue, and long strips may be seen hanging around the streets from the tops of the houses. This dyeing business is now carried on by the Mohammedan and Christian townspeople. In centuries gone by it seems to have been mostly in the hands of the Jews. Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Palestine whilst it was in the hands of the Crusaders, enumerates the names of the Jews, and he states that many were dyers, especially in Judea, or Southern Palestine. In every small town and in many villages he met Jewish dyers.

In the far away desert the Bedawîn seldom, if ever, allow their women to come to towns: most of those of the southern tribes have never so much as seen villagers or strangers, except chance travellers as they passed along the road. Many years ago when I lived in the Jordan Valley, on ground rented from the Bedawîn of the Tiger tribe of the 'Adwan, one day as I was hunting in the thicket, four women, when they caught sight of me, shrieked and fled, calling out for help. I tried to get near them, and explained to them that I was a European settler living for the time with their tribe, and that I was out pigeon-shooting and would do them no harm, but, on the contrary, would be glad enough to be left in peace by them and their people. Thickly veiled, and with throbbing hearts, they approached and wondered what was the matter with me, why I had such a white skin, and timidly a damsel stretched out her hand to feel if I was really flesh and blood. Having talked intelligibly in Arabic to them they were reassured, but owned that on having first caught sight of me they thought they saw a spectre, as I was wholly dressed in white, with a white head-cloth, and had besides white hands and face, though a little sunburnt, which was not distinguishable at a distance, and in the first moment of their terror. For a very short time the women of the tribe remained in the plains, but as soon as the summer heat began they retired into the cooler districts of the mountains of Moab. The Bedawîn woman who remained with us was tattooed all over her face, and having married a Fellah, she had done away with the veil, which is very troublesome for women, but as Bedawîn women have only half or not even so much work to do, they are quite accustomed to the veil and take life very easy.

CHAPTER III.—THE WOMEN.

The Bedawiyeh, as well as the townswoman and the Fallaha, has her duties, though on a smaller scale than the two others. Still she has to look to everything concerning the household, and as a mother to bring up her children, no matter how small this duty may be, for in early life, when the children can run, they are either almost or quite naked by day, so that the mother has neither mending nor sewing to do. Of course this is not the case in the winter months, neither can it be applied to all children, for the babies all have diapers and all kinds of rags, and as long as they cannot run and warm themselves have to be kept warm by some kind of clothing, whilst the grown-up children must be decently clothed, be they boys or girls. Here also the girls are sent out as shepherdesses, but never out of the family. The clothing of the women is not adapted to very active work, like the clothes of the townswomen; the Bedawiyeh loses herself in cumbersome wrappings and windings. In the first place, the whole dress is very wide, a girdle holds it in position round the waist, but the rest comes out and dangles about on all sides. The sleeves can be turned round the body several times, the head-cloth hangs down to a considerable distance after having been twisted round the head. The thick black veil, as already mentioned, is ornamented with coins hanging all round the edge, at the same time holding the lower part of the veil in position, as it is otherwise loose at its lower part.¹ The top is fixed in the middle by a thread or bead-row going up between the eyes and tied to the plaits of the hair behind, and also to the right and left behind the ears like spectacles; and is fastened behind the head. Enormous earrings of silver, which are in reality attached to the head-gear, and in nowise touch the ear, encircle the ears and hang down almost to the shoulders. Nose-rings, bracelets, finger rings, as well as rows of coins, hang on the head. Such cumbersome every-day clothing is not fitted for work, like that of the Fallaha, who can tuck up her clothes to the knees and, with bare legs, go to work. The Bedawy woman is hardly ever in a hurry, sweeping the way as she moves slowly, or is seen stretching about the floor of her tent in search of one or other of the house articles which she may want, all these being very close together, so that she has hardly

¹ *Dress.*—The Bedawin women in the eastern deserts are much less accustomed to wear veils than those in the Jordan Valley, or in the west of Palestine.—C. R. C.

ever to get up to fetch them. Her duty depends on the work of her husband; if they are half agricultural Bedawîn, naturally enough a good deal more of work falls also to the woman, and in many things her general duty does not differ from that of her Fellah sister. But where the Bedawîn are of the robber or herdsmen tribes the woman has hardly anything to do out of the tent, except fetching the water, or washing; which last is very much simplified on account of the colour of the clothes, and also because the clothes are very little soiled when there is little work to perform. The women as they advance in age generally smoke and drink coffee, and try to emancipate themselves; this is very true of widows. Bedawîn women are very fond of the soot adhering to the inside of tobacco-pipe stems, they push in a long straw and suck off the soot, using it very much as tobacco is used in chewing.¹ Also they practice chewing gum. The Bedawîn of some northern districts use no veils, but have their faces simply framed round about with the dark head-cloth.

CHAPTER IV.—MARRIAGE.

The marriage customs of the Bedawîn very much resemble those of the Fellahîn, but there are some differences. The girl among them also is never consulted about the man she is to take, but she has simply to obey the head of the family, whilst a widow may either accept or refuse the proposed husband.

The men do not, as with the townspeople and villagers, accompany the bride in procession; the women only accompany her to the tent of her bridegroom. As the Bedawîn generally have no priests of their own, the religious part is wholly omitted. Having agreed as to the price and received the greatest part, on the day of the wedding the father of the bride and the bridegroom perch on stones, and the father, presenting a straw to the bridegroom, says: "Did you accept my daughter?" The bridegroom, holding the straw, says: "I did." Again the father presents the straw and says: "By God's and his prophet's year?" The bridegroom, holding the straw, representing the season, answers: "Yes, may she be blessed," and he takes the straw, and sticking it into his head-dress, the marriage knot is tied.²

¹ *Smoking*.—It is also remarkable that the pure Bedawîn do not smoke as a rule—probably because it is difficult to get tobacco.—C. R. C.

² *Marriage*.—The custom among the Terabeen, and others, for the bride and her companions to run away from camp and to assault the bridegroom with

Second marriages and divorces are just as easily managed as with others. And the same style of songs are sung; it is very likely even that most of the songs are of Bedawîn origin. The women also sing in the name of the bridegroom:—

O charmer! a precious girdle is always around you,
Wind me, too, about you, my charming one, seven or eight turns.
Good people, should I die, in the house let me be buried,
Beside her I'll rest as a martyr, and be saved from the fire (of hell).

O girl! with the big earrings,
With the long, trailing clothes,
Take away your girdle and sleep quietly,
I am watching the enemy, for you there is no fear

The eyes are also blackened with *kóhl*, as with the others, and the feast and songs and firing are carried on. The bride remains seven days hid in the tent, and she may not pass over running water, which would carry away her progeny, if ever she has any.

Though the Bedawîn themselves will not admit that love-making or flirtation is easy to be carried on in the wide open plain, seeing that every movement can be observed by the whole camp, yet I am inclined to think that they find ways and times to manifest their preference. Lovemaking like that of Occidentals, is prohibited, still, as has been repeatedly mentioned, cases of real love are met with, and especially among the Bedawîn, whose open-air life and contemplation of Nature give them more poetic feelings than those of the ever shut-up Madanîyeh, expecting to be surprised with the veil off at the turning of any corner, or of the ever-busy Fallaha, too much occupied with her continual duties. The Bedawîyeh has a far better hiding place than the others, it is just the endless space open to all sides which is free to her as well as to her lover, if she have one, and the shadows of night kindly draw a veil all round and shut out indiscreet eyes, and the darker the night the easier the excuse. For the townswoman has nothing to seek out of her house, and cannot without suspicion go out into the street; and the Fallaha, though less watched than the townswoman, is known all about the village, and as the smallest village has streets she or her lover may be met, even though it be night. But not so with the Bedawîyeh; outside the camp is the endless plain, without streets, and consequently with a good deal less chance of being surprised.

stones when he follows, is also one of those taking its rise in ideas of proper modesty. Nor is such conduct peculiar to Bedawîn, as it may be found sometimes even among townpeople.—C. R. C.

If family prejudices or other causes hinder an alliance, and the couple be too deeply attached to each other, they plan an escape. The elopement happens either in the evening or before daylight, the lover leading the way, but usually a mile or so ahead for safety. For if the pair were caught together one or both might be killed before even having been given time for justification, but if they are separate, they can deny having anything to do with one another, and, should Bedawîn justice be appealed to, no punishment can be inflicted on either of the two if they have not been taken in a very intimate moment, and this has to be witnessed by at least two trustworthy witnesses. An elopement, therefore, is a very risky act. Should they succeed in their plans, they pass by the next tribe or go round, hiding, if possible, by daylight, and proceeding only by night, as the pursuers are sure to be on the road, and before they have settled in some tribe they may be overtaken and mishandled. But when they have journeyed during two or three nights they come into a camp and declare themselves man and wife, and beg hospitality. The Bedawîn always accept new settlers, especially full-grown men, as they are an increase of strength for war, though war may not be projected, nor even probable for years to come. The Bedawîn live continually ready for an emergency, and no able men of the tribe, or stranger that is within the gates, will shrink if the least danger is threatening. The number of armed men in a camp or tribe is always considered, and the more the armed men the surer the prospect of peace, unless by increase they become themselves the aggressors. When a year or more has passed since the elopement, and the parents have found out the retreat of the enamoured couple, they may send messengers to try and bring them back again, after consenting to the marriage and declaring it lawful. The parents of the man pay a certain sum, generally less than the price would have been—somewhere between 80 and 100 dollars—a number of silk gowns are given to the male relatives, and an atonement sacrifice is eaten, both parties swearing they are contented. Thus the couple may timidly return. Yet in most cases they will not accept any reconciliation. Neither the deeply humiliated family of the woman, who will swear not to rest till blood has washed away the family stain, nor the man himself, who, though they may swear forgiveness to him and make brotherhood with him, is never sure of his life, as the family may be very great, and one

or other of the relatives may not have been present at the reconciliation, and consequently be free not to recognise the forgiveness. It is wiser never to come back!

Just as with the Fellahîn, the Bedawîn woman is not allowed illegitimate friendship with any man, under penalty of death. Although Bedawîn law does not allow a man to be killed for simple suspicion, yet if a woman should denounce a simple attempt on the part of any man the consequences are terrible. A woman of the Tarabeen Bedawîn was attacked by Tayaha Bedawîn, the consequence was a conflagration among all the tribes, many years' war and numberless dead, and the Government had to interfere to separate the belligerents. If I am correct, the enmity began in the beginning of the last decade, and no Bedawî to this date ventures into the district of the opposite party for fear of being killed—"they have blood between them."¹

On October 20th, 1888, a girl of the Ta'amry Bedawîn went out into the fields gathering wood; two young men of the village of Bethfajâr, in whose neighbourhood the camp was set up, met her in the field and tried to abuse her. The girl, shrieking at the top of her voice, rushed into the camp, shouting: "To arms! Your honour is soiled; in daytime your girls are violated!" Without losing a moment all the men sprang to their arms, and after rapid examination, in a body went against the village, carrying off everything that belonged to the whole family, of whom four men were severely wounded in their precipitate retreat. Herds, flocks, camels, and donkeys were driven away, every portable object carried off; others were destroyed, and the Bedawîn retreated in triumph, living for the next few weeks on the stolen herds. The quarrel was not arranged till the Government had sent out soldiers, and after having made the Bedawîn surrender what was left of their booty, took the two young men to Jerusalem to be imprisoned, and in course of time to be judged guilty or set free. The almighty Majidi (in lieu of the dollar) arranges most differences with the Government officials, and the accused, often enough innocent, are imprisoned; twenty times for one the real culprits escape any punishment at all.

¹ *Ta'amry*.—While the Terabeen and Tayaha are true Bedawîn, as are the Jahalîn, the Ta'amry appear to have been Fellahîn who have taken to the desert life. They are said to have come from Beit Ta'amir, near Bethlehem, and they wear turbans, while all other Bedawîn tribes wear the *Kufeya* or head shawl—C. R. C.

CHAPTER V.—LEGEND OF ABU ZAID.¹

A Bedawîn chief in Naj'd, in Arabia, had a wife, Khadra, who had borne a daughter, Shiba, and then ceased to have children. This chief, Risk, was very sorry, but would not divorce his wife. Khadra one day went to a fountain to wash, when she saw a black bird pounce on other birds, killing some and scattering many. She prayed to God: "Oh, my Lord, hear my petition, make me conceive and bear a son, who shall drive the knights before him as does this bird the other birds, and though he be as black as this bird." Her prayer was heard, and she had a black son.

Ser'han, the father of the Bedawîn Sultan Hassan, then came to visit Risk, and sang:—

Bring forth the new-born, let us give him gifts,
May we be ever increasing for a day of need.

The happy father presents the child, but Ghanem, the father of Zohrab, says:—

Say, Risk! this child is not from our stock,
But from the stock of vile slaves,
I swear by my conscience, O Risk, this is a stranger,
And he even resembles our negro, Nirjan.

The exasperated father says:—

Witness, all ye present, his mother is divorced,
Divorced, though all judges and learned men be against me.

And turning to his wife he continues:—

Break down thy tent, O Khadra, load it, and be quick,
Take with thee thy maids and all thy goods,
May the entrance to thy tent be forbidden to me,
Though thou be decorated with pearls as thick as my thumb.

¹ *Abu Zaid*.—This story is well known in Palestine, not only as printed in books, but also localised in various places, as, for instance, at the "Dish of Abu Zaid," in the plain of Shittin, east of Jordan—a huge stone cylinder. The epic poem, however, cannot be older than 700 A.D., as it notices the Beni Hilâl, or "sons of the crescent," in Tunis. As regards Queen Martha, she might possibly be Martina, the widow of the Emperor Heraclius, who ruled the Greek Empire in 641 A.D., after his defeat by Omar and his death. She was deposed and mutilated in the same year. But she was the only ruling queen likely to be known to Arabs, for there was no Latin queen of Jerusalem. The epic appears to belong to the age of the great Moslem conquest of Syria in Omar's time, 632–638 A.D., and Abu Zaid may be connected with the famous Moslem general, Zaid, of that age. The route of the Beni Hilâl was that taken by Omar's general, Abu 'Obeidah.—C. R. C.

Sorrowful Khadra leaves the camp and goes toward Mecca to her relatives, but on the way she changes her mind, and goes to Zah'lan, the fierce enemy of the Beni Hilâl, the tribe she had just left, and thus reasons to herself: "If I go to my relatives, and say I am offended, they will perhaps blame me, and if I say my husband has beaten me, it is not true; I will go to Zah'lan and bring up my child as a warrior." She is received by Zah'lan, and the young Barakat (blessing, so called for the blessing) grows up in the art of war. One day, while at war with his father's tribe, he shows his prowess by killing forty warriors in single combat. His own father now goes to war with him, and in the wars the hero always has a beautiful girl behind him to attract the eye of the opponent. Risk took his daughter Shiha. When the two warriors meet, every time that Barakat lifts the sword to strike his father something supernatural holds it back. Suddenly Shiha calls out to her brother: "Hold; this is your father; cursed be the Sheikh who brought you up." But Risk scolds her, saying: "Are you becoming like your mother? And will you flirt with our enemies?" But Shiha insists, and says: "This is my brother, who has been sent away and was brought up by Zah'lan." And she continues: "Try his dexterity; if he be able to catch three apples on horseback, you will find out that it is my brother by father and mother." Having consented, Risk gets three apples, and throws the first, which Barakat catches at the point of the spear, the second he catches in his stirrup, and the third in his hand.

Shiha now utters a cry of joy, with ululations. Barakat comes nearer to know the cause, and she tells him: "This is your father whom you are fighting"; so Barakat throws himself down, and having rubbed his nose with dog's grass feigns being dead, the nose bleeding, but he runs home and tells before his mother, and expects to hear whose son he is, in her wailing. Khadra at once assembles the women and maidens, and they wail after Khadra:—

Say after me, ye maidens, the tale of Barakat.
 Barakat died, he was the progeny of the wealthy,
 Thy kindred, O Barakat, rejected thee, and left thee to me,
 But Zah'lan brought thee up, thou son of honour,
 For your father is Risk, and your uncle Ser'han!

Barakat having heard these words, sits up, and says: "Is it true, mother? Is Risk really my father?" As she answers in the affirmative, he is astonished to be with the enemies. She

tells him how all came about, and entreats him to go and capture his father. Having done so, Risk is brought before his wife, but at first sight of her he advances bareheaded and barefoot, repenting for what he had done. When the news had spread Zah'lan falls down dead, and Risk returns to his tribe, with Khadra and his black son and slaves, and having increased the tribe, the name of Barakat is changed into that of Abu Zaid, "the Father of Increase,"¹ and also Salamé. Famine had now spread amongst the tribe, and they decided to send out spies to discover a new country, where they might find food for their herds and water for all.

Abu Zaid is chosen to accompany the sons of his sister Shiha. Shiha sings a farewell song to the travellers, something like this:—

Shiha bids you farewell, Shiha tells you,
Go in peace, ye nobles of the Arabs.
I warn you make no fire in the open field,
For fire is visible and attracts from afar ;
I warn you not to sit among the people,
For in the assembly the Evil Eye may be ;
I warn you not to sit behind high walls,
For the mason builds, but foundations may fail ;
I warn you not to go before an unjust ruler,
Though Abu Zaid has always sly answers ;
I warn you if you pass any market
Send Yunis to buy, he is quick to come back.

Having started on their journey, as they pass the Plain of Jezreel, in Palestine, and are invited by an Arab chief, the people wonder why the strangers honour the negro most of all, but they explain to them that he is no real negro, and is only born black by accident, and not being able to convince them, an old chief, Mansour (the Victorious), comes and tells them in rhymes all he knows about this man and his family, and sings :

I knew your mother, O Salamé,
Before your father took her to his house,
And seven years your mother was barren,
But going to wash at a fountain one day,
With plenty of slaves and maidens around her,
High up in the heavens a bird she espied,
Who drove before him all other birds ;
Though the bird was black, she prayed for the like
And the Lord of the Throne, O Salamé,
Did not reject her desire.

¹ This part has been published by me in the *Quarterly Statement of the Palestine Exploration Fund* for October, 1894.

They now continue their way, and having arrived at Tunis, in North Africa, they find the land very good. Yunis, the youngest son, had his mother's necklace of pearls to sell when they should be in need. But being very costly it was reported to the Regent's daughter; when she saw Yunis she fell in love with him, and having bidden him enter the palace, she shut him up, and would no more let him go.

Abu Zaid has to go back alone to Arabia, abandoning the three prisoners.¹ Having told the tribe of the goodness of the land, they start on a Thursday, having given notice to all such women as are not of the tribe to remain in their native land if they choose to do so.

As in the wanderings of the Israelites through the wilderness, so the Beni Hilâl fight their way through at times, or pass in peace at times. Having come into the Jordan Valley, with their clothes all tattered and torn, they water their flocks at the River Jabbok. Klélé, a Bedawîn girl, having seen Jazié, the sister of Sultan Hassan, and she being very fair, is jealous, and says:—

Don't drink from our waters, our tribe will be defiled,
If you don't draw back, my brother Shbeeb, the knight, will smite you.

But the beautiful Jazié answers:—

We will drink from your waters and will wallow in your blood,
Till the waters be turned as red as henna.

Again Klélé answers:—

By God! I'll go to Shbeeb, my brother, and tell him the insult you offer,
By God! I'll tell him that you are enemies of the Keis.

But Jazié again says:—

Don't exult, O Klélé, for we are guests for one night,
To-morrow we are going, and will camp far away.

But Klélé runs and tells her brother, who is furious, and comes on horseback. Having challenged the tribe to war, the first duel is to be fought with Sultan Hassan; and his sister Jazié is the attraction-woman accompanying him. Having taken his lands, the wanderers now pass the Jordan, and come to Khafayé, a chief in the Plain of Jezreel. As soon as he sees Jazié he falls in love with her, and bids all the tribe remain his guests for two long months. When the two months were over the Beni Hilâl

¹ Only the particulars concerning more especially the women are here told, to show how the women are treated and accounted of in their songs and in by-gone tales.

wanted to proceed, but did not know what to do with Jazié, for neither do they want to leave her to Khafayé nor do they know how to refuse him her hand. Salamé Abu Zaid, always ready at tricks, says: "We will move, and during the day the Sultan Hassan and Khafayé will be out a hunting, and coming home late in the evening and tired, he will only look for the entrance of his tent, where is a great mullein plant." This plant they put in a wooden bowl and carry it with them, putting it down before his tent every night; so during twelve days they deceive him, and have now journeyed far south and nearly to the Egyptian frontier. Now they again consult each other, and say: "We must get rid of Khafayé now, either kill him directly or else ask him to fight for his life." But Jazié, who had reciprocated his love, wishing to save his life, sings to him:—

If thou listen to me, Shukur, go back to thy country,
 For whoever goes back to his country shall live.
 A watermelon ripens only on its stock,
 And without its mother no cat is brought up.
 They brought you here, but they have sworn
 That should you venture further south than Arish
 Your flesh would surely be given to the birds.
 My heart aches in me, O Shareef Hashem, my heart aches in me, I may not live.
 I made you a house in every camp, and in every camp I have left some food,¹
 One only camp, oh Prince, have I forgotten,
 O, my heart aches in me, may I not live.

Shukur understands and journeys backwards, living on the bread he finds in every camp. They now besiege Jerusalem, for they remember the sanctuary, and ask the Christian Queen Martha to let them pray and go on. But Queen Martha refuses, her father having been killed in battle by them, and she has power over seven species of Jinn. Yet, having lost several knights, she is desolate, and offers herself in marriage to a victorious knight, thus:—

When she had heard the singing, And filled the wine-cup to the brim,
 She turns her face to him, And says, "Take, drink this, O Barandi,
 Drink the gift from the hand of a maiden, Drink it and be it wholesome to thee,
 And if thou be angry, turn round, With my own hands will I give thee drink,
 And wilt thou kill the one named Zohrab, And Hassan the chief of the tribes?
 And also young B'dair of age to fight. This is my wish, O Dikias,
 I am not angry after all, And pray forgive me altogether,
 And if thou preferrest, before war, We will marry at once."

¹ She had left a loaf of bread in every camp they passed, and buried it under the ashes.

This knight now goes to war, and is also overcome, but Jerusalem still does not surrender; so Abu Zaid has to find out by ruse how he can enter the city. Disguised as a monk he comes before the Queen, who is a geomancer, and finds out that this monk is none other than Abu Zaid himself, and when he is confronted she tells him:—

O Abu Zaid, how great is thy activity, Carrying a saddle-bag, and acting your
as3!

You put on a monk's hood, O Salamé, Beni Hilâl will be troubled without you,
But I will make a show of your death, and torture you before dying,
Whilst your tribe will be in consternation, the Christian maids will be drinking
wine.

Having imprisoned Abu Zaid he finds a way to escape, and kills the Queen, and carries the news to his tribe. They now visit Jerusalem, and then go on to Tunis, where they find tribes of their country in possession before them; after fighting for a long time uselessly they are allowed to remain in the environs. The Regent's daughter looks out of her palace, and seeing the knights discouraged, says:—

Strip off your beards and hand the spears to women,
Give us your turbans and take our veils, If we overcome them, we'll torture the
women,
But should we be overcome, our excuse is, we are women.

Of course the offer is rejected with disdain, and the fighting of duels goes on. A knight, 'Akel, who has been victorious in many duels, is continually on the battle-field, and does not leave it even by night. A Tunisian girl, daughter of the Knight Imtawé', begs of her father to be taken as the enticer in the fight against 'Akel, but in reality she is in love with him, because of his renown as a warrior, so when they arrive on the battle-field Imtawé' calls his adversary, and 'Akel answers:—

Here I am, thou who hast called me, I am Hôla's son!
To-day in the battle-field thou wilt leave me thy spoil.

The daughter of Imtawé' now lifts up her veil, but 'Akel goes on:—

O girl, cover your lips, though beautiful, I have plenty of beauties,
Had I desired any, I could have married one of our own girls.
I have the "Perfume of Pockets," Abu Ali's daughter,
Her beauty makes one forget to fast in Ramadan.

So saying, he pounces on his adversary and says:—

Go for them: be the dust their doom,
The Angel of Death is floating above them.

'Akel having killed Intawé', the girl says: "I am free now, take me for thy legitimate wife." But 'Akel says: "Not before I reign over all the West." So she gathers the girls of Tunis to mourn her father, and says before them:—

Say with me, ye daughters of God, say Amen!
 May Tunis to-morrow surrender to Hôla's son!
 May ye all by to-morrow be married to 'Akel,
 May ye all have the desire to be in his lap.
 Ye girls! if only you could catch sight of 'Akel,
 His beautiful plaits,¹ as they touch his costly bed.
 Ye girls! if only you could have a glimpse of 'Akel,
 His right hand adorned with a ring of gold.
 Ye girls of Tunis! should you only see 'Akel,
 His dainty plait hangs at his right side!

In spite of the mourning due to her father, she has no words but for 'Akel. 'Akel continues to fight till he is also finally killed and crushed by the feet of the horses, and is only known by the ring on his finger.

As the siege of Tunis is always carried on, the besieged are anxious what will be the issue. The Khalifé's daughter, Sa'ada, who still retains the three princes as prisoners, looks out of her palace on the battle-field lying before her, and seeing one of the mighty knights, she calls to him:—

Good morning to you! O father of Moses,
 O Lion, brought up in a chosen place.

Zohrab, father of Moses, the terrible knight, says:—

Good morning, you fair, may this dawn be only upon us,
 For your friends no pleasure is coming.
 Go, maiden! go, tell your father. Let him meet the warrior at once.

Sa'ada goes quickly and tells her father:—

My father! come quickly, the flower of chivalry,
 A knight is calling this morning for you,
 The blade of his spear is a terrible beauty,
 He rolls as a mountain detached from the earth.

Zenati, the Khalifé, tells his daughter:—

O Sa'ada! I hate the meeting of Zohrab, son of Ghanem.
 Just as a young camel refuses the load,
 O Sa'ada! I know the terrible spear of this knight,
 Three days' journey off I have seen its light!

After many duels finally Zenati is killed, and Ben Ghanem is Regent and marries Sa'ada, but the Beni Hilâl conspire against

¹ The plaited locks of his hair.

him, and in an invitation to feast after his victory they decide his death. Nofalich, the sister of Zohrab Ben Ghanem, is married to one of them, and knowing all about the conspiracy, she writes this letter to her brother:—

I tell you, my brother, don't answer the invitation
To the Wad-el-Doh ; I tell you, my brother, don't come,
Though your loads encumber you, I pray you don't come !
Abu Zaid has woven a web of deceit !
The weaver himself is confused at it.

But Zohrab did not listen to this warning, and at the supper he narrowly escaped death, yet took his revenge later on.

When Zohrab stuns Abu Zaid, this latter dying, calls for Jazié the beautiful, with the black eyes, and says:—

I have two sons and Sultan Hassan has one.
O Jazié, take the orphans and return to the East,
Go far from the Zughby, the false swearer Zohrab,
His oath he has broken, he'll always be false !

Jazié takes the children eastwards, without any worldly goods, in her love for them and the slain heroes. Having always taught them the art of war, riding, and fighting, when they are grown up she returns to Tunis. Zohrab, though very old, is challenged to come down that they may avenge their father's death. Zohrab sends his son Ghanâm, but he dares not go, and Zohrab says, alluding to Breke', the son of Sultan Hassan and Jazié:—

Even if thou livest, O Ghanâm, thy life is no gain !
Thy mother has borne thee without any pain.
Hadst thou spent thy time hunting, as Breke' had done,
Hadst thou ridden on horses, with lance and with sword,
Thou wouldst have been worthy of thy father's fame.
See these adversaries, how well they are trained,
I overcame Jazié, the mother of Mohammed,
I made her wear wool, after she had worn silk !

Zohrab now comes down, and is captured and tortured by Jazié ; before dying, he says:—

Hold your uncouth tongue, O Jazié,
All these wars have been for you.
All knights killed, and the beardless left,
Shame for ever be on you.

Zohrab is killed, and there is peace.

(To be continued.)

THE BEDAWÍN.

(A Lecture delivered at Jerusalem.)

By the Rev. JOHN ZELLER.

THE subject of my lecture this evening concerns a people by whom we are more or less surrounded here in Jerusalem, and whom we have often occasion to meet on our journeys, namely, the Bedawín.

Bedawín illustrating the Bible.—They are particularly interesting to us, for Abraham was a nomad like them, and so were the Israelites in the desert and for some time after the conquest of Canaan. Abraham is, moreover, the recognised ancestor of the tribe of Koreish, and of Mohammed, through Ishmael, and of many of the Bedawín tribes existing to the present day. The life and manners of the Bedawín are therefore calculated to illustrate the most ancient part of our Bible, which otherwise would be most incomprehensible, for the life of the nomad patriarchs and the wanderings of Israel in the desert present the greatest contrast with our European customs, and we cannot wonder that Colenso found in the book of Genesis so many statements which seemed to him incompatible with his own ideas. Though closely connected and related to the Jews, the Bedawín still present in many respects the greatest contrasts with them.

Bedawín are closely connected with the Jews but their destinies are widely different.—Whilst the Jews were dispersed among all nations and countries of the world, and had to adopt all possible languages and to accommodate themselves to the nations among whom they lived, the Bedawín to the greater part remained in their ancient habitation, the desert, which nobody envies them. The language of the Bedawín has but little changed since 3,000 years, and their customs have remained much the same. It is a most remarkable circumstance, clearly showing the wonderful providence of God, that these two peoples, Jews and Arabs, under such widely different circumstances have been preserved for thousands of years to be the witnesses to the truth of revelation, whilst other ancient peoples like the Egyptians, the Assyrians, the Phœnicians, and even Greeks and Romans have vanished from the face of the earth. And yet in spite of the difference there are peculiar points of similarity between Israelites and Arabs. First of all with regard to *religion*, for both are the representatives of monotheism. Secondly with regard to *language*.

Antiquity of their Language.—A comparison between the different Semitic languages, the Hebrew, the Aramaic, the Syriac, the Assyrian, and the Arabic, has led to the conviction that the Arabs have preserved most of the original type of the Shemites in language and manners. If a Bedawý buried 2,000 years ago, could rise from his tomb and visit the tents of his tribe in the desert at the present day, he would

not find much change in their customs, and might even converse with them in his own tongue.

In the poetry and the life of the Bedawin in the sixth century after Christ we have still a faithful reflection of Bedawin life 2,000 years before Christ, and the more we study these old poems, the more we see that these Arabs, more than any other people, reflect the life of the time of the patriarchs, notwithstanding the 2,600 years which lie between them. There can be no doubt that the different Semitic races whose language is reduced to words formed by three radicals are all belonging to the same origin. In all Semitic languages "assaza" means to be strong; "abada," to apprehend; "asara," to bind; "dammun," blood; "mautun," death; "jamelun," camel; "bassalun," onion; "dahabun," gold.

The conservative element which is expressed in the religion and in the customs of all Shemites naturally exists also in their language and explains why the backbone of the language, the three radicals, have been preserved intact from the oldest time to the present. This strongly conservative element rests on the character of the desert country in which the Bedawin live, for the peninsula of Arabia has for thousands of years been barred from contact with other nations, on the north by the desert, and on the three other sides by the sea.

They probably came from Mesopotamia to Arabia.—A great Oriental scholar, "Schrader," makes the suggestion that Arabia was the original habitation of all Shemites, but this idea is opposed to the old tradition, according to which the Arabs immigrated from Mesopotamia, and their language shows that Arabia could not have been the cradle of the Shemites. Certain names of animals which are common in Mesopotamia, and in more northern countries (but not in Arabia) have become obsolete or have changed their meaning in Arabic, for instance, the old Semitic word "Dibbun," bear; "rimun," wild ox; "nimrun," panther. Other animals which are *only* to be found in Arabia bear names which are unknown in the other Semitic languages, for instance, "n'aam," ostrich; "jerboa"; and similar evidence can be adduced from the names of trees, for instance, "tamrun" or "dikla," date tree. Thus it is clear that animals and plants peculiar to Arabia could not bear the same appellation in all Semitic languages, but generally the Arabs borrowed the name of an animal similar to the same in the north, for instance, the stag they call *Baker el wahshy*.

The conservative character of the Bedawin is, in the third place, clearly shown by their genealogy. Arab historians (Abd ul Feda and Ebn Chaldun) divide their nation in three classes:—*Arab Badieh*, or extinct Arabs, as the tribes of Aad, Thamud, Sohar, Tasem, Wabar, Dessem, Jedis. Secondly, the *Arab el Arabah*, or original Arabs, who derive their origin from *Kahtan*, who is the Joktan of our Bible the son of Shem. (Kahtan was the son of Eber, the son of Salah, the son of Arphaxad, the son of Shem, the son of Noah.) Thirdly, *Arab Mustarabeth*, the descendants of Ishmail, who is the ancestor of the tribe of

Koreïsh and Mohammed. Ishmaïl married the daughter of El Modad, a descendant of Kahtan. From Ishmaïl to Ednân the Arabs reckon eight generations, from Ednân to Malek the Koreïshy there are also eight generations, and from them to Mohammed we have ten generations. Not less than fifty kings of Yemen are said to be the descendants and successors of Kahtan, and many of the present Bedawîn tribes belong to the Arab el Arabah. Some of the Arab nations mentioned in the Bible¹ may still be recognised in existing tribes; in fact, there is nothing clearer than the purity of their descent from Kahtan and Ishmaïl.

Antiquity of Nomad Life.—No doubt nomad life was a very ancient form of existence; involuntarily we think of Abel, who was a keeper of sheep. As long as this occupation was carried on in fruitful and rich territories, as in Mesopotamia, it may have had great charms and attractions; but now the Bedawîn is the inhabitant of the desert, and we can hardly have an idea of the hardships, the dangers, and the monotony of desert life. Arabia, though four times as large as Germany, does not contain a single river, and could therefore never obtain the cultivation of other countries. But why does the Bedawî reject all temptation to settle or try to obtain a more comfortable existence? Why does he stick to the desert though he is endowed with superior intellectual qualities and is by no means a savage? Have not his ancestors, at the spread of Islam, conquered the richest countries of the world from India to Spain, and obtained riches such as no other conquerors enjoyed? The following story may serve to answer these questions:—

Its Privations.—A traveller once lost his way in the desert and came at last to a Bedawîn tent where he asked for some food from an old woman whom he found there. She immediately went and caught some serpents which she baked and presented to him, and driven by hunger he ate them. Being extremely thirsty he asked for water and she went with him to a ditch the water of which was bitter; yet he could not help drinking of it on account of the violence of his thirst. When he expressed his astonishment that she and her people were living in such extreme circumstances the woman asked him: "Tell me, have you a Sultan who rules over you and oppresses you, and who takes your wealth and destroys the offender; a ruler who, if he desires, turns you out of your house and eradicates you utterly?" When the traveller answered that might sometimes happen the old woman rejoined: "If so, by Allah, your dainty food and elegant life and all your comforts united to oppression and tyranny are a penetrating poison, whilst our poor food with liberty is health and strength. Hast thou not heard that the greatest blessings are liberty and health?" and the Arab poet says: "There is no hand but God's hand is above it, and no oppressor that shall not meet with an oppressor."

¹ Gen. xxv, 12. These are the names of the sons of Ishmael:—Nebajoth, Kedar, Adbeel, Mibsam, Mishma, Dumah, Massa, Hadad, Tema, Jetur, Naphish, Kedemah.

The Camel.—Another reason why the Bedawy clings to the desert is the peculiar nature of the animal, which alone makes a life in the desert possible, namely, *the camel*, from which the Bedawy derives his principal, sometimes his whole, subsistence, and which is his constant companion. However necessary other domestic animals may be for *us*, certainly the camel is for the Bedawy everything, and we cannot be astonished that it possesses in his eyes beauties which we cannot discover in it. It is, indeed, wonderful in how short a time immense distances can be traversed by a good camel. But a principal reason for keeping to the desert is contained in the words about Ishmael which fully characterise all Bedawin: "His hand shall be against everyone and everyone's hand against him," for the ingrained propensity of robbing and vengeance has no doubt ever been the greatest curse of Bedawin life.

An important question now forces itself upon us, namely this: What has preserved the Bedawin amidst their incessant strife against misery and want, and amidst their bloodshed and wars from sinking into the state of a savage and utterly barbarous people?

It seems that two important circumstances prevented this. First we find among them up to the present day the patriarchal system of government, and connected with it a great love for their ancestors and an excessive pride about the purity of their race.

Their old fame as Warriors and Poets.—Secondly, and perhaps principally, it is the gift of poetry which elevates their character and preserves their better qualities even under the most adverse circumstances. This gift they brought with them (like the Hebrews) as a flower from Paradise, and such care they took of it that it continued to blossom even in the arid sands of the desert. The retentive memory of the Oriental has served to bring down to our days the ancient poems of the Arabs, though the art of writing them did not originate before the fifth century after Christ. In the oldest collection of poems, called the "Muallakat," we have the poems of Amr el Keis, Tarafa, Zoheir, Lebid, Antar, Shanfary, Amer ebn Koltum, Nabra, and Harith. The grandeur and wildness of the desert have impressed these poems with such a fire of passion and a depth of sentiment that the scholars who are best able to judge (as, for instance, Noeldeke and Rükert) do not hesitate to class them with the greatest poets, with Homer and Virgil. For as we feel in Homer's songs the fresh air of pristine life of man, as we can penetrate through the song of the Niebelungen into the spirit of old German life, so we realise, through the old Arab poets, Bedawin life in its close connection with nature, its narrowness and grandeur, its stern manliness, and its romance. These poems show us warriors of iron character, men of undaunted courage, whose only law is their own will and their honour, stern wild men, who endure the greatest privations and know how to meet death bravely; and yet they love justice and truth, they are ever ready to assist the weak and needy, they are hospitable and liberal to a fault. The Arab poet says: "I will wipe off with the sword the insult, and may the decree of God bring upon me whatever it will." Another

poet says: "He is no man who sheds no light around and leaves no trace on earth behind him." Another collection is that of Urwa b. Alward and the *Dīwān* of Abu Talib and the *Dīwān* of Abu l'Aswad Abd Allah.

The *Hamasa* of Abu Tammām is another collection of more than a thousand poems from many hundred poets, and about 45 female poets. A somewhat later collection is the *Kitāb el Aghani* and other poetical works. These Bedawīn were commonly unable to read or write, but the purity of their language is such that they easily make poems, which if written down by others are found to be grammatically correct; and so powerful was the memory of these Bedawīn that one of them could bet with his guests that he would recite to them *Kasidas* from 100 different poets, all of them bearing the name of Amru, which was a common name then.

As the ancient Hellenes had their yearly poetical and gymnastic contests at Olympia, so the Arabs gathered together at the yearly fair of Ukaz (a town south of Mecca) from all parts of Arabia to hear the recitations of their poets, and the Arab warrior knew of no greater honour than to have his valour and liberality extolled in verses which were known and repeated all over the desert.

It is related that when Kaab *ebu Zoheir* recited one of his poems in the presence of the prophet Mohammed the latter was so pleased that he took off his mantle and put it on Kaab's shoulder. Moawya, the Calif, afterwards offered Kaab 10,000 dirhems of silver for it, but he would not part with it, and he got it at last after Kaab's death for 20,000 dirhems. This is the green mantle which at first the califs of the Omayyads, and then the Abassides, inherited as their greatest treasure, and which was burned at the capture of Bagdad by the Tartars in the year 653 of the Hedjira.

The stern character of the Arab warrior, whereby he bears privation and misfortune with stoic resignation if he can only revenge himself or his friends, has its opposite pole in tender and passionate feelings for his relatives and companions. Judging from Arab poems, tears seem to flow in Arabia in greater abundance than elsewhere in the world. It is related of the celebrated poet Mutammim, when reciting a poem on the death of his noble brother Malik, that he could not speak from weeping, and afterwards got blind in consequence of his grief. Who should think that constant warfare and shedding of blood could leave room for softer feelings! And yet it is a fact that most of the poems in honour of the dead begin with expressing a most touching regret at seeing the old, well-known site of the Arab encampment forsaken. We should not expect this from a nomad with whom the constant change of locality has become as it were a second nature.

I cannot omit to mention here that at the time of Mohammed many tribes of Jewish origin lived in Arabia who had adopted the Arabic language and Arabic customs (as far as they did not interfere with their religion). One of the most respected warriors and poets at that time was the Jew, Samuel *Ebu Adyia*, who lived in the strong castle *El Ablag*,

near Teima. This fortress was the refuge of the persecuted and needy, and his name was a proverb among the Arabs for faithfulness and truth. They used to say : I swear you fidelity and love as that of *Samuel*, *وفاء كوفاء السمويل*. Amra el Kais, the poet, had deposited with him his treasures (namely, five celebrated suits of armour inherited from the Kings of Hymîar), and Samuel sacrificed the life of his son (who fell into the enemy's hands) rather than betray his trust.

We cannot fail to acknowledge that the heroism of the old Arab is the heroism of a noble race, not content with sordid motives or vulgar impulse. Whatever glory may be attached to the blow struck by a vigorous arm, this material superiority is far from suppressing or destroying the superiority derived from intelligence. The accomplished Arab warrior combines *both in his person*, and is almost always a poet (as, for instance, Antar). The Arab chieftain is not only the leader in battle, but also the ruler and judge of his tribe, and will never be able to obtain much influence if he is not wise in council and clever in speech. To speak well is an essential part of the chivalrous and ideal perfection of an Arab chief, because the best means of leading the stubborn and proud Bedawî is by persuasion.

It is striking what close similarity exists between the state of Arab life 1,000 years ago and the feudal system and the life of English and Continental barons and knights during the same period. We must acknowledge that these Arabs were at that time by no means inferior to Germans or English, or it would have been impossible for them to conquer half the Christian world or to overcome the innumerable hosts of the Crusaders. But the immense difference between European society as it is now and the wretched, degraded condition to which the Bedawî have sunk, shows with undeniable evidence what we owe to Christianity, and that Christ alone is able to elevate, to change, and to regenerate the natural man. But it is time for us to leave the condition of Bedawî life as it appears from old poems and traditions, and describe the modern Bedawî.

The Desert.—We, living in Palestine, are on the south and the east surrounded by deserts nearly as vast in extent as the Mediterranean, but few of us have seen these countries. Let me, therefore, give you an idea of what the desert is.

Its Character and Influence.—We will accompany Mr. Palgrave on his journey from Maan, south of Kerak, to the Jowf, which is a five days' journey to the east, in which not a drop of water is to be found. He says :—

“On either side extended one weary plain in a black monotony of hopelessness. Only on all sides lakes of mirage lay, mocking the eye with their clear, deceptive outline, whilst here and there some basaltic rocks, cropping up at random through the level, were magnified by the refraction of the heated atmosphere into the semblance of a fantastic crag or overhanging mountain. Dreary land of death, in which even

the face of an enemy was almost a relief amid such utter solitude. But for five whole days the little, dried-up lizard of the plain, that looks as if he never had a drop of moisture in his ugly body, and the jerboa, or field rat of Arabia, were the only living creatures to console our view.

“And now began a march, during which we might almost have repented of our enterprise, had such a sentiment been any longer possible or availing. Day after day found us urging our camels to their utmost pace, for 15 or 16 hours together out of the 24, under a well-nigh vertical sun, with nothing either in the landscape around or in the companions of our way, to relieve for a moment the eye or the mind. Then an insufficient halt for rest or sleep, at most of two or three hours, soon interrupted by the oft-repeated admonition, ‘If we linger here we all die of thirst,’ sounding in our ears, and then to remount our jaded beasts and push them on through the dark night, with the constant probability of attack or plunder from roving marauders.

“Our order of march was thus:—Long before dawn we were on our way, and paced on till the sun, having attained about half-way between the horizon and the zenith, assigned the moment of alighting for our morning’s meal. This being ended, we had again, without loss of time, to resume our way from mirage to mirage, till, flaming over all, from heat to heat, the day decreased, and about an hour before sunset we would stagger off our camels as best we might, to prepare an evening feast of precisely the same description as that of the forenoon, or more often, lest the smoke of our fire should give notice to some distant rover, to content ourselves with dry dates and half an hour’s rest on the sand.”

Samoom.—Then comes the shelook, or sirocco, of the Syrian waste:—

“It was about noon, and such a noon as a summer solstice can offer in the unclouded Arabian sky, over a scorched desert, when abrupt and burning gusts of wind began to blow by fits from the south, while the oppressiveness of the air increased every moment, till my companion and myself mutually asked each other what this could mean and what was to be the result. We turned to enquire of Salem (the Bedawîn chief), but he had already wrapped up his face in his mantle, and, bowed and crouching on the neck of his camel, replied not a word. His comrades, the two Sherarat Bedawîn, had adopted a similar position and were equally silent. At last, after repeated interrogations, Salem, instead of replying directly to our questioning, pointed to a small black tent, provisionally at no great distance in front, and said, ‘Try to reach that; if you can get there we are saved.’ He added, ‘Take care that your camels do not stop and lie down’; and then, giving his own several vigorous blows, relapsed into muffled silence.

“We looked anxiously towards the tent; it was yet 100 yards off or more. Meanwhile, the gusts blew hotter and more violent, and it was only by repeated efforts that we could urge our beasts forward. The horizon rapidly darkened to a deep violet hue, and seemed to draw in

like a curtain on every side, while at the same time a stifling blast, as though from some enormous oven opening right on our path, blew steadily under the gloom: our camels, too, began, in spite of all we could do, to turn round and round, and bend their knees, preparing to lie down. The samoom was fairly upon us. Of course we had followed our Arabs' example by muffling our faces, and now with blows and kicks we forced the staggering animals forward to the only asylum within reach. So dark was the atmosphere and so burning the heat that it seemed that hell had risen from the earth or descended from above. But we were yet in time, and at the moment when the worst of the concentrated poison blast was coming round, we were already prostrated one and all within the tent, with our heads well wrapped up—almost suffocated, indeed—but safe, while our camels lay without like dead, their long necks stretched out in the sand, awaiting the passing of the gale."

Were it not for the *oases* which are found in the midst of the most extensive deserts, it would be impossible even for the boldest Bedawîn to traverse these regions. During the winter many parts of the desert are covered with some vegetation, and the rain-water gathers in certain hollow localities, so that not only the herds of camels find pasturage and water, but also the Bedawîn can obtain some subsistence beside their camels' milk.

Principal Plants of the Desert.—There are several plants growing in the Wady Sirrhân, north of the Jowf, which yield food to the Bedawîn. There is the *samah*, a small tufted plant with juicy stalks, and a little oval yellow-tinted leaf. The flowers are of a brighter yellow, with many stamens and pistils. When the blossoms fall off there remains in the place of each a four-leaved capsule, about the size of an ordinary pea, and this when ripe opens, to show a mass of minute reddish seed of the size of poppy seeds, resembling reddish sand in feel and appearance, but farinaceous in substance. These seeds are collected and used instead of rice or flour. Another plant is the *misaâ* bush, which attains 2 or 3 feet in height, is woody, with small and pointed leaves of a lively green, and a little red, star-like flower. This in June gives place to a berry, resembling in size, colour, and taste our own red currant, though inferior to it in flavour, while its sweetness predominates too much over its acidity. With the poorer Bedawîn *samah* and *misaâ*, and a mushroom, called *kemma* or *kemmage*, are considered luxuries, but the richer tribes always have a supply of wheat and dates. The camels' favourite food is a shrub called *ghada*, which covers some parts of the desert.

No domesticated animals, beside the camel, find their sustenance in the desert, and most Bedawîn tribes keep their flocks of goats and sheep in the neighbourhood of cultivated ground where they can find pasture. Only their horses accompany them, and are fed with camels' milk. Naturally the barrenness of the territory stands in perfect analogy with the more or less degraded condition of the Bedawîn inhabiting it; and the same is the case with regard to the variety of domesticated animals

possessed by the Bedawîn. For the tribes who have the best and the greatest number of horses are far superior to those having only camels.¹

Principal Tribes in Syria.—Let me now give you, in a condensed form, an idea of the principal Bedawîn tribes.

We can divide the dwellers in tents into two classes, namely, such as are settled within a certain closely circumscribed territory, and the large wandering tribes. I must confine myself to the countries in our neighbourhood, and shall, therefore, *not* mention the Bedawîn south of Jebel Shomar, or north of the Euphrates.

Let us begin with the country north-east of Palestine. The large Syrian desert between the Jordan and the Euphrates is the home of the great wandering tribes of the Anêse. In winter they live in the desert, and come in the summer to Palmyra and Damascus. They are the descendants of Wayl, and according to their tradition they have wonderfully multiplied in consequence of a peculiar blessing given to their ancestor. They comprise the Wald Ali, the Hesseune, the Beshr, and the Rualla and Shalân, who, however, live south of the Haurân. These rich tribes comprise about 10,000 horsemen and about 100,000 camels.

Another powerful tribe, at present the principal lords of the Belka, which is considered the paradise of the Bedawîn, on account of its beautiful pastures, are the Beni Sahher, said to descend from the Beni Abs. They are the enemies of the Anêse, and wander between the Belka and the Jowf. They muster about 700 horsemen and 20,000 camels. These large wandering tribes, also called Ahl el Shemal, which spend the winter in the desert, look down with contempt on the smaller tribes which live within a certain circumscribed territory near cultivated land, and under the control of the Turkish Government. They even refuse them the name of Arab or Bedawîn.

This second class contains a great many tribes. The Syrian Bedawîn are :—El Mawaly, el Hadadeyne, el Turkomân, Arab Baalbek, Arab el Bekaa Esaleib, Abl el Jebeil. In the Haurân there are the Fuheily, the Arab el Ledja, Arab Jolan, el Adwan in Moab, and el Sirhân to the south of Haurân. South of the Belka are the Ahl el Kebly, to whom belong the Sherrarat, the Hawayetat, and the Beni Atyieh; these live between Wadi Sirhân on the east, and Wadi Moosa on the west. Farther south in the Peninsula of Sinai, or Jebel Tor, are the Towâra Arabs, and in our own neighbourhood, between Hebron and Gaza, the Tayaha, the Azazme, the Reteymah. The Taâmera are, as we all know, the principal tribe south of Jerusalem, already showing a transition state between Bedawîn and Fellabîn.

Manner of Travelling and Encamping.—Let me now describe to you the manner in which the wandering Bedawîn travel and encamp.

¹ We find among some of the Bedawîn tribes opulence, and among others the greatest possible poverty. The Arabs of Wady Moosa are so poor that they, from utter want of clothing, are obliged to cover themselves at night with sand, while many a sheikh from the Anêse possesses 200 to 500 camels.

It was in the year 1863 that I met a large detachment of the Anêse, the Sbâ, in the desert east of the Ledja. Their order of march was this : A party of five or six well-mounted horsemen, armed with lances adorned with tufts of black ostrich feathers, preceded the tribe about four miles as a reconnoitring party ; the main body occupied a line of at least three miles in front ; first came some armed horsemen and camel-riders with long muskets, spears, and swords, at 100 or 150 paces from each other, extending along the whole front ; then followed the she-camels with their young ones, grazing in wide ranks during their march upon the wild herbage. Behind them walked the camels loaded with the tents and provisions, and last came the women and children mounted on camels, having saddles made in form of a cradle, or nest, with curtains to screen them from the sun. The men indiscriminately rode alongside and amidst the whole body, but most of them in front of the line, and some, riding on camels, led horses by the halters. Occasionally we met an Arab with a falcon on his hand covered with its leather cap.

The Tent.—The tent is called “beit,” it is made of black goats’ hair ; the pieces, each not quite a yard in breadth, are joined together to make a sufficient breadth for the tent. The length varies from 20 to 80 feet. Each single tent has nine poles, called “’amood,” the highest of which scarcely ever exceeds 10 feet. At the middle pole is the partition for the women, the men’s apartment being on the left side on entering the tent, and the women’s on the right. In the men’s apartment the ground is generally covered with a Persian or Bagdad carpet, and the wheat sacks and camel bags are piled up round the middle pole. The waterskin and the wooden coffee mortar are never wanting in this part. The women’s apartment is the receptacle for all the rubbish of the tent, the cooking utensils, butter, and waterskins, &c. All these things are laid down near the pole, called “hadera,” where the slave sits and the dog sleeps during the day. No man of good reputation would sit there. On the forepost of the men’s apartment hangs a corner of the tent covering, called “roffe,” which serves for wiping hands before or after dinner. The furniture of the tent consists, first of all, of the women’s saddle in the form of two immense wings attached to the middle part, having the form of a nest. Each of these two wings is formed of two poles covered with red tanned camel skins, and adorned with tassels, and large enough to afford space for a person sleeping in it at full length, whilst the middle part serves as a receptacle for the little children. When riding, the sheikh’s ladies hang strings of various colours and cloth cuttings round the saddle from one wing to the other, which gives to the marching camel a most wonderful appearance. The whole looks like a canoe put across the camel’s back, or like an immense bird with outstretched wings. It is clear that such extensive saddles can only be used in the desert ; it would be impossible to travel with them in narrow, mountainous, and rocky countries, or to pass with them through a forest. The pack-saddle is called “hôdaju,” the men’s saddle “shadad.”

When the place of encampment is reached the sheikh puts his spear in

the ground, and at once the tents are pitched according to old-established rules, without disorder or dispute.

In the year 1870 the Rualla Arabs, a tribe of the Anêse, were forced to come to the plain of Esdraelon on account of the drought in the Haurân. It was most magnificent to see, from the top of Mount Kafsy, this rich plain literally covered with thousands of camels and with the black tents of these wild people, and to hear the peculiar shouts of the shepherds whereby they directed the march of the camels, and the songs or zagharit of the women. But after they had left, not a blade of grass or a bit of straw was left in the whole plain.

Tent Life.—Let us examine the *inmates of the tent, their occupation and character.* The salutation of the Bedawîn is simply *salâm 'aleik* or *marhaba*, and then follow the usual questions: *keif el hal.* The clothing of the poor is simply a long shirt with long sleeves; the same is white with the men, and of green or bluish colour with the women, who wear it so long that it trails on the ground, and the sleeves also reach down to their ankles. Over the shirt the men wear the brown and white striped *'abai*, or in winter a sheepskin jacket. On the head they wear the *keffiyieh* and a cord of camel's hair called the *akâl.* Often in travelling they cover their faces with the *keffiyieh* so that only the eyes are visible. Men and women, when coming to towns, wear big boots of red leather.

The Anêse are distinguished by their long tresses of hair, which they rarely cut; they call them *kervan.* All the women tattoo their lips, chin, arms, hands, and feet with blue dye, and generally wear glass bracelets of various colours. The ladies of some Anêse tribes wear silver rings in their ears and noses, and carry silver bracelets and silver chains round the neck. Bedawîn are rarely over 5 feet 2 or 3 inches in height, their features are good, their noses often aquiline, and finely chiselled, their deep-set and dark eyes sparkle from under their bushy black eyebrows with a fire unknown in northern climes, their beard is short and thin, but the black hair of the head is abundantly thick, and their teeth are always white as pearls. The women of the northern Bedawîn, especially the Anêse, are handsome and graceful, but those of the south are very ugly. Their complexion varies from yellow to nearly black. Cleanliness is, of course, not to be expected in the Arabs, with whom water is too expensive an article to be wasted for the unnecessary purpose of washing; if need be, they use sand, or rub themselves all over with butter, and the women use even a stranger kind of pomade, which I certainly would not recommend.

Diet.—*Their diet* consists of milk and *leben* of camels or goats, and unleavened bread, either baked very thin on a round sheet of iron, called *sâj*, or in cakes baked on stones. Only when guests appear a goat or a young camel is killed and served with rice or *burghul.* A luxury with them are dates with butter, or a heap of thin cakes of bread piled upon one another like pancakes and swimming in melted butter. This dish is called *fateeta.* Coffee is, of course, the favourite beverage, and is most

carefully roasted and prepared in the manner well known to you. They serve their dishes always so very hot that it requires much practice to avoid burning one's fingers, for even spoons are quite unknown.

The only art known among Bedawín is spinning and weaving of camel and goat's hair for preparing tents, bags, and halters, and the tanning and dyeing of camel skins, either with pomegranate peels or with the roots of a desert herb called *verk*. These skins are used for girdles and to cover the saddles. In the Belka the Bedawín gather the soap (kali) plant, and prepare from it, by burning, the potash, or kali, which they sell to the soap manufacturers at Damascus, Nâblus, and Jerusalem.

Beside some copper pans and trays they only have wooden bowls and wooden trays or *batiés*. The rest of their furniture consists of their tent-pegs and a large wooden hammer, called *matraka*, all of which are easily carried in a bag.

In his tent the Bedawy is a most indolent and lazy creature. His only occupation is feeding the horses or milking the camels in the evening, and now and then he goes out with his hawk. A man, hired for the purpose, takes care of the herds and flocks, while wife and daughters perform all domestic business. The women grind the corn in a handmill, or pound it in a mortar, and prepare butter from the milk by shaking it in a skin. Occasionally they work at the loom, but their principal business is to fetch water, which they sometimes have to carry long distances on their back. On them also falls all the work connected with the pitching and striking of the tents.

You may easily imagine that scientific pursuits are incompatible with Bedawín life. Books are unknown with them. Among 1,000 Arabs only one can read, and still fewer know how to write. These accomplishments are considered unworthy of a good warrior. When I spoke to a Rualla chief about the great advantage of relieving the monotony of desert life by reading, he said he would be glad to receive a schoolmaster for his boys if I would guarantee that they would be able to read the Korán within the space of *one* month; and when I thought this impossible he would not hear any more of my suggestion. Yet they are as enthusiastic admirers of poetry as their ancestors were, and there is scarcely an Arab sheikh who does not know some poems by heart. When Saleh el Jerwan, from the Beni Sahher, was mortally wounded in the Valley of the Jordan he made, just before expiring, a poem expressing exactly the same sentiments of submission to the divine decree, of love to his family, and of eternal hatred against his enemies, as one finds expressed in the old poems. After his funeral the food for the guests was cooked over a fire kindled upon 16 skulls of his enemies. Fendi el Fais, the sheikh of the Beni Sahher, who died in 1879, was buried in Saleh's grave at Rama, in the Ghor opposite to Jericho.

Religion.—In matters of religion Bedawín are very indifferent Moham medans. During the course of 12 centuries Mohammedanism seems to have made little or no impression on them, either for good or evil. That

it was equally ineffectual in this regard at the period of its very first establishment we learn from the Korán itself, and from early tradition of an authentic character.

We read :—“Amír Ebn Tufeil, sheikh of the mighty tribe of the Beni Amír, resolved with two of his friends to travel to Medina in order to make the acquaintance of the prophet Mohammed. After having saluted him Amír asked the prophet : ‘Will you be my friend?’ ‘No,’ answered Mohammed, ‘unless you believe in the unity of God, who has no companion.’ Then Amír asked : ‘But will you make me your successor if I become a Moslem?’ Mohammed answered : ‘The world is the Lord’s and He gives power to rule to whom *He* pleases.’ ‘Then,’ rejoined Amír, ‘I receive the Islam if *you* take the government over the inhabitants of towns and leave me to be ruler over all Bedawín.’ The prophet refused this also, and Amír said : ‘What benefit shall I then derive from becoming a Moslem?’ Mohammed said : ‘It gives you the community of all true believers.’ But Amír answered : ‘I stand not in need of this,’ and left him, threatening him with war.”

The Bedawín of the present day do not show any aversion against the doctrine of the unity of God or to the prophet Mohammed, but they seem incapable of receiving or retaining any serious religious influences or definite forms of thought and practice. “Unstable as water, thou shalt not excel,” seems to be the character of most of the Bedawín. They know little of Mohammedan worship with its prostrations and rehearsals, its ablutions and rites; usually they say : “Our sheikh prays for us all.” They care nothing for the pilgrimage to Mecca, except in the way of demanding their share of the *zurra* paid by Government, or in the way of plundering the pilgrims; they are indifferent to the fast of Ramadan, but they devoutly slaughter a lamb or a camel on the tomb of their kinsmen. The desert, like the vast expanse of the sea, is calculated to impress on the mind the unity and power of God, and therefore we find with the Arabs the stereotype exclamation, “Allah Akbar :” God is great. Involuntarily one feels in the desert the presence of God, for it teaches more than anything else what it is to be alone—alone with God. Therefore in the first centuries of our era many thousands of Christians became Eremites in the deserts of Egypt and Syria. Such asceticism is based on the great and undeniable truth, that we are only able to realise the invisible and eternal things of God in proportion as we are weaned from the material things and cares of this visible world.

Fatalism.—But ONE doctrine of Islam exercises a great and constant influence on a Bedawy’s life, and this is the doctrine of *fatalism*. This doctrine stands in singular affinity with the dangers encountered in the desert and with the uncertainty of an Arab’s life. Necessarily it must produce great recklessness and indifference regarding the changes of fortune and precautions against death.

Morals.—Bedawín *morals* are equally lax. “Dogs are better than we are,” is a common expression of theirs; and Palgrave gives them

credit for having in this regard spoken the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth. But I believe that with regard to morals there is among the different BedawÏn tribes as wide a difference as there is among other classes of Oriental society, and any infringement on the sanctity of the harem would at once be revenged by them.

Warfare. — The general character of BedawÏn cannot be better described than in the words of the angel to Ishmael's mother: "And he will be a wild man; his hand will be against every one, and every man's hand against him, and he shall dwell in the presence of all his brethren." It is remarkable how, even to this day, every Bedawy sustains these characteristics of his ancestor Ishmael. They are at war with all agriculturists within their reach, and they are constantly at war among themselves. The Arabs say:—"Our father Adam had three sons—one was a hunter, the other a farmer, and the third a Bedawy, who received from Adam the camel to live by. However, the camel died, and the Bedawy came to father Adam and said: 'My camel died, what shall I do now, on what shall I live?' 'Go, answered father Adam, and live by what you can get from your brethren.'" Another Bedawy said to me when I explained to him the great advantages of a peaceful life, "How shall a Bedawy get his livelihood without his spear and sword? We have old enemies among other tribes; if they have taken away our camels, we must somehow or other regain them or die from hunger."

Disputes among different BedawÏn tribes generally arise about the water and pasture. They begin with the shepherds and end with the death of some sheikh, which must of course be revenged. But even in a fight among the larger tribes, in which thousands on each side are engaged, the loss of life is insignificant. In October, 1878, the Beni Sahher had a battle with the Rualla in the Haurân, in which a large number of horsemen and camel-riders was engaged. As usual, one of the best mounted chiefs in full armour gallops into the empty space between the two parties and challenges the sheikhs of the enemies till one of them accepts the duel and is thrown from his horse. Then some of his friends come to his assistance and an irregular combat begins, which, however, is generally restricted to the horsemen. In this battle the Beni Sahher were victorious, killed 70 of the opposite party and gained 18 mares, but they were not able to take any camels or tents. It is affirmed that the old law of blood-revenge (*thâr*) gives to these battles a much milder character, as the BedawÏn do not like to bring upon themselves personally the avengers, even in the case of victory.

Stealing Expeditions.—The most frequent form of warfare is the *ghazu*, with the object of surprising the enemy and taking their tents and camels. But if such an expedition on a larger scale is not practicable there is always a number of poorer BedawÏn thirsting after renown and gain of plunder. Then the expedition proceeds in the following systematic manner. The *harâmy*, or robber, who is never on horseback, selects two trustworthy companions; besides their weapons, in which the club plays

the principal part, they take some provisions, consisting of salt and flour in a bag. Towards midnight they reach the tent which they intend to attack. One of them goes first behind the tent, and when attacked by the dogs, he flees in order to remove them from the scene of action. At the same time the second cuts the ropes from the camels' knees, and drives them away, whilst the third, standing at the opening of the tent, is prepared to strike anyone on the head who should venture out. If the attack is discovered and one of the robbers made a prisoner, he is asked what he came for; and after having confessed, he is obliged formally to renounce the right of the *dakheel* (suppliant). Then he is fettered with a horse-chain and put at full length, in a hole dug in the middle of the tent with tied up arms and his locks pinned to the ground. In this position, as one buried alive, he remains till he is able to pay the ransom for his life, which generally costs him all his property. Often a friend guarantees for him, and it is considered an unpardonable disgrace if the robber cheats this friend who became his surety. From ancient times it has been considered the greatest honour and distinction among all Bedawín to obtain the name of being a daring and successful robber.

Not many Bedawín sheikhs die a natural death; at least, most of those I knew personally were killed—for instance, Mohammed el Duhy, Sheikh of the Wald Ali; Gendsh, Sheikh of the Mowally; Feisal, Sheikh of the Shalân; Rubbah, Sheikh of the Sakker, killed in 1858 by the Adwân; and Moutlak, his brother, killed by the same in 1870; Mohammed el Moosa, Sheikh of the Sbeh, killed by the Koords in 1868—and if one of them dies a natural death from lingering illness [or suddenly] they ascribe it to poison given by the Turks [or some other enemies], as in the case of Akyle Agah, and of Fendi el Fais, Sheikh of the Beni Sahher.

How the Bedawín Cheat their Creditors.—Dulâim ben Murra Aljuhani:—"God permitted me to succeed in a good purchase at a time when money was most scarce. He (the merchant) bent the fingers of his hand to reckon (on his fingers, of course) his amount of profit, without, however, reckoning how long I should make him wait for the payment. He may be glad if instead of the gain he expects, he receives a small part."

Suhaib ben Nibras:—"Often have I for days and days put off a creditor whose eyes grew yellow from vexation, whose face was in constant sweat from desire after payment. For it is the lot of every creditor who is stingy or too hard in his demands, to have everything denied by the debtor."

Hanif ben Qu'air Alabsi:—"My enemies rejoice at my debts, as if none of them had ever got into debt before me. But by making more debts I will continue to enrage them so that they almost perish."

Atirga ben Mihrag Alhilâh:—"I brought the stuff away with me, so nice, black and white, whilst the coins which I ought to have paid for it remained hid in my sleeve. And he took up a piece of paper, looked

at the witnesses, and counted with both hands how much money I should have to pay him after the lapse of a certain time. But I believe that we shall never see each other again! And Abaid put a seal and names of witnesses and wrote a title deed about it, which will cause him much lamentation. This is how I treat those wretches, for I see in them nothing but a help for the time of need."

Tarif ben Manzur Alasadî :—"After we had the money from Yahya ben Yabîr in our hands, I said one morning to my friend Hisu—for he told me all his secrets, as I told him mine—'Does Yahya demand that we keep our conditions, though he raged like a madman against our money when we bargained?' This merchant of Alkufa must not suppose that we are not clever enough to understand the reckoning he made on his slate. But I promised enormous profit, and then he turned away not suspecting that he would lose *all*. Let Yahya, therefore, not hope that anything will be restored, for the madman has thrown his things into the depth of a raging sea."

Awâif Alquwafi Alfazâri :—"I told you to guess, O sons of Lahta, where I should be in the turmoil of trouble. Now seek me if you can! Fie upon you and upon the understanding between your ribs (according to Bedawî ideas the understanding has its seat in the heart), how could you depend upon me and my religion? For with regard to religion and good reputation I am the poorest of men."

Abdallah ben Alabras Alasadî :—"I am gentle as long as my creditor is gentle, but I keep my debts so long that my murderer will still find them. Day and night I put the creditor off till he at last gets tired of me and is glad if he gets back any part of the debt without profit."

Wâbr ben Mu'awiya Alasadî :—"I have always in readiness for my creditors a sharp sword and a splendid club of Arsan wood; a thick club with a great knob prepared for the merchants of Almadin. Yes, by thy grandfather, when the time for payment comes, and my liver feels not inclined to pay, I will repay him with a stick of Arsan wood, so heavy that it hurts the arm to lift it."

Abu 'muabbês Aluquaili :—"Little I cared for Saiyar and his shouting, when on my flight I had the well Sirâr between him and me. He had followed me with great diligence, and spread his paper in the market place before a number of old men who had left their business to investigate my affair, as if I had done them injury. They swore by God that I should not get away as long as I owed him one piece of gold. In their foolishness they wanted to hold me, but I invented a trick and said :—"To-morrow I expect some goods, and I therefore invite you to meet me at the house of Ibn Habbâr." But I only fixed this meeting to cheat them, so that my promise and the *not* keeping of the same might save me. When my feet at length found opportunity for flight I did not stop running and galloping. When they saw that I was escaping at the utmost speed, so that not even a bird could have caught me, they said to their comrade :—"Leave him alone, thou canst not overtake him; come back with us and may all Bedawî go to hell!" Yes, Saiyar, truly

some time will elapse before I pay you, and so you had better fold your paper and keep it well from the mice!"

Swearing.—"For some time I refused when they asked me to swear an oath, so that the fools might suppose I was to be trusted. When they heard my refusal they imagined that the idea of swearing was cutting my very heart, and they did not know that my oath was prepared long ago to free my neck from the burden of debts."

Musammîn ben Uwaimir Alasadî:—"They asked me: 'Will you swear?' and I said in haste: 'God preserve me from swearing an oath.' When I saw that the people believed that I would not swear out of deep conviction and fear of God, and realised that if I swore, witnesses, paper, and seals would all be vain, I swore an oath that the mountains burst as stones which warriors throw from their slings."

"God saved my young camel from the hand of the Emîr by a false oath which thou happily foundest out, without its bringing thee to hell fire."

"Swear a false oath, and if thou afterwards fearest misfortune, repent and turn again to the merciful Forgiver of sins."

However, we must leave this, the darkest part of Arab life, and turn to the *brighter side of the picture*.

If you meet a true son of the desert in the streets of Jerusalem, you will at once recognise him, not only by his dark features, his piercing eyes, and his plaited locks of hair, but also by his long strides and dignified motions. You see, however, that he feels ill at ease within a walled city, and you would not like to fall into his hands in the open country when he is mounted on his mare and carries his spear in his hand. But at the sight of his black tent you may be sure of perfect safety, whoever you are. There he is the best and most generous of hosts, and will spare no pains or expenses to make you as comfortable as possible.

It is related of Amîr Ebn Tufeil, of the Beni Amîr, that his herald used to call out at the great fair of Ukât: "Anyone needing a beast of burden may find it with Amîr. Anyone hungry may come to him. Anyone needing protection will find safety with him." I do not think that the mightiest in Europe would dare to make in real earnest such invitations and promises. It is told that a king once sent his vizier to a Bedawy, who possessed the fleetest mare of the desert, in order to ask him for it. But when the vizier arrived at the Arab's tent, he found him in most reduced circumstances. As he had no food to give, and as no animal remained with which he could treat his guests, the Bedawy killed his mare for them. After dinner the vizier spoke to him of the request of the king, upon which the Bedawy told him that he and his retinue had just eaten the mare, and in proof of it he produced its fresh skin.

From the oldest times to the present all Arab poets extol the virtue of hospitality and liberality, and even the dimensions of the *mansaf*, or tray on which the meat is served, is not forgotten in their songs. The prophet Mohammed, returning from the Battle of Bedr, is said to have rested in the shade of the *mansaf* of an Arab, and at present the *mansaf*

of Mohammed Ebn Esmeir, Sheikh of the Wald Ali, is considered the biggest, and its owner the most liberal and honoured of men. In the year 1863 I travelled with some friends to the Haurân, and met the Beni Sahher east of Um Keis, encamped in a beautiful oak forest. Our caravan contained 40 mules and horses and 20 men, but the Arabs nevertheless declared that we were their guests; no provisions were to be unpacked and no fire to be lighted by us. We were at once invited to Abdullah Ahmed's tent, and, after having partaken of his hospitality, we wished to retire. But he declared that we had only got our breakfast, and we had to remain till we had had luncheon and dinner, and thus we were obliged in the course of two hours to go through three meals.

Samples of Honesty.—Let me now give you some instances of *honesty*, which is not unfrequently found among the Arabs.

A merchant from Nazareth, who had bought sheep from the Sherrarât, paid by mistake four piastres too much; but after he had gone a distance of 10 miles he observed a Bedawy following and calling him. When he asked his desire, the Bedawy said: "You have paid me four piastres too much, and I only came to return what is yours."

Another instance:—Two merchants went to the Sherrarât to buy goats. After they had bought a number from this tribe, one of the merchants went to another party of Bedawin to buy more. The Sherrarât meanwhile struck their tents and travelled towards the south, but the host of the merchants remained with his guest on the spot waiting for the return of the other man, and when the same at last arrived he showed no signs of vexation, but treated him with the greatest attention. Meanwhile the Sherrarât had gone so far south that the Bedawy could no more overtake them, and had to remain for a whole year in that country waiting for the return of his tribe.

Again:—A man lost a lamb, which a Bedawy found and exchanged for an ewe, which in the course of a few years had several young ones. When he at last met with the owner of the lamb, he returned to him the sheep he had gained, and excused himself that he had occasionally drunk of their milk.

Palgrave, who does not flatter the Bedawin, says that he did not lose two pounds' worth during his whole journey through Arabia.

But though there is no doubt a good deal of honesty in the desert, yet it is certain that the Bedawin who come in contact with townspeople often use all their cunning in order to cheat them. We have quite a number of old poems written by Arabs, who with delight describe the manner in which they cheated their creditors.

I am afraid my time is already too far spent to describe more of the peculiarities and strange customs of the Bedawin, of their stern demeanour, and reluctance to smile or laugh, or to speak of their quaint and original way of speech.

In reviewing what has been said about the character of the Bedawin, we are obliged to acknowledge that it contains great contrasts. As we find in the middle of the desolate desert the *oasis*, with all the riches

of a luxuriant vegetation, so we find with the Arab unbounded liberty and cruel despotism ; great instability and inconsistency and great tenacity in preserving their old ways and customs ; a clear intellect and reasoning power, with wild fancies and deep sentiment ; lasting love and lasting hatred ; egotism of the worst kind and true devotion ; robbery and liberality ; honesty and treachery ; childlike simplicity and deep cunning.

But one thing is certain : if the Bedawy remains what he now is, he will be a great hindrance to cultivation and to progress in the East ; for where the Bedawîn wander no tree grows and no corn can be raised, and their ravages are as fatal to agriculture as those of the locusts. But should it not be possible to reclaim these restless wanderers, drifting to and fro in the desert without higher object, without home, and without the hope of a better life after death ? Are not the sons of Ishmael also the sons of Abraham ? Do not their traditions constantly remind them of the holy example of Him who by faith obtained the promise ? Did not the Apostle Paul first preach the Gospel in Arabia, and were not the Arab tribes of Lai, Taghleb, Tennooh, and Bedr once Christians ? It is the Apostle Paul who also, with regard to the Arabs, pronounced the memorable words : "God has concluded all in unbelief, that He might have mercy on all." And we have the sure promises of God that the Arabs also will come to the light which arose on Mount Zion : for "the dromedaries of Midian and all the flocks of Kedar shall be gathered unto the Lord ; and even the desert shall be changed, and shall blossom like the rose."

THE MEASUREMENT OF EGGS.

By Colonel C. M. WATSON, C.M.G., R.E.

It is stated in the Talmud that a log contained six eggs (*see* Zuckermann's "Jüdische Maass-System," who quotes Peah 1, 6, Terumot 43, 3, Erubin 83, A). Colonel Conder, in "The Handbook to the Bible," p. 61, states that the mean capacity of an egg is 4 cubic inches, and hence makes the log 24 cubic inches, but he does not say how he measured the eggs, or whether they were English or Syrian eggs.

In order to check Colonel Conder's measurement I have measured a considerable number of English eggs, and the result is not in accord with his statement. I found that the most accurate way was to measure carefully the volume of the amount of water displaced by an egg. This is more convenient than measuring the volume of the content of the egg, and gives almost exactly the same result. Here, for example, is one experi-

ment of the measurement of eight eggs taken at random. Each egg was measured two or three times. They are arranged in order of size :—

Egg No. 1	..	..	..	4.04	cubic inches.
„ 2	..	..	..	3.78	„ „
„ 3	..	..	..	3.62	„ „
„ 4	..	..	..	3.49	„ „
„ 5	..	..	..	3.33	„ „
„ 6	..	..	..	3.22	„ „
„ 7	..	..	..	3.07	„ „
„ 8	..	..	..	2.88	„ „
Mean ..	..	..	..	3.43	

I found that an egg measuring above 4 cubic inches is large even for an English egg, and as Syrian eggs are smaller, Colonel Conder's measurement cannot be accepted as correct. It appears therefore very improbable that the log was equal to the total contents of six eggs, and it is more likely that the statement was intended to mean that the log was a vessel which would hold six *unbroken* eggs. An English pint vessel holds conveniently six unbroken English eggs, so that if this was intended the log should be somewhat smaller than an English pint. This is confirmed by the statement in Maimonides that the log was a measure equal to $4 \times 4 \times 2\frac{7}{10}$ digits—the digit being the longer digit. The longer digit was the twenty-fourth part of the Babylonian cubit of about 21 inches, and therefore equal to .875 inch. This would give a log of 28.9 inches, which is probably much nearer the truth than 24 inches as given by Colonel Conder. An English pint = 34.66 cubic inches.

Zuckermann gives the log as = the Xestes = 27.694 French cubic inches = 33.548 English cubic inches (*see* p. 10). But this is based on the proposition that the log was exactly equal to the Xestes and that the volume of the latter is accurately known. He gives no proof of either, so that the assertion cannot be regarded as definite. On the whole, it would seem that until it is proved what sized eggs are referred to by Maimonides, and whether they were broken or unbroken, the value of “6 eggs = 1 log” is not of much help in determining the volume of the latter measure.

NOTICES OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale, vol. iv, parts 9 and 10.—M. Gamneau comments more fully on the inscriptions from the Jewish necropolis at Jaffa, in the collection of Baron Ustinow, which were copied by Rev. J. E. Hanauer and published in *Quarterly Statement*, 1900, pp. 110-123. The author is inclined to think that inscription No. 8 is of Jewish origin and connected with the restoration of a synagogue, and finds in it the name Jacob as well as Lazarus. The Barbabi of No. 10 is compared with the Talmudic name, Ben Babi, and the name Βαβᾶς in an inscription from Arsûf. In No. 18 Πρεσβύτερος is not a title, but is used in the sense of "elder," as opposed to "younger," and the inscription may be translated: "Here lies Isaac the elder, of Tarsus of Cappadocia, linen merchant."

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins, vol. xxiii, parts 3 and 4.—Professor Dr. M. Hartmann completes his valuable contributions to our knowledge of the Syrian desert, and gives a very useful index of place-names. There is also an interesting paper by Dr. Graf von Müllinen on the registration of land in Turkey, which explains the classification of lands as laid down by the law of April 21st, 1858, the technical terms in use, and the method of dealing with landed property under the various regulations that have been issued. The steps which have to be taken to purchase and register a plot of land in Turkey are illustrated by a complete statement of a case which occurred near Jaffa. Amongst other matters the purchaser had to make a declaration before a notary that he would allow no Jews, whose residence in Palestine is forbidden, to live on the land, and that he would build no church, school, hospital, or dispensary without previous permission.

Revue Biblique, 1901, part 1.—Father Hugues Vincent gives the results of his exhaustive examination of the *Tombs of the Prophets* on the Mount of Olives, with a plan and sections. It is proposed to publish a full notice of his article in the *July Statement*. Father Vincent agrees with M. Clermont-Ganneau in considering that the tomb is of Christian origin, and not a readaptation of a Jewish tomb.

A fragment of an inscribed *Roman milestone*, No. III on the Jerusalem-Neapolis Road, has been found near Sh'afât. The stone bears two texts:—

Imp(erator) Nerv[a] aug(ustus), pont(ificis) m[ax]im[us] tribun[us] (ic[us]t[us])
po[t]l[estatis] , and
[Imp] (erator) Caesar [Traj]anus aug(ustus)

Both the inscribed milestones previously discovered on this road, V and probably XXV, bear the names of Marcus Aurelius and Verus, who apparently repaired the road made by Trajan, and perhaps commenced by Nerva. Nos. III and V, being exactly two Roman miles apart, are

probably in their original position, and a measurement of three miles back from the former places the point of origin south of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, near the centre of Jerusalem.

A plan, section, sketch, and details are given of the remains of the *Church of St. Mary Latin-the-Less* which have been recently destroyed during the building operations of the authorities of the Greek Church in the western half of the Muristan. The three apses, well preserved when uncovered, and recalling the fine masonry of the Church of the Samaritan woman at Nâblus, have been pulled down to make room for the foundations of new shops; and of the lateral walls seen during the excavations there is no longer a trace. This lamentable and needless destruction of the remains of historic buildings, hitherto preserved by accumulations of rubbish, is greatly to be regretted. (A brief notice of this Church by Dr. Schick will be found, *ante* p. 51.)

Le Mont Thabor, notices historiques et descriptives, by Father BARNABÉ, of Alsace, O.F.M. Paris, 1900, 8vo, pp. 176.—A monograph on Mount Tabor, in four parts. Part I deals with the history of the mountain from the earliest period to its fortification by Josephus, a portion of whose walls is said to have been discovered. Part II is a strong plea in favour of the tradition that Mount Tabor was the scene of the Transfiguration. The author contests the view that the summit was occupied by a town before the time of Christ. Part III gives a pretty complete history of Tabor from its occupation by Tancred, in 1099, to the present day. Part IV contains a description of the mountain, of the view from it, and of the ruins recently found on its summit. The interesting remains of the great Church with three aisles, a rock-hewn crypt, a baptistery and two chapels, and of the other buildings uncovered by the Franciscans are fully treated. But the account of the ruins in the possession of the Greek Church is less satisfactory. The book is illustrated with photographs of Mount Tabor and of the ruins on its summit; and there are a plan showing the results of the excavations, and a map of the surrounding country.

Autour de la Mer Morte, by LUCIEN GAUTIER. Geneva, 1901, 8vo.—A pleasantly written account of a journey round the Dead Sea in March, 1899. M. Gautier travelled *via* Hebron, Engedi, and the Ghôr es-Safieh to Kerak, and returned to Jerusalem by Lejjûn, er-Rabba, Medeba, Meshetta, and Jericho. The notices of the country and people are good, and there is an interesting description of a freshet, after heavy rain, in the Wâdy Mojib—a great, dusky-brown wave coming down the valley and carrying everything before it. In an Appendix M. Gautier gives the original of his article on the Dead Sea in the “*Encyclopedia Biblica*.” The book is illustrated with photo-lithographs, and one of these shows the “white line” of foam stretching from N. to S. on the surface of the lake which was first noticed by Molyneux in 1847.

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE KING has graciously conveyed to the Archbishop of Canterbury, the President of the Fund, His Majesty's consent to become Patron of the Palestine Exploration Fund in succession to Her Late Majesty Queen Victoria.

With deep regret we record the death, at the age of 64 years, of Sir WALTER BESANT, Knt., Honorary Secretary of the Fund, which took place at his residence, Frogna End, Hampstead, on Sunday, June 9th, 1901.

The Treasurer of the Fund communicates the following:—

“ Many of our subscribers, when they read of the death of Sir Walter Besant, must have felt that they had lost a personal friend. He was a man of wide culture, of wide knowledge, and of considerable administrative ability, and he had the gift of sympathy. Those who formed an acquaintance with him soon found themselves treating him, and being treated by him, as if they were old friends. This natural gift of inducing others to speak without reserve must have greatly helped him in planning his many novels, for we know from his own evidence that the characters in them were modelled on men and women whom he had met. And this gift of sympathy, of securing friends, was

one of the faculties which made him so valuable an official of the Palestine Exploration Fund. He was of a generous temper, ever ready to give thought and time, when time meant money to so active a writer, to help others, to give sound advice, or to further useful work. It is sufficient to mention the People's Palace and the Authors' Society as examples of his unselfish activity on behalf of the interests of other men.

“But it is as the Secretary of the Palestine Exploration Fund that we have in this place to deplore his death.

“In the early days of the Fund the Acting, as well as Honorary, Secretary was Mr. George Grove, afterwards Sir George Grove. Mr. Grove was a man of great ability, of many-sided knowledge, of untiring energy, and strong self-reliance; indeed, his fault lay in this latter quality, for he was always ready to take up any subject which appealed to his feelings without regard to the other calls on his time. The work of the Fund suffered; it became necessary to engage a paid secretary, and in a fortunate hour for the Fund, Mr. William Lethbridge, who was then a reader, and afterwards a partner, in the firm of W. H. Smith and Son, recommended Mr. Besant for the post.

“Mr. Besant, after taking a high degree at Cambridge, had gone as a professor to the college in the Mauritius. His health broke down, and he returned to England. On becoming connected with the Fund, he showed his administrative ability at once. Order was introduced into the office, work proceeded smoothly. He soon substituted a *Quarterly Statement* in the place of occasional papers.

“It was partly his work that the Fund began to publish books, and it was certainly due to his tact and knowledge, and to the tact and knowledge of Mr. Hepworth Dixon, who was long the Chairman of the Executive Committee, that almost every book published by the Fund has been a commercial success, as well as an important contribution to our knowledge of the Holy Land.

“His genial, simple manners and quiet humour charmed visitors to the office, and he was possessed of no ordinary amount of common sense. All members of the Executive Committee recognised the value of his suggestions and counsel.

“Of late years increasing literary work, and his many other engagements, took up most of his time, but he was always ready to help us with his counsel when any complication arose.

“The successful working of the Fund has been in no small

degree due to him, and has led to the systematic examination by other societies and explorers of countries famous in the Old World. And thus, while we in particular can best appreciate the value of his work, his influence has had a farther reaching effect than the special work of our Fund."

Colonel C. R. Conder writes:—

"Sir Walter Besant was so well known that it is only because he was one of my earliest and kindest friends that I ask space for a few words. I believe that the success of the Palestine Exploration Fund was mainly due to his appreciation of all that is best in England, and to his knowledge of English character, and sympathy with the love of the Bible in England. I knew him well since 1872, and not only admired his energy and ability, but most highly appreciated his kindness, patience, and tolerance of differences of opinion. His work was invaluable to the Society, and he was one able fully to understand both the truth and the beauty of the Bible, and practically to carry out in London the lessons he learned from the Gospel."

The Annual Meeting of the General Committee will be held at the Office of the Fund, 38 Conduit Street, on Tuesday, July 16th, at 4 P.M.

Dr. F. J. Bliss writes:—

"It will interest the readers of the *Quarterly Statement* to hear that the majority of the objects found in our excavations are now arranged in a small museum. A large room in the Government School, just inside Herod's Gate, has been set apart for the purpose by Ismail Bey, the local Director of Public Instruction. Last autumn I numbered the objects selected for exhibition and made a catalogue, but owing to the lack of proper cases no arrangement could then be made. On my return last month I was gratified to find that Ismail Bey had obtained a grant from Constantinople which had enabled him to secure four large cases with glass on the four sides. These, with the two cases already in the room, have now provided ample room for the objects. Case No. 1 contains 101 examples of pre-Israelite pottery, including specimens from Tell el-Hesi. It was a gratification to find that these had been preserved by the authorities for over 10 years. In case No. 2 we have 116 examples of Jewish

pottery, including a series of the stamped jar-handles. Case No. 3 contains 184 specimens of Seleucidan ware. In the lower shelf of each case may be found the duplicates (unnumbered), which in the case of the Seleucidan period are very numerous. Case No. 4 is marked 'Miscellaneous,' and besides examples of pottery figurines, human and animal, contains various objects in bronze, iron, bone, and stone. In Cases 5 and 6 are exhibited the scarabs, gems, tablets, coins, and glass objects. The majority of the coins, as well as the greater proportion of the objects in the beautiful glass collection, were placed in the museum by Ismail Bey. For the classification of the coins the museum is indebted to Dr. Selah Merrill, U.S. Consul.

"The unique character of this small museum is obvious. It contains the only full collection from which the history of Palestinian pottery may be studied from pre-Israelite to Roman times. Ismail Bey hopes that he will soon receive authority to appoint a guardian, print the catalogue, and throw open the museum to the public for a small fee. The position will be convenient for travellers, as the museum can be visited after the inspection of the Church of St. Anne and the Pool of Bethesda by making a very small detour from the main road going north from St. Stephen's Gate."

In the April number of the *Quarterly Statement*, p. 165, it is stated that the church at Kubeibeh has been rebuilt since the publication of the "Memoirs." Dr. Schick writes that this is not quite correct, as the rebuilding of the church, which was begun about three years ago, was stopped owing to questions respecting the building in its interior (called "House of Cleopas"), which have never yet been settled.

Dr. Schick reports that the Benedictines, who are now in possession of the church at Abu Ghôsh, are about to restore it for a sanctuary and station for pilgrims.

He also mentions that "until now (April 29th) we look to heaven in vain for rain. Very often there have been winds and clouds, as if rain would come, but they have passed without rain. I am told that the railway has already begun to bring water to

the station, and that people may go there and buy it at a very reasonable price." Dr. Masterman, writing on May 20th, stated that three quarters of an inch had fallen within three or four days with great benefit to the country.

On April 1st Dr. Torrance reported that only 12·67 inches of rain had fallen at Tiberias, and that fears were entertained of great distress throughout the country. Locusts also had appeared at Tiberias and on the coast.

In connection with the Imperial concession to the municipality of Jerusalem to bring water from Wady 'Arrûb to that city, Dr. Schick reports that there is also on foot a scheme to construct an aqueduct from the Euphrates across the Syrian desert to Medina and Mecca, and that he had been asked to report on the feasibility of this being done. The result of his investigations, so far as the maps at his disposal afforded information, was that, in his opinion, the thing is impossible. The projectors of this scheme assert that Alexander the Great had an idea of carrying out such a work.

The Committee have applied for a firman to enable the Fund to continue its excavations in Palestine, and they hope soon to be in a position to publish in the *Quarterly Statement* full details with regard to further operations.

The Committee have pleasure in announcing that M. Clermont-Ganneau, whose valuable contributions to the work of the Fund are well known, has kindly promised to supply a series of archaeological and epigraphic notes to the *Quarterly Statement*. The first notes of the series appeared in the April number.

A subscriber offers for sale a complete set of the "Memoirs" of the Survey of Western Palestine in 8 vols., comprising:—"Memoirs" (3 vols.), "Name Lists," "Jerusalem," "Special Papers," "Fauna and Flora," "Index"; also one Great Map in Portfolio (1 inch), one Old Testament Map, one New Testament Map, one Water Drainage Map, one Portfolio of Jerusalem Plates. "All in a very good condition."

The concluding volume of Professor Ganneau's "Archæological Researches in Jerusalem and its Neighbourhood" has been published and issued to subscribers. This completes the set of four vols. as advertised under the title "Survey of Palestine." There are only two sets left of the first 250 copies of this valuable work. Those who wish to secure a set at £7 7s. before the price is raised should write to the Secretary of the Fund.

The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21s.

In order to make up complete sets of the "Quarterly Statement," the Committee will be very glad to receive any of the back numbers.

The income of the Society from March 22nd to June 20th, 1901, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £175 5s. 2d.; from Lectures, *nil*; from sales of publications, &c., £132 6s. 7d.; total, £307 11s. 9d. The expenditure during the same period was £482 11s. 1d. On June 20th the balance in the Bank was £364 0s. 3d.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

Rev. Wm. Ronaldson, 390, Castle Street, Dunedin, Otago, has kindly consented to act as Honorary Local Secretary, in place of Mr. Herbert Webb, resigned.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38 Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but all are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

While desiring to give 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.

TOURISTS are cordially invited to visit the Loan Collection of "Antiques" in the JERUSALEM ASSOCIATION ROOM of the Palestine Exploration Fund, opposite the Tower of David, Jerusalem. Hours: 8 to 12, and 2 to 6. Maps of Palestine and Palestine Exploration Fund publications are kept for sale.

Photographs of Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. Sets of these photographs, with an explanation by Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible Lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following:—

"Jerusalem: a Practical Guide to Jerusalem and its Environs." From the Author, E. A. Reynolds-Ball, B.A.

"Voyage Archéologique au Safâ et dans le Djebel ed-Drâz." Par René Dussaud et Frédéric Macler. Avec 1 Itineraire, 17 Planches et 12 Figures. From the Editor, Ernest Leroux, 28, Rue Bonaparte, Paris.

- “Among the Mountains, in the Sinaitic Peninsula, Waldensia, and Maharashtra.” From the Author, the Rev. Canon Gell, M.A.
- “A Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem, A.D. 1697.” By Herr Maundrell, M.A., late Fellow of Exeter College and Chaplain to the Factory at Aleppo. From Aubrey Stewart, Esq., M.A.
- “My Tour in Palestine and Syria.” Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1899. From the Author, F. H. Deverell.
- “La Montagne de la Galilée.” From the Author, Rev. P. Barnabe, d’Alsace, O.F.M.
- “Recueil d’Archéologie Orientale.” Tome IV, Livraisons 11, 12, 13, January to March. *Sommaire* :—§ 27. Inscriptions grecques de Syrie (suite et fin). § 28. Le Zeus Madbachos et le Zeus Bômos des Sémites. § 29. Le dieu Monimos. § 30. Les noms nabatéens Thomsaché et Abdadousares. § 31. Nouvelles inscriptions nabatéennes. § 32. L’inscription sinaïtique des trois Augustes. § 33. L’année sabbatique des Nabatéens et l’origine des inscriptions sinaïtiques et safaitiques. § 34. Sceaux et poids à légendes sémitiques du Ashmolean Museum. § 35. L’inscription phénicienne de Tortose. § 36. Sur quelques inscriptions puniques du Musée Lavignerie. § 37. Un néocore palmyrénien du dieu ‘Azîzon. § 38. Les inscriptions romaines de l’aqueduc de Jérusalem (a suivre). Livraisons 14, 15, April. *Sommaire* :—§ 38. Les inscriptions romaines de l’aqueduc de Jérusalem (suite et fin). § 39. Sur quelques noms propres puniques. § 40. Le mot punique *Mu* chez Plaute. § 41. Le nom phénicien Banobal et l’inscription de Memphis. § 42. Epitaphe d’un archer palmyrénien. § 43. Sur quelques noms propres juifs. § 44. Apollon Mageirios et le Cadmus phénicien. § 45. Le Phénicien Theosebios et son voyage à Pouzzoles. § 46. La belle Simè d’Eleuthéropolis. § 47. Les poteries rhodiennes de Palestine (a suivre). Livraison 16, May. *Sommaire* :—§ 47. Les poteries rhodiennes en Palestine (suite et fin). § 48. Un sceau des Croisades appartenant à la Léproserie de Saint-Lazare de Jérusalem (pl. I, D, E). § 49. Le trône et l’autel chez les Sémites. § 50. Le peuple des Zakkari. § 51. Sur quelques cachets israélites archaïques (a suivre).

For list of authorised lecturers and their subjects write to the Secretary.

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

ERRATUM.

Quarterly Statement, 1900—p. 343, six lines up, for “penholder” read “pan handle.”

REPORTS BY R. A. STEWART MACALISTER, M.A.

1. THE ROCK-CUT TOMBS IN WĀDY ER-RABABI, JERUSALEM.

(Concluded from the "Quarterly Statement,"
April, 1901, p. 158.)

THE ten tombs which follow, and complete the series of tombs in the valley, are east of the monastery. They are arranged in three rows: six are on the edge of the precipice above the valley, three on the rocky platform behind the top of the precipice, and one remaining in the back wall of rock behind the platform. We shall take these in reverse order:—

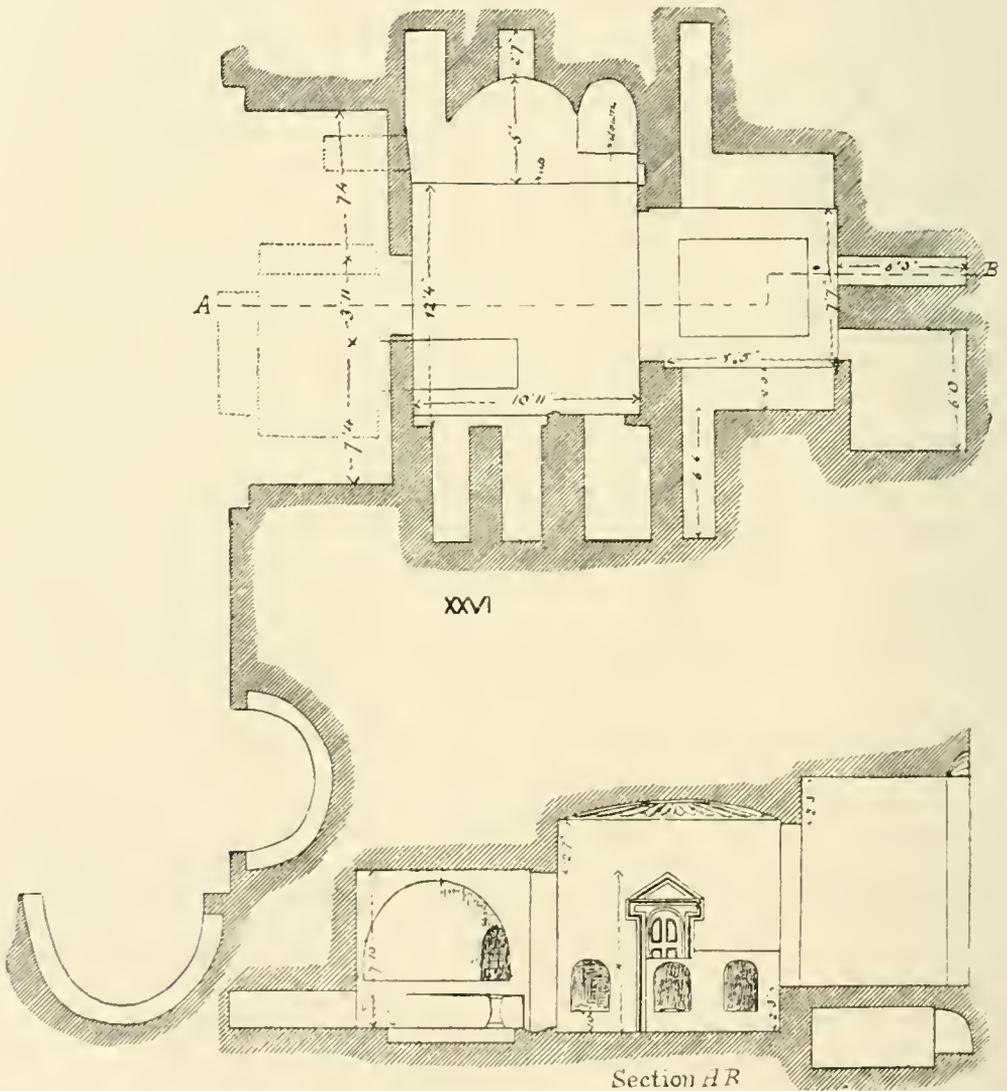
57. The back wall of rock, behind the platform on which the monastery is now built, is tunnelled with several caves which appear natural, and it seems also to have had more than one system of tombs in it. Only one of these remains, and even this is much injured by the quarrying processes that have completely destroyed the others. Two chambers are left, one of large size, having one kok on the west, two on the south, and two remaining on the east; the entrance, which is broken open and of which no original features are left, was to the north. There is a small door to the south giving admission to a small chamber, perfect but much clogged up with stones and rubbish, measuring 9 feet 4 inches by 9 feet 6 inches. There are nine kokim in this chamber—three in each side not occupied by the door.

58. This and the following tomb are under the walls of the monastery. It is a single-chambered tomb with kokim, seven in number. One of these is of the extraordinary length of 12 feet 4 inches: Another has a depression in its floor, filled with rubbish, possibly a secret entrance to some subsidiary chamber.

59. This tomb is beside the last. It consists of four chambers. The entrance chamber has but one kok, on the south side; beside this is the doorway of a chamber at the back, containing three kokim on the east, two on the south, and a blocked doorway (?) on the west. There is a shallow niche over the central kok on

the eastern side. To the west of the entrance chamber is a room with two kokim on the south and two on the west; this chamber has an independent entrance from without. To the east of the entrance chamber is an extension leading downwards to a small chamber having three arcossolia, one on each of the sides not occupied by the door.

60. (Plan XXVI; Tobler, 3; Baedeker, 3).—Architecturally this is the most interesting of the excavations of the Wâdy er-Rababi. It consists of two principal chambers, and one lower chamber, with the usual square vestibule at the entrance.

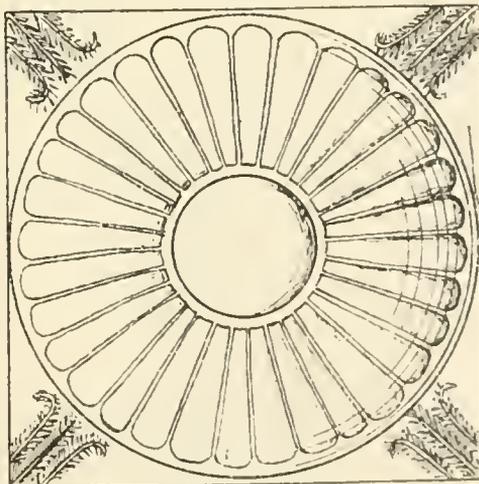


The first detail that calls for attention is the pair of remarkable apses at the west end of the rock wall in which the entrance

is cut. The purpose of these is quite obscure to me, and I have never seen anything like them anywhere else. Père Vincent has informed me that nothing similar is to be found nearer than Petra.

The vestibule is much broken and badly repaired by rough stone walling, which has been erected in order to make this beautiful tomb serve the ignoble purpose of a cow-house. Remains of an ornamental alcove over the door show that the entrance had considerable pretensions to architectural effect. Half the vestibule roof is now broken away and replaced by built stone. The walls are blackened with smoke, but the outlines of some painted ornaments are just traceable under the dirt on the western wall.

A step downward leads into the principal chamber. This has evidently served some other purpose besides that of a tomb; I have no doubt that Tobler is right in regarding it as a chapel with tomb accessories. There is an apse at the eastern end, lighted by a (now blocked) shaft. In the western wall are three kokim, two of which were concealed by a movable slab which bore a completion of the false door that encloses the central kok; compare the similar device for concealment that we have found at Ferdûs er-Rûm, already described.



*Ceiling of Entrance
Chamber*

The roof is domed and shows a rosette, deeply sculptured, occupying its whole surface.

A sunk passage to the west of the entrance leads to a small chamber under the vestibule having two arcosolia. There is a kok in the corresponding position on the other side, also extending under the vestibule.

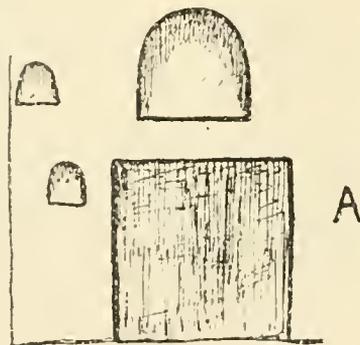
The south wall of the principal chamber was ornamented with panelling, but it is much broken and so smoke-blackened that the details are very difficult to make out. A large doorway in the middle of this wall gives admission to the inner chamber which contains two arcosolia, having kokim extending inwards from their northern ends, and with slightly ornamented faces (*see* the section), and two kokim in the south wall, one of which expands into a small square chamber.

It is not impossible that the adaptation of this cutting as a chapel may belong to a later period than its use as a tomb. This might be indicated by what appears to be an imperfect kok in the centre of the apse at the east; but this is doubtful, as it is not at the same level as the adjoining kokim, and therefore may be an aumbry.

Except the meagre remains in the vestibule, every trace of the frescoes mentioned by Tobler has disappeared.

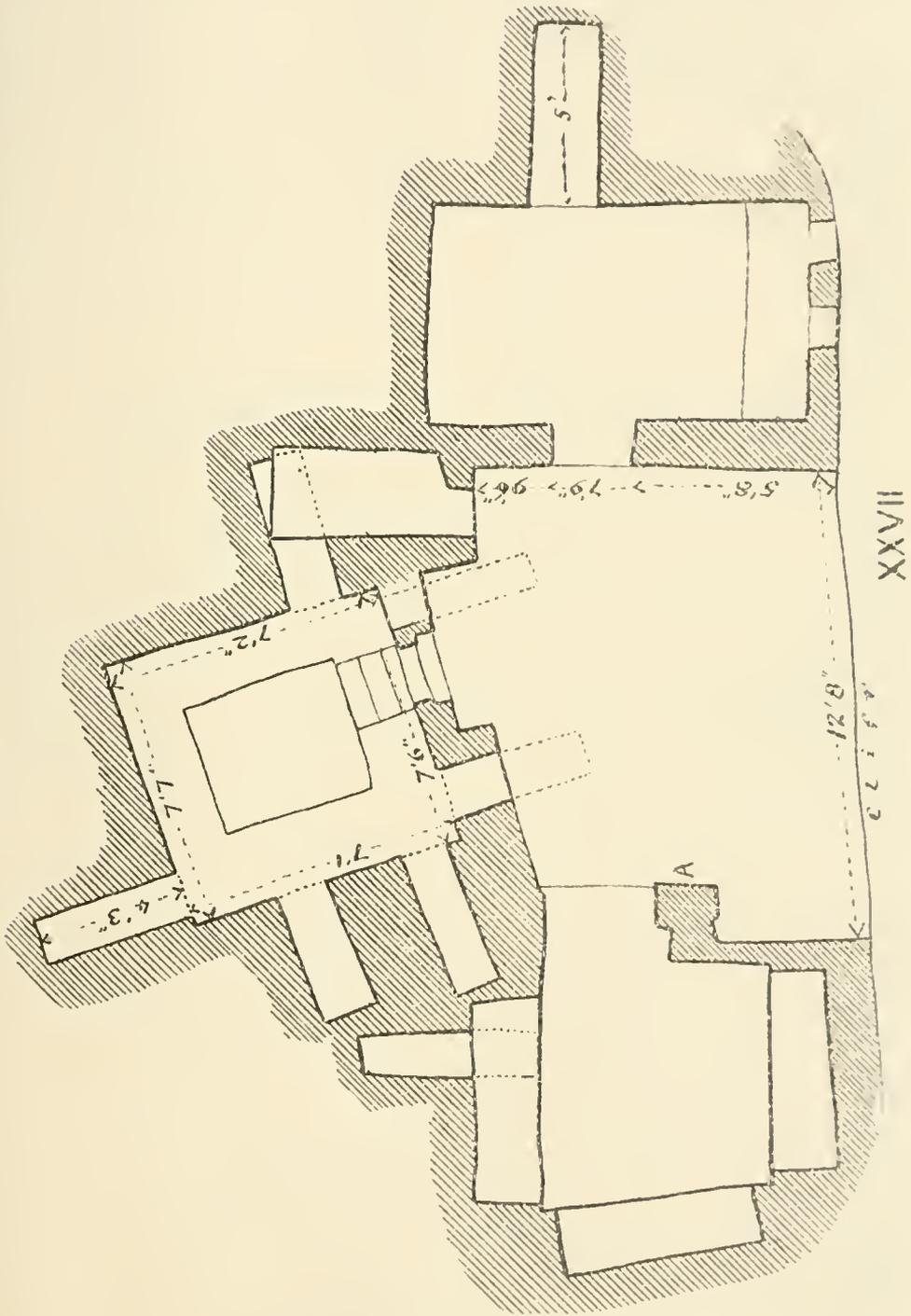
The remaining tombs are on the edge of the rocky precipice east of the monastery.

61. (Plan XXVII; Tobler, 7; Baedeker, 7).—Close to the monastery wall an open landing or vestibule has been quarried in the edge of the precipice, with doors on the three sides. That to the east opens into a square chamber with the usual three arcosolia: there is a kok running under the southward bench. Over the door to this chamber is a large round-headed niche, and



at its side are two others of smaller size. The central door admits to a square chamber, approached by steps, being sunk below the level of the vestibule. This chamber has a bench or

step running round the walls and six kokim, disposed in the manner shown on the plan. The low level of this chamber seems



to corroborate Professor Clermont-Ganneau's suggested interpretation of the inscription (No. 13) which is painted over the

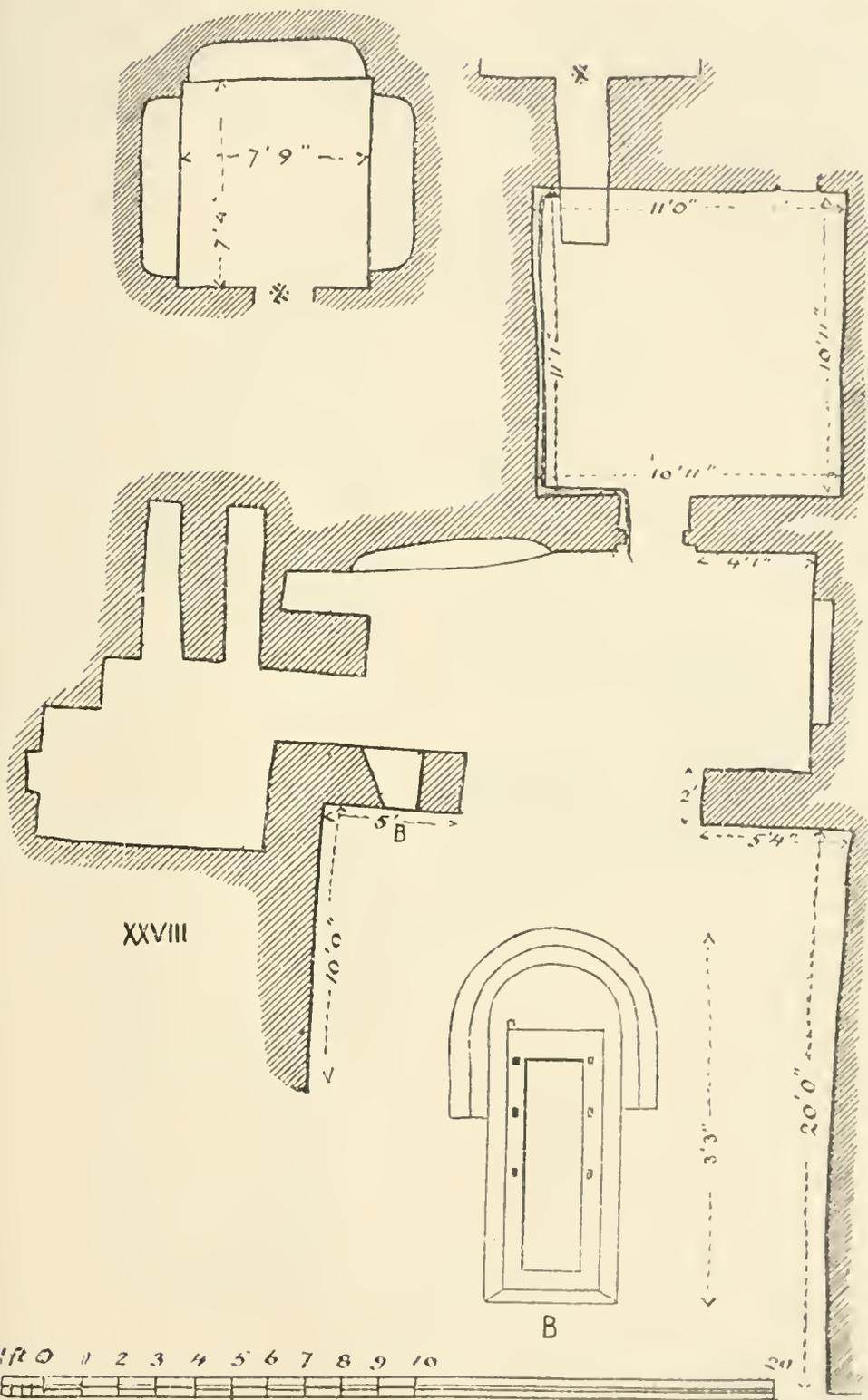
door. This of course involves the abandoning of the reading ἀγαπήτου at the end of the second line, though it is consistent with all the traces.¹ There is a raised kok or similar shaft to the right of the doorway leading to this chamber. On the west side is a roughly-quarried chamber with one arcosolium and one kok. Over the arcosolium are two holes broken through the rock-wall, which are either windows to the chamber, or else attempts at kokim that were started here owing to a miscalculation of the thickness of wall. The latter suggestion is barely credible; and as we have already found a window in the 41st tomb of this series, and will find a well-made one in No. 62, there is nothing incredible in the former hypothesis. Windows are very rare in rock-cut tombs. One well-known example is in the so-called "Garden tomb" under the so-called "Gordon's Calvary."

Beside the door of the last-mentioned chamber is inscription No. 14.

62. (Plan XXVIII; Query, Tobler, 6; Baedeker, 6. Tobler's description seems very inexact).—A deep vestibule, no less than 20 feet long on the western side, gives access by a fine high, moulded doorway to a chamber that has suffered considerably from quarrying. Its most noticeable features are the peculiar window (at B on the plan) already referred to. This has been closed at some time by a movable board, turning on a horn, and secured by bars, the sockets for which remain. There is a round-headed drip-mould over the opening. In this first chamber are two arcosolia, singularly shallow and low; though of the proper length, their smallness in other dimensions, and their exposed situation, makes it doubtful whether they were ever intended for the reception of bodies: but it is difficult to assign any other explanation of their existence. To the left of this chamber is a smaller cell, with kokim, so blocked with rubbish that it is next to impossible to enter and measure it. Behind is a square chamber, absolutely without features, except one blocked kok in the south wall; and a sunk passage, opening below the south wall and communicating with a chamber that has been adapted as a cistern: the walls are plastered, and a water groove has been cut running along the side of the plain square chamber already

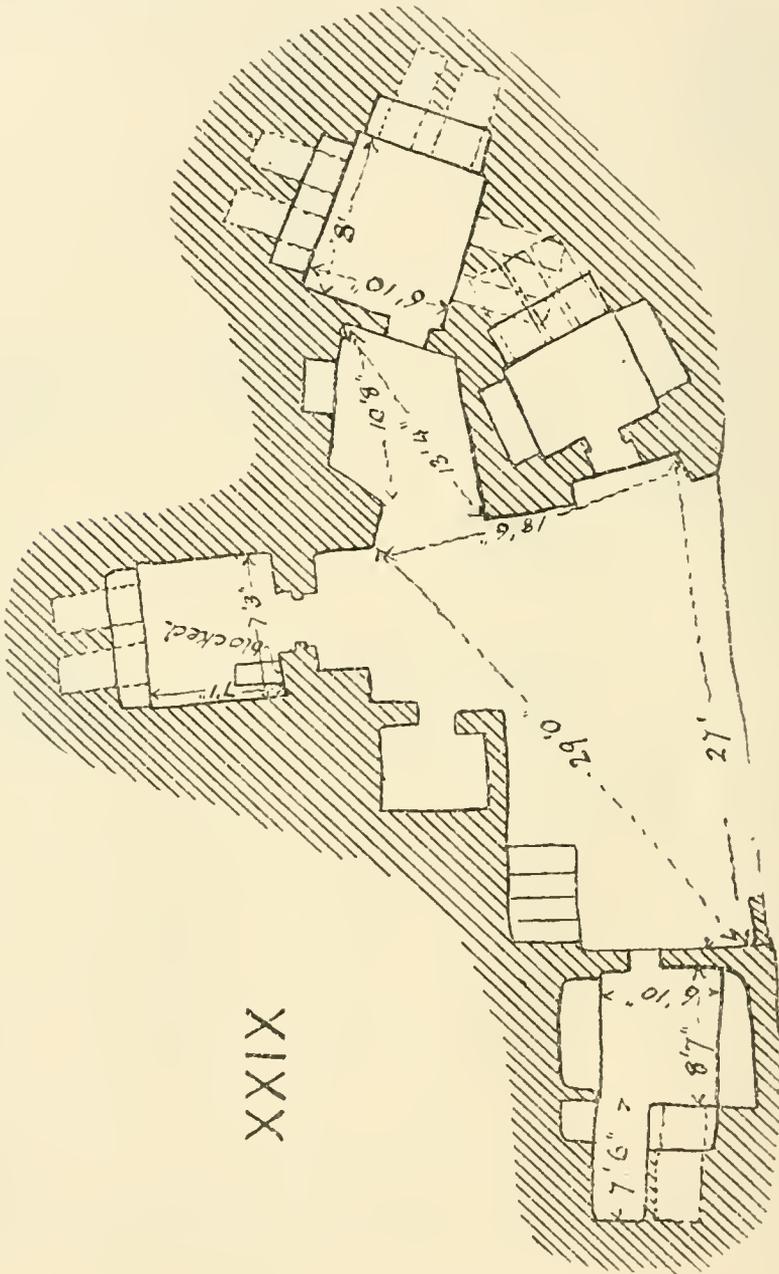
¹ I see that Tobler noticed this inscription in his account of the tombs, but he recovered a few letters only, just sufficient to identify it—

ΓΟ . . | ΕΡ . . . Ν . . . Γ | ΥΠ . . .



described. This chamber cannot therefore be entered except in summer. It will be found to contain three arcsolia.

63. (Plan XXIX; Tobler, 5; Baedeker, 5).—This is another tomb of the type exemplified by No. 61: a central open vestibule



with a number of independent single chambers opening off it. The vestibule is irregular in the present case, and possibly has been added to from time to time as occasion required. As in the case of No. 61, the north side of the vestibule is the edge of the

precipice. Commencing on the east and working round, we find, first, an irregular chamber, with an arcosolium on the north and on the south; there was also another on the east, the ends of which remain; but a passage has at some time been cut through it, interrupting it. There is a kok under the arcosolium to the north of this passage, and possibly this passage is an adaptation of another. Unfortunately the suggestion did not occur to me till after I had left Jerusalem, so that I was unable to test it by examining the pick marks. Next to this chamber comes a flight of steps, four or five in number, overgrown with earth and grass; these formed the original approach to the vestibule. Next comes a small square chamber, containing no features that I could observe; as it was full of rubbish and the door was almost quite blocked up at the time of my visit, I was unable to measure it. We then come to a fine moulded doorway, behind which is a smaller door opening into a room with arcosolium and two kokim under it on the south side, and on the north the blocked sunk entrance to another chamber that must extend under the vestibule. After this we reach an irregular extension of the vestibule westward, perhaps a late addition to the system, which has on the south a niche, and on the west a chamber, having two kokim in each of the sides not occupied by the door, and in addition an arcosolium on the west and south sides over the kokim. Last comes another chamber, also too full of rubbish at the time of my visit to be measured, but containing arcosolia, one on each of three sides; under that to the west are three kokim. Over the door of the latter chamber is inscription No. 14. This has been cleaned since I saw and described it first, and it now appears (as Tobler noticed) that the incised letters were picked out in red.

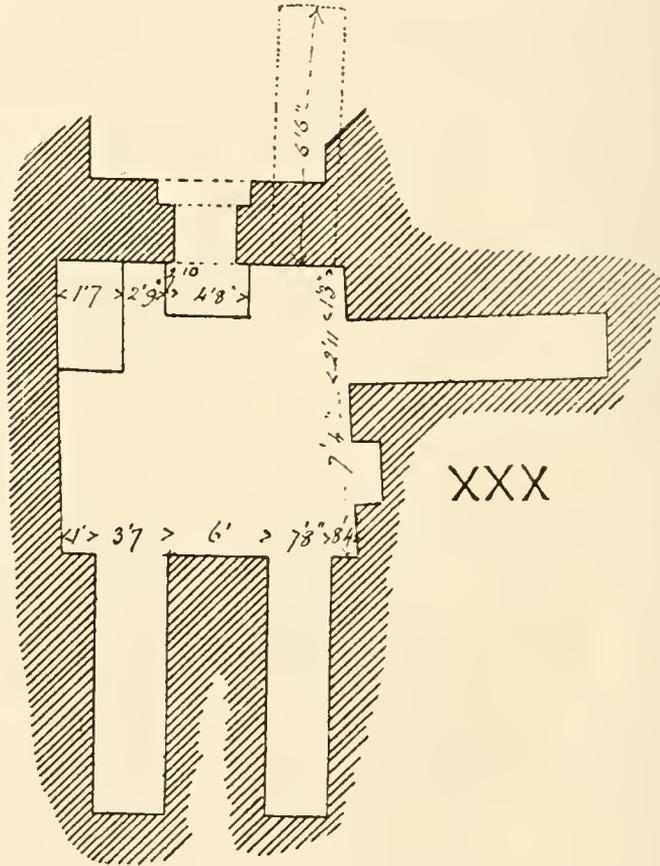
64. (Plan XXX; Tobler, 2; Baedeker, 2).—This is a single chamber with four kokim and a niche, disposed as shown on the plan on next page. In the north-west corner is a rectangular sunk depression.

65. Remains of a moulded door, all that is left of a chamber that has fallen in; the ruins have become full of earth, and are concealed by grass. The chamber measured about 11 feet 5 inches by 9 feet. This may be Tobler's No. 4, described by him as a buried chamber with 10 kokim towards the east.

66. (Plan XXXI; Tobler, 1; Baedeker, 1).—A tomb consisting of three chambers one behind another. The first, which has a fine moulded door, is of the nature of a vestibule, and has no

features; the second has six kokim, three on each of the sides not occupied by doorways; the third is of the common type, with three arcosolia.

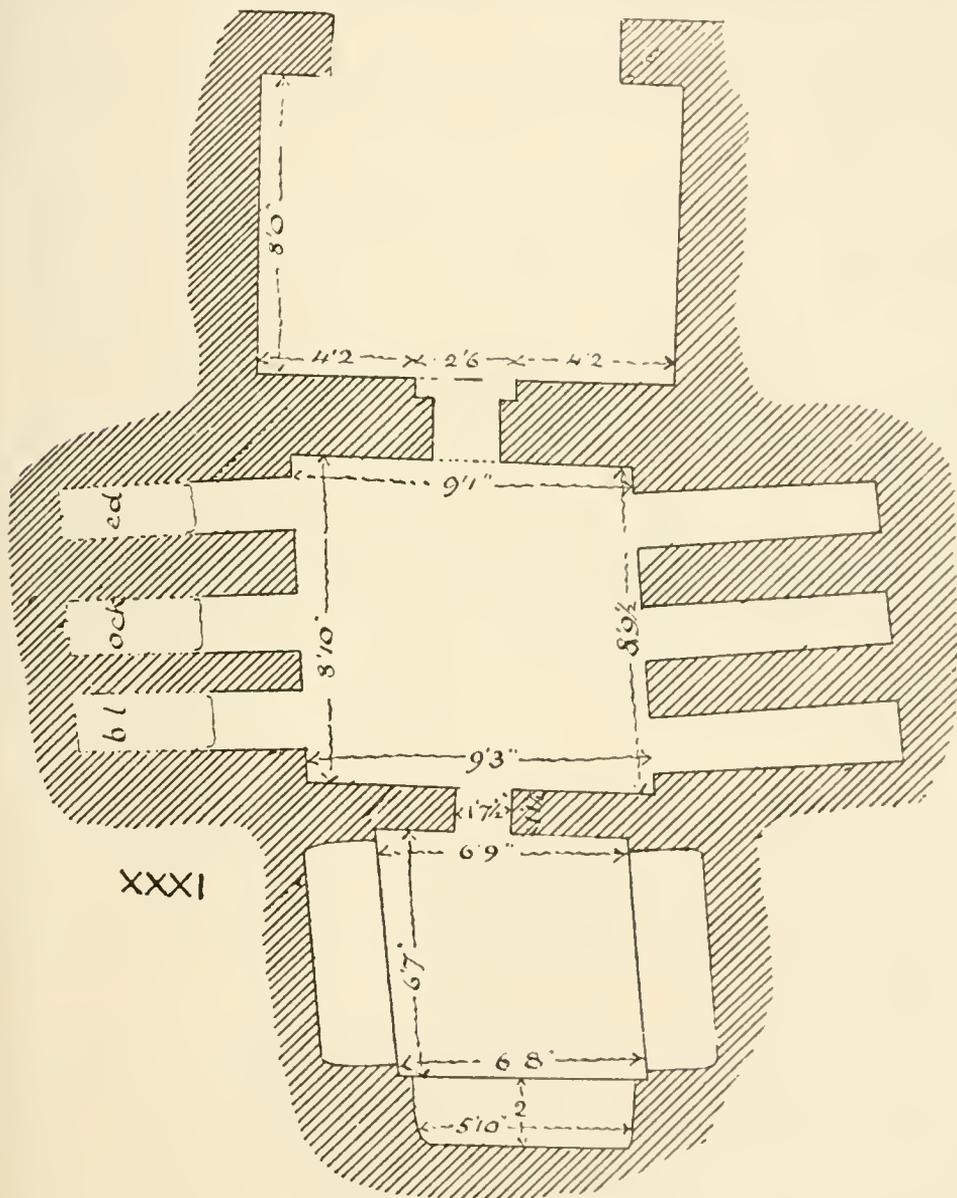
This completes the series of tombs existing in the Wâdy er-Rababi. It is probable that they belong to widely different dates, though there is little to help us in assigning a period to any of them. The very late date that has been fixed upon this cemetery—ninth or tenth century—rests mainly on the false reading that



connects the Abbess Thecla of inscription 14 with the Princess Thecla Augusta; this identification cannot be maintained. Some of the tombs, like Ferdûs er-Rûm and the elaborate excavations now inside the Aceldama Monastery, I believe to date from before the destruction of Jerusalem; relying on a comparison between them and a small but similar tomb north of the city, which, having a Hebrew inscription upon it, is presumably older than 70 A.D. The tombs which show Christian inscriptions or symbols must naturally be of later date, but it is remarkable that none of

these more ornate tombs display any such marks. The diaper of crosses outside the door of Ferdûs er-Rûm has, of course, nothing to do with its original purpose.

The signs of reappropriation (in the "chapel," No. 60) and of extension and alteration (in No. 63) seem to show that we



cannot place all this series of monuments in the latest period of tomb-cutting. The date on the tomb of Pachomios would be more valuable if we knew for certain to what era it is calculated.

But one thing is clear: that no deductions can be drawn respecting the date of a rock-tomb from its plan or from the

nature of the graves it contains. Kokim and arcosolia seem to have been used quite indifferently at the same periods.

As an appendix to this paper I give revised measurements (for which I have been requested) of the rock-tomb north of Jerusalem that I described some time ago in the *Quarterly Statement*:—

—	Kokim.	North.	South.	East.	West.
	ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.	ft. ins.
Vestibule	—	10 7½	11 2	17 0½	16 9½
Chamber II	—	(broken)	13 9	13 3	12 9
" III	6 5½	7 8	7 11½	7 9	7 9½
" IV	6 5½	7 9	8 3	7 10	7 11
" V	6 7	8 0½	7 11½	8 2½	8 2
Passage .. ..	..	7 feet 4½ inches long.			
Chamber VI	—	7 4¾	7 6	7 10	7 7

I have attempted to draw no metrological inferences from these or other measurements. Before such speculations are entered upon, it is necessary to assure ourselves that these rough excavations were not cut more or less by "rule of thumb"; and in the majority of cases I cannot feel convinced that this was not the method employed.

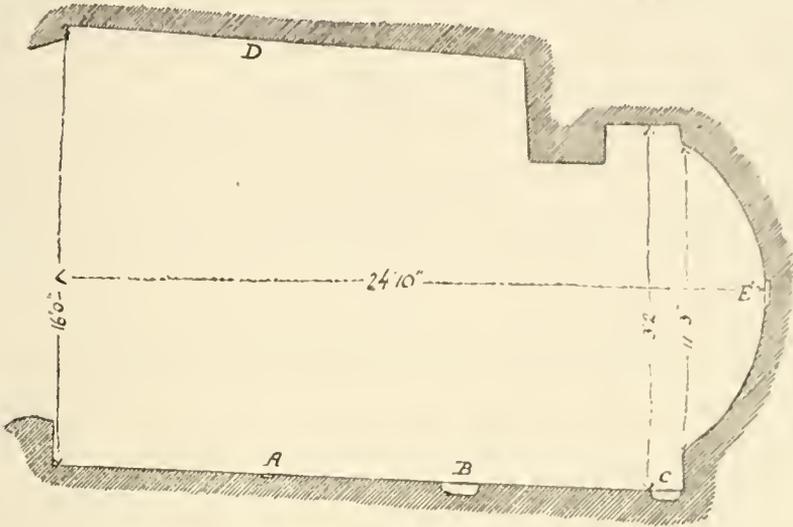
2. ON A ROCK-CUT CHAPEL AT BEIT LEVI.

In examining the literature of the rock-cuttings of the Shephelah, my attention was arrested by the following passage in M. Clermont-Ganneau's "Archæological Researches," vol. ii, p. 444:—

"At E'râk Abn 'l-'Amed . . . there are some graffiti and curious symbols on one of the inner walls, which would be worth copying. We had no time to do this."

Desirous of examining these symbols, I asked one of our workmen, who had a considerable acquaintance with the local topography, if he was acquainted with the cave in question. He assured me that he knew it well. I put myself under his guidance, and he brought me to a cave under the mound bearing the uninteresting ruins of Beit Leyi, which he assured me was the cave I wanted; but I could find nothing on its walls except some

BÊT LEYI : ROCK-CUT CHAPEL



Plan

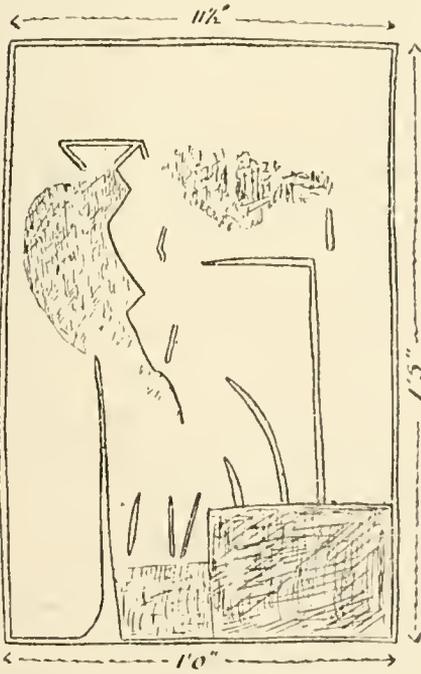


Figure at E



Niche at A



Crosses at D

Relative positions

crosses with bifid, and others with crosslet, ends to the arms—the former a common type in this neighbourhood. I examined several other caves that I saw close by, in the hope that in one of these the marks which I was seeking might be found, but without result, and was forced to give up the search. Some days afterwards my guide came to me and placidly informed me that none of the caves we had visited was the genuine 'Arâk Abu 'l-'Amed,¹ and that he was in a position to show the right cave to me. Unfortunately our stay at Sandahannah was at the time rapidly drawing to a close, and no other opportunity presented itself.

I am therefore unable to say anything of the graffiti found by M. Clermont-Ganneau; but my journey was not altogether fruitless, for one of the caves turned out to be a remarkably interesting little rock-cut chapel, which seemed to me well worth measuring and describing.

The plan and details are shown in the accompanying plate. It consists of a four-sided nave, no doubt meant to be rectangular, with an aisle-like extension northward, and a shallow apse at the eastern end. The entrance is at the west. The excavation has long been used as a sheepfold, and the floor is covered to within 5 feet of the roof with rubbish and dirt. The tooling of the walls is rather different from that commonly found in the rock-cuttings; on the south side it resembles that of the Romanesque chamber in 'Arak el-Khêl, but on the north the surface is not so smooth. The west wall is broken away, and its place is supplied by loose stones. The apse is shallow and wide; the sweep of the curve is not regular.

On the south wall, at A on the plan, is a niche, apparently for a statue, with a plug-hole to secure it at the back. There are attempts at moulding on the sides of the niche. At the side of the niche a cross was cut, now partly hacked away; and at the top there seems to have been another, which has been entirely destroyed. At B is a plain niche, apparently for a light; it has a semi-circular top, and measures 1 foot 5 inches by 1 foot 5 inches by 7 inches in depth. At C is a similar niche or light-hole.

On the north wall, at D, are two crosses with bifid ends to the arms.

In the centre of the apse a figure subject has been cut, in a

¹ From the map I see that the cave is quite close to Beit Leyi, but I somehow missed it.

snuk panel, but it has been nearly destroyed by Fellaḥ iconoclasts. On the plate is given a copy of what remains, with dimensions figured; this is a facsimile of a drawing made on scale paper on the spot. It is, perhaps, hazardous to offer a suggestion on the subject of this engraving. The lower portion seems evidently intended for drapery, and the few fragments that remain are, perhaps, not wholly inconsistent with a figure of the Virgin and Child. In making this suggestion I am possibly influenced by the fact that there are persistent rumours of the existence somewhere among the caves of Beit Jibrîn and its neighbourhood of an engraving of a woman and her child—no one could say where, though I made particular enquiries. All attempts at localising stories of figures engraved on the walls of caves filtered down to the well-known *orantes* in 'Arak el-Mâ, which were the only such graffiti to which any natives I interrogated were able to point. Apparently they were not aware of two similar figures which I found for myself in the Sandahannah caves. The woman and child story (immensely exaggerated beyond anything I heard) was told to M. Clermont-Ganneau by one Ya'kûb Banayôt, and by him localised in a certain *Mugharet esh-Shems*. I made several enquiries after this cave of the sun, but got so many different answers about it that I gave up the search for it in despair. Everyone knew it well, of course, but no two agreed as to whether it was close beside Beit Jibrîn, or two hours' journey from it, west or south from it; or whether it was a small ruined hole filled up with its own *débris*, or an immense excavation of the Beit Jibrîn type.

Returning to the Beit Leyi chapel, it should be mentioned that the panel containing the figure is 1 foot 6 inches below the roof, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches above the present surface of the ground. There is a small plain cross scratched on the wall to the left of it.

The other caves visited by me at Beit Leyi are as follows:—

- (1) Large cave with five chambers of the ordinary type; three crosses and some niches on the walls.
- (2, 3) Uninteresting caves, one adapted as an olive or wine press.
- (4) Irregular four-sided chamber, 16 paces by 11 across, with a number of shallow cells (like wide, short *kokim*) all round.

- (5) Two irregular chambers, of common type, united by a passage.
- (6) Large excavation supported by three pillars; several grain pits sunk in its floor. There is a doorway raised some height above the ground, approached by a dangerous series of foot-and-hand holes; this no doubt leads to an extension of the cave, which, however, I did not explore.

3. TOMB-KOHL.

Among the objects found in the tombs briefly referred to in the *Quarterly Statement* for October, 1900, p. 337, and to be more fully described in the forthcoming memoir, was a minute fragment of a glass vase, containing a small quantity of black powder, apparently Kohl. An analysis of this powder, and of the scrap of glass enclosing it, was kindly undertaken by Mr. J. E. Purvis, assistant to the Professor of Chemistry in Cambridge University. He reports as follows:—"The glass vessel I found to be an ordinary silicate, which had become devitrified and coloured by oxide of iron, the iron being probably in the sand (silica) used in the manufacture of the glass. The contents were principally finely divided lead along with some dirt." There was no trace of antimony in the composition, which thus appears to have been a cheap imitation of the cosmetic prepared for purposes of sepulture.

Further, Mr. Purvis reports:—"Between the contents and the glass, and forming a thin coating to the glass, was a greenish layer of a copper compound, probably a basic carbonate of copper." As no copper appears either in the glass or its contents this must have been independent of both, and it seems most probable that there was originally a thin sheet of copper foil in which the Kohl was wrapped up for sale or storage. The packet, foil and all, was deposited in the glass vessel; but the foil has disappeared, and its existence can be demonstrated by chemical tests only.

4. THE ES-SÛK INSCRIPTION.

I must thank Professor Clermont-Ganneau for his valuable comments on my reading of this inscription (*Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 116). I did not leave it without considering the translation which he proposes; had I known of the existence of Simê

as a proper name I might probably not have rejected it so easily, but I am obliged to confess that I was either unaware of or had forgotten the fact that such a name is to be found. Taking *σιμή* as an adjective, the inscription "the snub-nosed girl seems pretty to me," appeared a much less likely sentiment to be found scribbled in a burial-place than an expression of appreciation of the obvious symmetry and beauty of the cave itself. I knew, of course, that in taking *σιμή* as a noun = *cave*, I was assuming a *ἄπαξ λεγόμενον*, and that this was a weak point in my rendering; though *ἄπαξ λεγόμενα* are not unknown in readings generally accepted without question.

As to the use of *σιμός* in the sense of "hollow," Liddell and Scott give two apposite quotations: *ἡ γαστήρ τῶν ἀδείπων σιμή* from Xenophon's *Cyropædia* and *χείρ σιμή* from *Athemens*. However, taking *Σιμή* as a proper name, I have no difficulty in accepting Professor Clermont-Ganneau's interpretation.

I think, however, that the name of Simê's admirer cannot be *Ἀνικατείδης*, as I carefully examined the first letter in order to see if it could unite with the following characters to make anything articulate. In my opinion, we are restricted to *Νικατείδης*, with a preceding initial.

There is a squeeze of the inscription, which I took and forwarded to the Fund office some time ago.

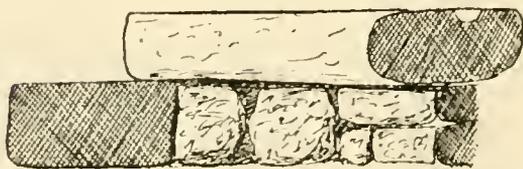
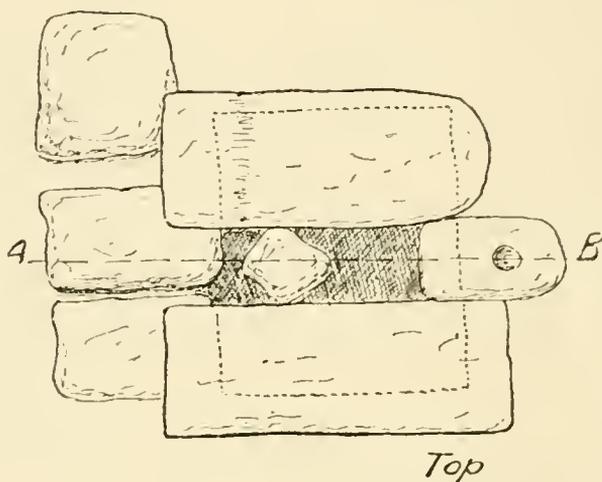
5. ON A SEPULCHRAL CIST NEAR TELL SANDAHANNAH.

In the *Quarterly Statement* for July, 1900, p. 222, I described a dolmen which I found in the neighbourhood of Bêt Jibrîn, and which was then the first example of a megalithic sepulchral monument discovered in Western Palestine. I have since had the good fortune to find another, of a different type and in many respects even more interesting, which lies in a valley about a quarter of an hour's walk south of Tell Sandahannah.

It lies by the side of a road, which has been levelled up to the top surface of its eastern end; the whole of the western end is above ground. It consists of a chamber, 60 centimètres (2 feet) high, 1·98 mètres (6 feet 6 inches) north to south, 1·67 mètres (5 feet 6 inches) east to west,¹ built up of small boulders; the three at the western end of the chamber are of larger size than

¹ The orientation is slightly south of east.

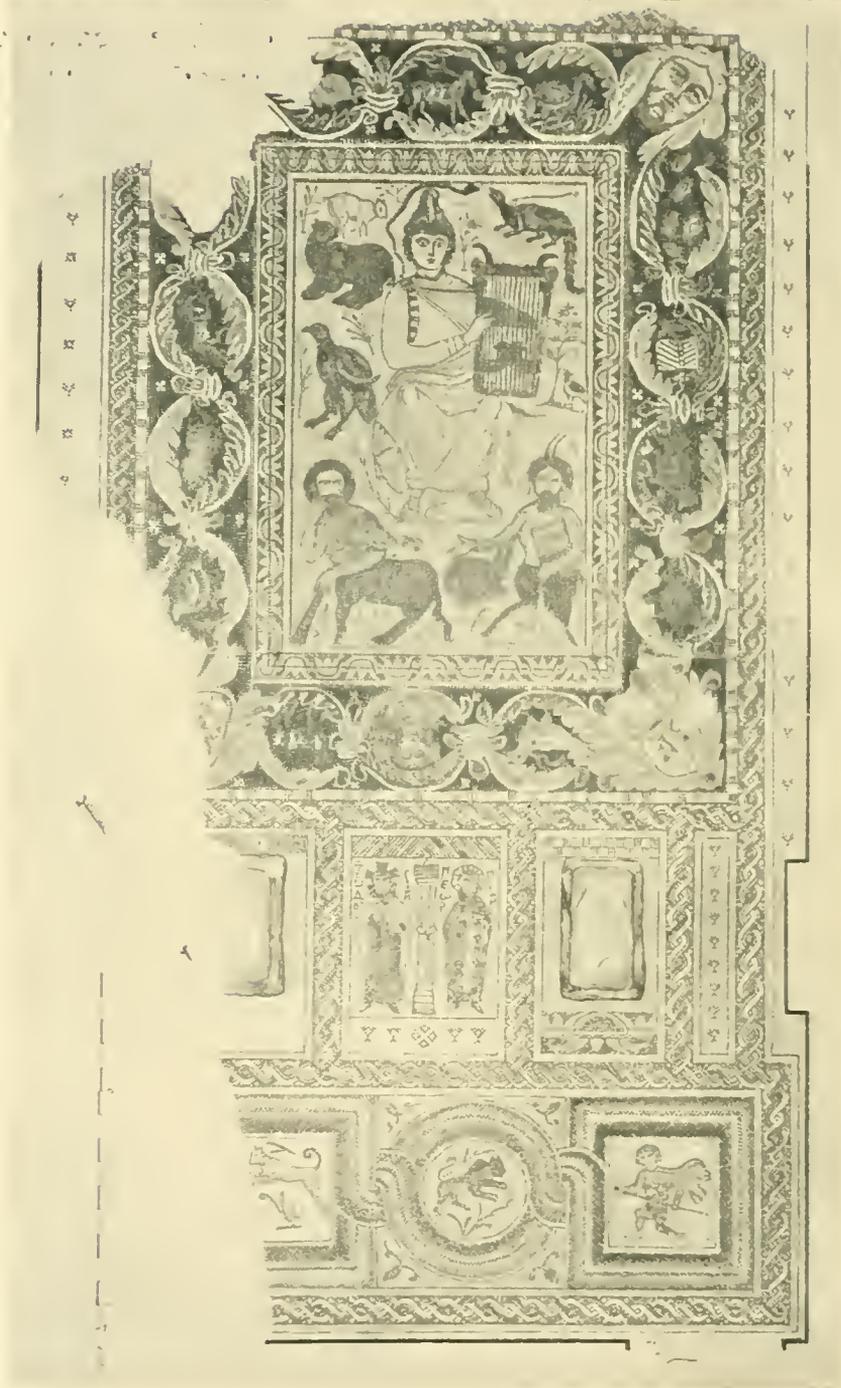
the others. Upon these, and on the sides of the chamber, rest two great stones, about 2·15 mètres (slightly over 7 feet) long, 91 centimètres (3 feet) broad, and 32 centimètres (1 foot 7 inches) deep. There is a space between them 50 centimètres (1 foot 8 inches) wide. In this space, about the middle, is intercepted an irregular stone which apparently has accidentally fallen or been thrown into its present position; and, at the eastern end, a stone 91 centimètres (3 feet long), 50 centimètres (1 foot 8 inches) broad, and of the same depth as the cover stones, which certainly is part of the original design of



the monument. The outline of the chamber is represented by dotted lines in the cut.

Most interesting of all, in the centre of the upper surface of the latter stone is a small cup-mark, 1·78 centimètres (7 inches) broad, and 1·52 centimètres (6 inches) deep. It seems quite reasonable to assume that this cup is a receptacle for offerings to the shade of the deceased, as has been assumed by Professor Montelius and other archæologists of universal reputation, in the case of similar markings found in association with similar monuments in other parts of the world.

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MOSAIC RECENTLY DISCOVERED AT JERUSALEM.

(From a Coloured Drawing made by FATHERS VINCENT, BELAN, and SAVIGNAC, of the Dominican Convent at Jerusalem.)

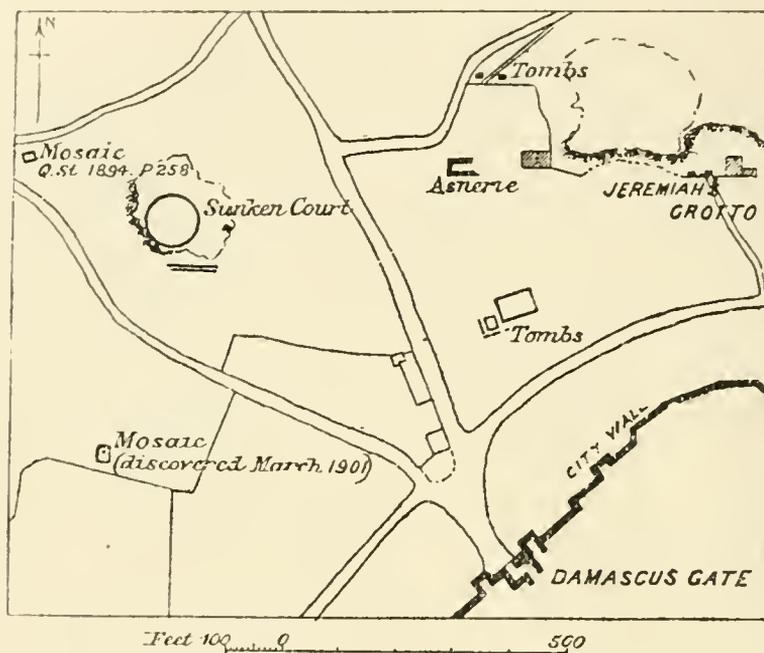
A RECENTLY-DISCOVERED MOSAIC AT JERUSALEM¹

By Dr. CONRAD SCHICK and JOHN DICKSON, Esq., H.B.M. Consul,
Jerusalem.

IN 1894 a fine mosaic was found in digging foundations for a new house north of the city, and Dr. Bliss and I reported on it in the *Quarterly Statement*, 1894, p. 257. Towards the end of March last a similar one was discovered nearer to the town, in the ground of the Jewish Colony, generally called Nissim Buck's Colony. The proprietor of the ground, wishing to dig in order to build a cistern for his house close by, came, scarcely 3 feet under the surface, to this fine mosaic pavement. He did not destroy it, but told others about it, and so people came to see it, and a negotiation for buying it, or to find means to get part possession in it, arose, and in consequence it became more and more difficult for others to see it. However, copies and photographs were taken, and of the latter I forward herewith a print. The mosaic is laid out in various colours, and represents Orpheus, and below him Pan and a centaur, surrounded with a fine frame, around which is a kind of twisted ornament of branches of plants enclosing various figures with their faces directed to Orpheus; then comes again an outer frame. Beneath are three other frames, one in the middle containing two women, with an inscription in Greek letters around them, "Theodosia" and "Georgia." The frames to the right and left contain simply a plain, flat surface. The whole is between 10 and 12 feet long, and seems to have been the flooring of a music room. The two women were once most likely celebrated singers. The design is pagan, still the work itself may be Christian of the second or third century, as in the Early Church such symbols were often used. The Dominican brethren made a coloured copy of the mosaic on a large scale, so that even each little square of stone can be recognised. They showed it to me, and I found it exceedingly nice, and advised them to multiply it by lithography, but they said it would be too expensive, so I do not know what they will do.

¹ A fuller account of this mosaic will appear in a future number of the *Quarterly Statement*.

The site is 600 feet north of the present city wall, west of the Damascus Gate. I enclose a tracing of part of the Plan of Jerusalem recently edited by the Fund, showing the position of these mosaics. The newly-found one is about 500 feet south-west of that discovered in 1894, which had an Armenian inscription.



PLAN SHOWING POSITION OF MOSAICS.

Mr. Consul Dickson writes that this mosaic "represents Orpheus, life size, playing upon his harp, surrounded by several animals, all in beautiful colours and graceful attitudes. It seems to be a work of art of high order. There is also a head of Jupiter and of Minerva at the corners of the square containing Orpheus. Below these figures there are two other figures of women with an inscription in Greek around them, an exact copy of which I enclose. It is easily read, and I think the mosaic must be Christian."

The mosaic is now covered up with earth.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC NOTES ON PALESTINE.

By Professor CLERMONT-GANNEAU, M.I.

6. *The Land of Promise, mapped in Mosaic at Mâdeba.*—It will be remembered that some years ago the sensational discovery was made at Mâdeba,¹ in the land of Moab, of an extraordinary monument, which until now is unique of its kind—that of a large mosaic pavement, which had belonged to an ancient basilica, and which represented on a large scale a veritable map of Palestine as it was in the Byzantine period. This is acknowledged by all to be an invaluable document from a geographical and archæological point of view.

It has already been the object of numerous works designed to elucidate its interpretation, which is often difficult—this vast mosaic having suffered much, and many parts of it being even entirely destroyed.

M. A. Schulten has just issued a study in a memoir,² which, to judge by its size, would seem to be exhaustive of the matter. Unfortunately, it is far from being so, and, after having read it, one experiences a certain feeling of disappointment. One may say that apart from certain rectifications of details, and notwithstanding a great display of erudition on certain other points—already brought to light elsewhere—the essential questions raised by the mosaic have not been advanced a step further.

M. Schulten endeavours to demonstrate at length that the map of Mâdeba depends closely for its topography on the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius. This is not a new fact; Père Lagrange, in his excellent little memoir, had from the outset, in this respect, made the necessary and sufficient remarks. With regard to this, M. Schulten discusses the question whether, outside the text of the *Onomasticon*, there would not

¹ *Quarterly Statement*, 1897, pp. 167, 213–225 (Clermont-Ganneau); p. 239 (Sir Charles Wilson).

² “Die Mosaikkarte von Madaba,” &c. (Abhandl. der K. Gesellsch. der Wissensch. zu Göttingen), Berlin, 1900; 121 pp. 4to, 3 taf.

have been, accompanying the complete work of Eusebius, a figure map which might have served as a model to the maker of the mosaic of Mâdeba, and he decided in the negative. He refused to see in the *καταγραφή*, of which Eusebius speaks in his introduction, a map of Palestine in the geographical sense of the word; for him this word means the simple enumerative list of localities to the exclusion of all topographical resemblance, either made by Eusebius or borrowed by him from some anterior source. This is far from being demonstrated. St. Jerome, who would naturally have had before him a complete copy of the *Onomasticon*, which he translated into Latin, speaks expressly of a *chorographia* and of a *pictura*. It is easy to say, with M. Schulten, that St. Jerome is mistaken as to the exact value of the terms employed by Eusebius. M. Kubitschek¹ has raised serious objections against this conclusion. For my part, until more fully informed, I consider that the hypothesis of the existence of an Eusebian map and, consequently, of a possible connection between this map and that of the mosaic, is not *ausgeschlossen*, as they say in German. M. Schulten applies himself, on the other hand, to proving, by a minute discussion, that there is no direct connection between the map of Mâdeba and the more ancient mediæval maps of the Holy Land which have come down to us. No one that I know of has had such an idea, and it is, perhaps, wasting much time and trouble to refute it at such length. One would have preferred to see the author occupy himself more with the topographical and other questions raised by the examination of the map itself. Although he declines on principle to treat these problems, abandoning them, a little disdainfully, to those whom he calls "theologians," he is led to do it several times, but not always in a very happy or very

¹ "Die Mosaikkarte Palästinas" (Mitth. d. K. K. Geogr. Gesellsch. in Wien, 1900, pp. 335-380). Although of more modest dimensions than M. Schulten's large memoir, Professor Kubitschek's dissertation is superior to it in many respects, notably from the point of view of bibliographical information concerning previous works; it has, besides, the advantage of being accompanied by an excellent index to the topographical names of the map—an index the absence of which makes itself keenly felt in M. Schulten's work, which is full to the extent of being rather diffuse.

novel way. It appears to me that he is completely ignorant of the little work which I once published here and elsewhere¹ on the map of Mâdeba. I regret this, because the perusal of it might have saved him from some errors, omissions, or repetitions. I will permit myself to bring to notice some of them rapidly, reproducing for convenience sake the numbers which he has given to the localities, and adding on occasion some new observations.

No. 16. [Συ]χαρ ἡ νῦν . . . χχωρα. If one restores either [Συ]χχωρα or [Ασ]χχωρα, [Ασυ]χχωρα, the second name of Sychar, one must compare for the vowelling the Samaritan form קרית עסכור, *Kariat 'Askûr*, employed concurrently with the form עסכר, *'Askar*.²

No. 23. The identity of Ἄλων Ἀταθ(=Ἀθαδ) with the "arca Atad" of St. Jerome (Genesis 1, 10), the equivalent of which is wanting in our manuscripts of Eusebius, as well as the singular localisation at Beth Hoglah, had been already pointed out and established by me (*Quarterly Statement*, 1897, p. 220).

No. 29. It is by no means demonstrated that Γοφνά figures on the map as representing *Nahel Eskol*. Eusebius himself

¹ "Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale," vol. ii, pp. 161-175. The omission appears so much the more singular that M. Schulten refers, for the *kleinere Litteratur* on the question, to the "Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie," 1892, p. 144. It is to be presumed that this is only a quotation from second hand, made to acquit his conscience; it is materially erroneous—the date 1892 should be changed to 1897. And, besides, the references contained in the note to which it points—and which are mine—concern only the archaeological discoveries made at Mâdeba *before* that of the mosaïc.

² "Chronique Samaritaine," ed. Neubauer, "Journal Asiatique," 1869, Nov., pp. 463, 464; *cf.* p. 462, and also pp. 434, 436. I will remark in this connection that the Arabic gloss (p. 462), العسكر العالی = ביהמהיהעליונה, compared with the other gloss (p. 434), עסכר = عسكر, tends to confirm the etymological resemblance which I made formerly for the name of this place ("Archæolog. Researches in Pal.," vol. ii, p. 335). Moreover, this form עסכר may serve to explain how there is introduced in the course of time the prosthetic *Ain* in this name of a place. It would not be impossible that the modern عسكر was a contraction of a series of successive forms, such as עין סכר, עין יסכר, "the spring of Sychar," being given considering the importance of the spring which exists in this place.

makes the most express reservation¹ respecting the tradition related by him. Besides, the map inscribes many localities to which one does not attach any Biblical connection.

No. 43. M. Schulten transcribes here and elsewhere Γιδιθρα, although the original has clearly Γιδιρθα, a form much more probable in itself. I do not think that this is a printer's error, because (p. 93) he transcribes expressly *Gidithra*.²

Nos. 48, 49. On the possible identifications of Θερασπισ and Βετομελγηζις (correct Βετομελγεζις), see my observations (*l.c.*, p. 218, 219).

No. 51. The identification of Κα ερουτα with Καριαθ Ιαρειμ is most arbitrary. *Kefr Rât*, which I had proposed (*l.c.*, p. 220), would agree as well for the position, and much better for the name.

No. 56. *Ενεταβα* = טב יע of the Talmud (*l.c.*, p. 221).

No. 58. [Σαφ]αρεα, between Lydda and [Bet]odegana, could not correspond in position to the *Sarafia* of Antonin of Plaisance, near Ascalon, which is very far from there. I propose to identify it with *Safiriyeħ* (Sâl'riyeh), which is precisely between Lydda and Beît Dejan.

No. 65. (Ascalon.) It is necessary to restore as I have shown (*l.c.*, pp. 221, 222)³: [τῶν τριῶν ? μαρτύρω]ν Αἰγυπτίων, and to recognise there the mention of the sanctuary of the three famous Egyptian martyrs of Ascalon, whose history Eusebius⁴ himself has related.

No. 66. Ακκα[ρων] ἡ νῦν Ακ[αρων?]. It is hardly probable that the author of the mosaic would have given the modern form to the name if it had differed from the ancient form only, as M. Schulten admits, by the absence of a simple *Καρρα*; I would rather believe the difference should be in the termination, *ων*, which was perhaps already dropped in the vulgar tongue,

¹ Ζητεῖται δὲ εἰ ἀληθὴς ὁ λόγος (s.v. Φάραγξ Βότρυος).

² M. Kubitschek, *op. c.*, index, has also adopted this form, Γιδιθρα, which nothing justifies.

³ Preceded, perhaps, by the article, τὸ, which, followed by the genitive, generally designates sanctuaries on the map.

⁴ "History of the Martyrs in Palestine," ed. Cureton, p. 34. Cf. Antonin de Plaisance (Geyer, "Itinera Hieros.," p. 189): "ibi (Ascalon) requiescunt tres fratres martyres Aegyptii vulgariter Aegyptii vocantur."

thus forming a prelude to the present Arabic form *ʿĀker*. Perhaps $\Lambda\kappa[\kappa\alpha\rho\alpha]$, $\Lambda\kappa[\alpha\rho\alpha]$, or even $\Lambda[\kappa\alpha\rho]$, without Greek termination.¹

No. 70. I have shown (*l.c.*, p. 221) that $\Sigma\alpha\phi\iota\theta\alpha$ was no other than Tell es-*Sâfié*, and I have discussed, in this connection, the origin of this termination $\iota\theta\alpha = \dot{i}l\theta\alpha$ Aramean = *ʾelh* Arabic, which is found in $\text{Μ}\omega\delta\iota\theta\alpha$ (Modin, No. 52) = Modiith(a) = *El-Medieh*.²

No. 80. M. Schulten rejects, with reason, the restoration $\tau\omicron\delta\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \acute{\alpha}\gamma\iota\omicron\upsilon\ \Lambda[\acute{\omega}\tau]$; but that which he has substituted ($\acute{\Lambda}$)[$\alpha\rho\acute{\omega}\nu$] (this would be Mount Hor), has against it the distance and the orientation in comparison with Segor, without considering that the first letter of the name seems to be Λ rather than Α .

No. 84. $\text{Β}\eta\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\sigma\epsilon\alpha\ \eta\ \kappa\alpha\iota\ \text{Μ}\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\mu\alpha\varsigma$. This enigmatical locality, situated to the east of the Dead Sea, has nothing in common with $\text{Μ}\alpha\rho\rho\iota\sigma\sigma\alpha$, as Père Lagrange supposed, nor with $\text{Μ}\alpha\iota\omicron\upsilon\delta\omicron\varsigma$, as M. Schulten supposes.

M. Büchler³ has just demonstrated by combining in the happiest fashion the teachings of the classic authors with those of the Bible, the Talmud, and the Midrashim, that $\text{Β}\eta\tau\omicron\mu\alpha\rho\sigma\epsilon\alpha$ is no other than the transcription of בית מרזח , *Beit Marzeah* (*cf.* Jeremiah xvi, 5); that *Marzeah*, or *Marzeiha*, means, like *Maioumas*, a great Syrian feast of licentious nature, and that this double denomination must apply in this case on the map to the place where popular tradition located the famous scene of the fornication of Israel, when they allowed themselves to be initiated by the beautiful daughters of Moab into the impure rites of Baal Peor.⁴

No. 86. The explanation of $\text{Π}\rho\alpha\sigma\acute{\iota}\delta\iota\nu$ by $\text{Π}\rho\alpha(\iota)\sigma\acute{\iota}\delta(\iota)\omicron\nu$,

¹ Like $\text{Β}\epsilon\tau\zeta\alpha\chi\alpha\rho$ (No. 69).

² *Cf.* *Sûsîtha* (Talmud) = *Sûsieh* = *Hippos* (of the Decapolis).

³ "Revue des Etudes Juives," 1901, p. 125.

⁴ I propose to return elsewhere more in detail to this very interesting question. I will limit myself for the present to recalling that I had already established ("Recueil d'Arch. Orient.," iii, pp. 28, 29; *cf.* ii, p. 390, n. 2). the existence amongst the Phoenicians of a great religious ceremony, called also *Marzeah*, in the *Tarif des Sacrifices* of Marseilles, and in the *Décret Phénicien* of the Pireus.

Præsidium, had already been given by me (*l.c.*, p. 222). As for the identification of this locality with Aila, on the Red Sea, proposed by M. Schulten, it is topographically inadmissible.

No. 90 (pp. 25 and 102). The author does not seem to have perceived that the *Bersabe* of the mediæval maps represents, in reality, *Beit Djibrin*, in consequence of an identification arbitrary but current amongst the Crusaders.

I would merely call attention to the localities in the region of Gaza, which M. Schulten registers without comment, and respecting which he might have found in my notice useful observations: No. 93, *Ορδα*; No. 94, *Φωτις* (too often altered into *Ρωτις*); No. 103, *Ωγα*; No. 104, *Σεαβα*; No. 111, *Εδραιν*, &c. The identity of *Θαυαθα* (No. 113) with the *Θαζαθα* of Sozomenos (III, 24) had been established by me¹ even long before the discovery of the mosaic, which has come to fully confirm my hypothesis, as Father Lagrange has already proved (p. 15).

I will conclude these observations here and leave on one side that part of the map which comprises Lower Egypt, wishing to limit myself to Palestine, properly so-called. I will only recur to some important points which have been insufficiently treated, or even totally neglected by M. Schulten.

He has omitted, one does not know why, to represent in his study a small detached fragment of the mosaic, belonging to the northern region, and bearing the legend ΑΓΒΑΡ.² Father Lagrange had proposed to recognise in this locality the *πέτρα Ἀχαζάρων* or *Ἀχαζάρη*, which Josephus³ places in Upper Galilee. The names do not appear to me to agree well, and I would prefer to see in the *Ἀγζαρ* of the mosaic the town of *Γάζαπα* or *Γαζαρώθ*, of which the same Josephus speaks several times,⁴ and which should be found also in Galilee; the *Alpha* would be prosthetic, and would imply an original form: *Găbâr* (*G'bâr*, *Āg'bâr*).

¹ "Études d'Archéologie Orientale," vol. ii, p. 9, and following.

² Fragment A, near the second northern pillar in the plan accompanying the memoir of Father Lagrange, p. 3.

³ "Bellum Jud.," ii, 20, 6; *cf.* "Vita Jos.," § 37. This is probably the 'Akbarah of the Talmud.

⁴ "Vita Jos.," § 10, 25, 45, 47. The ethnic is *Γαζαρηνοί*.

Some years before the discovery of the great mosaic map Father Germer-Durand¹ noticed an isolated fragment of it, which did not allow one to divine its purely geographical character, or to suspect the imposing whole to which it belonged; it contained the name of Ζαζουλών, and the remains of the benediction of Zebulun by Jacob (Genesis xlix, 13): "Zebulun shall dwell at the haven of the sea, and his border shall be unto Zidon."

I was the first to show (*l.c.*, p. 215) that this enigmatical fragment made an integral part of the map, and this has been confirmed by Father Lagrange.² M. Schulten speaks of it very incidentally (p. 48), and without quoting his predecessors, as is his custom; but he appears to completely ignore the existence of another fragment, the connection of which with the map I had at the same time pointed out, and which is at least as important, for it remains until now the most northerly point on this map. This fragment had likewise been published with the preceding one by Father Germer-Durand (*l.c.*),³ who, for the rest, was quite mistaken as to its signification. It is composed of these three lines:—

ΣΑΡΕΦΘΑ . ΜΑΚΡΑΚΩ
 ΟΓΣΙΤΕΚΗ
 ΗΗΜΕΡΑΕΚΕΙΝΗ

Father Germer-Durand saw there a woman's name *Sarephtha Macraco* (diminutive of *Macrina*), followed by *ὄγσιτεκη*, for *ὄξυτέκη* (*ὄξυτόκος*), adjective making allusion to a "happy deliverance," and perhaps by a date. Already, when nothing was yet known of the existence of the mosaic map, I had

¹ "Revue Biblique," 1895, p. 588. He should have published this fragment as early as 1890 (?) in the "Cosmos" (number of the 11th October), according to a reference made by Father Lagrange, which I have not been able to verify.

² Fragment B of his plan (*l.c.*, *cf.* p. 13). At times this fragment had itself been much mutilated, and reduced to the commencements of lines: ΖΑ . . . and ΚΗC.

³ This fragment, and the preceding one, have been published by Father Germer-Durand, not from notes made by him on the spot, but from more or less exact copies taken by the missionaries of the Latin Patriarchate.

proposed, on the contrary, to recognise¹ in this fragment the name of the town of *Sarephtha*, and, not without some hesitation, to restore *μακρά κω[μῆ]* "long village," in comparing a passage from the "Life of Peter the Iberian" (Syriac document of the fifth century), a passage in which I had shown that the locality called *קריתא אריכתא*, "long village," could only, according to the context, represent the town of *Sarephtha*. This last conclusion has been fully verified by the discovery of the mosaic map, as I immediately pointed out (*l.c.*, p. 216, n. 1),² remarking that, since then, one might maintain the reading of the Syriac text without making the correction which I had proposed, the "long village" being really the new name or surname of *Sarephtha*. I would propose to-day to restore thus all the reading of the map:—

*Σαρεφθα [ἡ] Μακρά κω[μῆ]
 ὄ(που) τέκ(ν)[ον ἡγέρθη? ἐν τ-]
 ἡ ἡμέρα ἐκείνη.*

"Sarephtha, or Long Village, where (a) child has been resuscitated (?)
 in that day."

The legend, thus re-established, would recall the famous miracle of *Elijah* at *Sarephtha* (1 Kings xvii, 9–24). It is quite in the style of those scattered in profusion over the rest of the map. The corrections, of an entirely paleographical order,³ are authorised by the uncertainty of the only copy that we possess.

And now a word on a last question, a capital question which dominates all the others, and which all those who have occupied themselves with the map of *Mâdeba* have asked without being able to answer it. What is, then, the origin of this extraordinary work? What is its object? To what

¹ "Études d'Archéologie Orientale," vol. ii (December, 1895), p. 18, n. 4.

² Cf. "Comptes-Rendus de l'Académie des Inscriptions," séance of the 12th March, 1897, pp. 144–145.

³ **ΟΓΚΙ = ΟΠΟΥ, ΤΕΚΗ = ΤΕΚΝ.** The *mosaïste* employs the relative adverb *ὄπου* as well as the absolute adverb *ἐνθα*; compare, for example, *ἔρημος Σιν ὄπου κατεπέμφθη τὸ μάννα*, "the desert of Sinai, where the manna was sent."

need or to what preconceived notion does it respond? What was the idea in fixing thus upon the pavement of the basilica of Mâdeba a representation of the Holy Land as faithful and as detailed as the means of the period permitted? This is a veritable enigma, the solution of which is still to be found.

M. Schulten is not embarrassed by so little. It is probably, he says, the votive offering of some pilgrim, in gratitude for the happy accomplishment of his journey in the Holy Land. It will be confessed that the answer is a little crude. One can hardly explain, on this hypothesis, why, among so many other basilicas where he might have had the work executed—to commence with those of Jerusalem—the pilgrim, if pilgrim there was, should have chosen just the church of a remote town at the bottom of the land of Moab. Votive offering of a pilgrim—or of some quite other personage—the thing is possible. . . . But why Mâdeba? The whole thing lies there, in my opinion, and, as it is said that a question well put is half answered, cannot the solution be the following? It is, of course, a pure conjecture that I am about to risk, but one is obliged to have recourse to imagination when all information fails.

What it is necessary to consider before all is the position of Mâdeba. I am struck by one fact—it is that Mâdeba is situated close to Mount Nebo; it was in the Byzantine period the most important town which stood in those regions where the great memory of Moses still lingered. It was in the immediate neighbourhood that the leader of Israel received from Jehovah the order to climb the summit of Pisgah, where he was to die, and to contemplate in one supreme vision in all its extent this land of Canaan, the Land of Promise, which was to belong to his people, but where he was not himself allowed to enter (Genesis xxxii, 41–52; xxxiv, 1–8; *cf.* iii, 27, 28; Numbers xxvii, 12, 13).

Might it not be, perhaps, this geographical picture, which was virtually unrolled under the eyes of Moses, that it was intended to reproduce in the mosaic of the basilica of Mâdeba, that is to say, in the neighbouring town to this memorable scene?

It is certain that this episode was familiar to the Byzantine

artists. I cannot just now completely verify the matter, not having at hand the precious *Guide to the Pictures* of Mount Athos¹; but I notice in the mosaics of the basilica of *Ste. Maria Majeure* (Garucci, pl. cexx, 3) the significant mention of the following scene:—"Moses sees the Promised Land from the mountain." Why should they not have had the idea of showing in a realistic way the thing itself that Moses saw, quite close to, if not at the place itself, where he saw it? Nothing was at the time more tempting or more logical.

One could, at all events, on this hypothesis explain the care with which the author of the mosaic indicates the distribution of the territory according to the tribes of Israel and the mention of the various benedictions, not only of Jacob (Genesis xlix) but also of Moses² (Genesis xxxiii), concerning the said tribes. It is true, one may say that on this point the *mosaïste* only followed the indications of the *Onomasticon*, which has visibly served him as a guide for the whole; but it is necessary to recognise that the affair must have had a particular interest for him, as he has not thought proper to suppress those long Biblical quotations which are written all over the map, and which singularly complicated his already so arduous task.

One could thus explain equally well why this map comprises not only the Promised Land properly so-called, but also Lower Egypt; that is to say, the scene of the high deeds of Moses and the events preceding the Exodus, which took place in this region.

¹ I have just made the verification. It is negative.

² This is the case on the map for the benediction of Benjamin (Deuteronomy xxxiii, 12); for that of Ephraim (Joseph) the passage in Deuteronomy (xxxiii, 13) accompanies the passage in Genesis (xlix, 26). For Dan, the *mosaïste* quotes the Song of Deborah (Judges v, 17), but the legend is incomplete and it admitted, perhaps, also the benediction of Moses. For Judah and Simeon the legends are unfortunately destroyed. As for the names of the other tribes, they are totally missing in consequence of the ravages which the mosaic has undergone.

It is necessary to remark, on the one hand, that the benedictions of Moses immediately precede in the Biblical account the scene of the vision of the Promised Land, and, on the other hand, that it is the symmetrical counterpart of the benedictions of Jacob.

I do not hide from myself that more than one objection may be made to this way of looking at it. It is not, it will be said, for example, Palestine such as Moses could have contemplated it from the summit of Nebo which is represented on the map; it is a Palestine relatively quite modern, the Christian and Byzantine Palestine contemporaneous with the author of the mosaic. Granted; but it is necessary to take into account the constant endeavour of the *mosaïste* to recall for each locality the principal recollections of the Old Testament. Above all, it must not be forgotten that the vision of Moses is a veritable vision in the ideal sense of the word—a supernatural vision, not subject to the material conditions of time and space. It is certain that it is humanly impossible to the ordinary eye to perceive from the height of Nebo all the extent of country that Moses is reputed to have viewed. Jehovah had removed for him the limits of space. Why, in the mind of the Christian author of the mosaic, should He not have also removed those of time, and unveiled to the Hebrew law-giver the Palestine of the future at the same time as that of the present? There is, after all, nothing inadmissible in this naïve conception of the reality.

Another objection, more specious:—The map is orientated to the east; that is to say, that Palestine unrolled itself to the eyes of a spectator who turned his back on the Mediterranean. The point of view is, then, the inverse of that which Moses must have had from his point of observation on Nebo. To this it may be replied that in such matters the ancients did not allow themselves to be impeded by the logical ideas which prevail in our time; that formerly the general custom was to orientate to the east, and that the author of the mosaic conformed to this custom even when it disagreed with the particular object he had in view; that probably, besides, he was not the real designer of the map executed by himself; that he only had to fix on the ground of the basilica of Mâdeba a pre-existing map—that of Eusebius or of some other—constructed according to the ordinary principles of his time; that he judged it useless to modify the orientation of it in order to adapt it to his personal point of view, a delicate

operation which would have singularly complicated his task, which perhaps surpassed his topographical capacity, and of which he possibly did not, moreover, perceive the necessity. It sufficed him to have reproduced at his best a map current at his period, and the essential elements of which are visibly borrowed from the *Onomasticon* of Eusebius. What would properly belong to him, if the hypothesis which I have just sketched has any foundation, is simply the fact of his having chosen this special subject to connect it with the local remembrance of the vision of Moses.

7. *The Cufic Inscription in the Basilica of Constantine and the destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Caliph Hâkem.*—Some years ago there was discovered at Jerusalem, at the east of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, a fine Cufic inscription engraved on one of the blocks *in situ* of a wall which made part of the famous *Martyrion*, constructed by Constantine. I then devoted to this document an extensive study,¹ in which, after having deciphered and interpreted the text, I tried to show that it must have been connected with a certain *Mosque of Omar*, of which Euty chius tells us, and which the Moslems had erected, to the great displeasure of the Christians, in the very vestibule of the basilica of Constantine, at the place where Omar, having entered as a conqueror into Jerusalem, and conducted by the patriarch Sophronios in person, had desired to make his prayer. I showed the important consequences which resulted from this datum in connection with the archæological and topographical problem so much discussed of the buildings raised by Constantine on the reputed site of the Passion.

¹ "Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale," vol. ii, pp. 330-362, § 70; "La basilique de Constantin et la mosquée d'Omar à Jérusalem"; *cf. ibid.*, p. 406, and vol. ii, p. 88. M. van Berchem, with whom I had communicated, and who had adopted the historical arguments brought forward by me, has published an interesting notice on the question, which, after having appeared in the "Mittheil. und Nachr. des deutschen Palästina-Vereins" (1897, pp. 70-78), has been reproduced in the *Quarterly Statement* (1898, pp. 86-93); *cf. ibid.*, 1897, p. 302, a short note by P. Golubowich, who was quite mistaken as to the date and the value of the inscription.

Nevertheless, more than one point still remained undecided, amongst others, an essential point, that of knowing from what authority really emanated this rescript, rigorously forbidding to the Christians access to the Mussulman sanctuary, formerly taken from their own sanctuary. What could have been this authority designated by the inscription as *El Hadhrat el-Mutahhara*, literally "The Pure Majesty"? Does it refer to a Caliph, and, if so, to a Caliph Abasside or Fatimite? To what period could we trace this official text, the formulas of which were, to us, without precedent or analogy?

I have just, by the merest chance, come across a document which, in a very unforeseen manner, brings us the answer to these questions.

I was lately looking over the translation which is being given us by M. Bouriant¹ of the great work of Makrîzi on the topographical and historical description of Egypt, when I happened upon a passage which struck me vividly, and which I reproduce below as given by the translator. It is borrowed by Makrîzi from an earlier chronicle, that of El-Mesîhi. It refers to an incident, otherwise without interest for the solution of the question,² which took place in Cairo during the course of the month of Rab'î I, in the year 415 of the Hegira (May-June, 1024):—

In consequence, these merchants went to complain to *His Purity*, that is to say to the Emir of the Believers El Taher li 'azaz din allah Abou 'l Hassan Aly ben Hakem bi 'amr allah, who gave to the lieutenant of the kingdom . . . instructions, according to which the merchants were required to pay the customary rent of each year.

It is this expression, *His Purity*, which arrested my attention. I asked myself immediately whether this title, thus rendered by the translator and given to the Caliph, son and successor

¹ Bouriant, "Mémoires . . . de la Mission Archéologique Française au Caire," vol. xvii, fasc. 2 (1900), p. 610. This meritorious work, when it is finished, will render real service. It is only to be regretted that it should be spoiled by sufficiently serious or inadvertent errors—above all, in that which concerns names of places (I speak principally of those of Syria, which are too often badly transcribed).

² It is in connection with a kind of popular procession which seems to have taken place annually at the place called "Prison of Joseph."

to the celebrated Hâkem, might not correspond, perchance, to an original form *الحضرة المطهرة*, *El-Hadhrat el-Mutahhara*, that is to say, to the title of enigmatical authority figuring in our Cufic inscription.

Unfortunately I do not possess the Arabic text of the work of Makrîzi, printed in Cairo, and as it was during the Easter vacation, the libraries where I could consult it were shut. I thought then of having recourse to the kindness of my learned *confère* and friend, M. van Berchem, of Geneva, and I wrote him a line asking him to be so good as to verify the matter by his copy.

The reply was not long in coming, and I had the very lively satisfaction of seeing that it fully confirmed my prevision.

Here are, in effect, according to the extract that M. van Berchem sends me, the identical terms of which the Arabic author makes use¹:—

وانهوا حالهم الى الحضرة المطهرة يعنى امير المؤمنين
الظاهر لعزاز دين الله ابا الحسن على بن المحاكم بامر الله اخ...

This is categorical. We have then, henceforth, the certainty that this title of *El-Hadhrat el-Mutahhara*, which figures in our inscription, was a specific title of the Fatimite Caliphs, a title which we did not know until now. It is very probable that it was not invented for the particular use of the son of Hâkem, and that Dhâher had inherited this designation from his father. Did Hâkem himself get it from his father or from his father's predecessors, or did he create and grant it to himself under the influence of the mystical madness which caused him to commit so many extravagances? Hâkem has been accused, we know, by his contemporaries even of having laid claim to being God, or at least an emanation from the Divinity. Assuredly such a title, if he really bore it, was well qualified to give rise to the equivocation,² and to contribute to accredit and

¹ Makrîzi, "Khitat," i, p. 207, l. 23.

² I will return on another occasion to this delicate theological question with regard to certain very curious texts, where the expression *El-Hadhrat*

to propagate accusations of this kind. The question, considered from this particular point of view, is not wanting in interest, but until more fully informed we have no means of solving it. It is already much to be able to say, now, that Dhâher, and, in all probability, his father, Hâkem, bore this unusual title.

It is a veritable ray of light which is shed on this point, until now so-obscure, of our inscription. We can now say that the title *El-Hadhrat el-Mutahhara* there designates a Caliph, and a Fatimite Caliph, to the exclusion of an Abasside. I had formerly discussed the *pros* and *cons*, and, without rejecting the first hypothesis, I rather inclined towards the second. It is on the side of the first that the balance now seems to incline. I will not repeat all the various arguments which I had myself indicated¹ as capable of being invoked in favour of it. It will suffice to say that they assume a new and singular force.

Not only are we compelled henceforth to admit that the rescript aimed at by the inscription has for its author a Fatimite Caliph, strictly speaking, the son of Hâkem, at least; but, if one takes into account the political circumstances, the chances are that this Caliph may be no other than Hâkem himself, the destroyer of the Holy Sepulchre, who by this act of vandalism stirred the indignation of Western Christianity, and in the end provoked the first Crusade. Already so interesting in other respects, as I have shown, our inscription, whether it is placed a little before or a little after the destruction, with which it must have an intimate connection, would thus become a historical document of the first order, since it would belong in some measure to the prologue

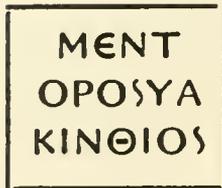
el-Mutahhara appears to designate an entity of Divine nature, notably in a passage in a treatise of religious controversy by Elias, of Nisibis, which has been pointed out to me by Father Ronzevalle, and where it seems to be applied to God. I will limit myself for the moment to quoting this topical passage from the "History of the Doctrine of the Druses," by De Sacy (i, p. 224): "The Lord, the God Hâkem, the Holy One, will show himself in all the purity of his greatness exempt from attributes." Cf. *ibid.*, p. 226, note, the expressions *فدس الطهارة*, *عجل القدس*, *عجل الطهارة*, applied to Hâkem in the Druse documents.

¹ See, notably, *l.c.*, pp. 309, 310, n. 2, 311, 325, 332-333, 336.

of the great drama of the struggle carried on for centuries between the Cross and the Crescent in the very land in which the beliefs which they symbolised had their common root.

JAR-HANDLE STAMP AT CAMBRIDGE, U.S.

By Professor T. F. WRIGHT.



Facsimile of inscription on a jar-handle at Cambridge, Mass. The last letter but one may be a combination of O and N, but all the others are plain—

MENTOPOS YAKINΘIOS or **INOS**.

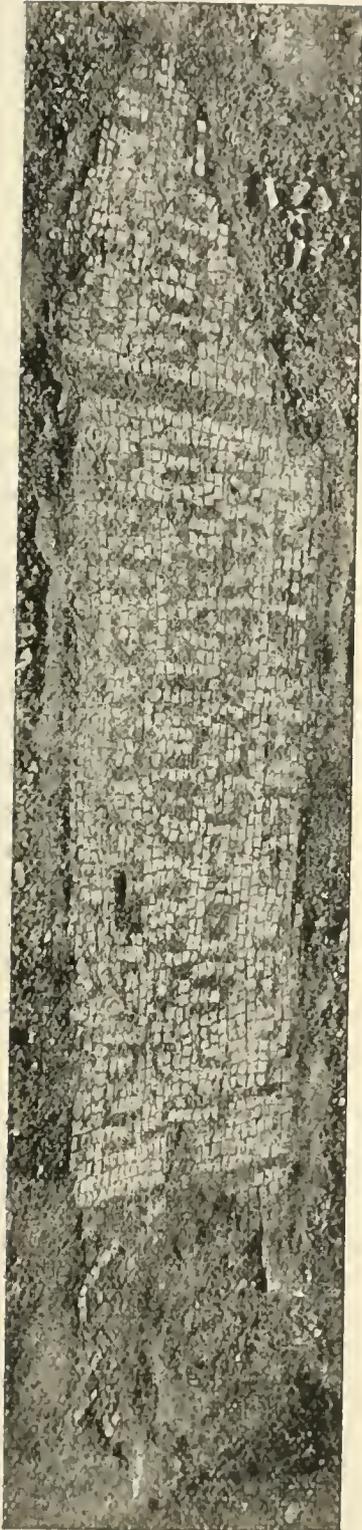
The second word in *Quarterly Statement* January lists is always genitive.

THE inscription on the Cambridge jar-handle contains the name of the eponymous governor Mentôr, also found in No. 157 of the Tell Sandahannah series. The circumstance that the name of the month is in the nominative and not in the genitive is a deviation from the ordinary formula which does not affect its meaning, and is interesting chiefly for its great rarity. I have examined all the lists of Rhodian jar inscriptions accessible to me, and find, out of about a thousand or more, but one to compare with it. This is an item in the great Pergamon series (No. 912 in Fränkel's "Inschriften von Pergamon") and reads :

ΕΠ ΙΕΡΕΩ(Σ) | ΑΡΙΣΤΟ(ΔΑ)ΜΟΥ | ΠΑΝΑΜΟΣ.

The reading on the Cambridge seal must be **ΥΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΣ**, not **-ΙΝΟΣ**.

R. A. S. M.



HEBREW INSCRIPTION IN MOSAIC AT KEFR KENNA.

PROFESSOR CLERMONT - GANNEAU has communicated to the Academy of Inscriptions, accompanied by some explanations, an exceedingly curious mosaic discovered last year at Kefr Kenna, in Galilee, containing a long inscription in the square Hebrew character. In anticipation of the detailed memoir which M. Ganneau is about to write on this subject specially for the October *Quarterly Statement*, we publish now the reproduction of this monument, which is unique of its kind.

WOMAN IN THE EAST.

By PHILIP J. BALDENSPERGER, Esq.

(Concluded from "Quarterly Statement," 1901, p. 184.)

CHAPTER VI.—EVERY-DAY LIFE.

As already mentioned, when they are near towns the Bedawîn women flock to the market and sell their products—especially milk, for such as have great droves of cows, goats, &c.¹; but when they are further away—and this is generally the rule—the women turn the milk into butter, make the butter into *samn*, that is, cook the butter till the watery parts are evaporated. And they look after home affairs generally, the children forming, of course, their chief care. When the baby is quite young it is exposed during forty days to sunshine, with its eyes heavenwards, which is said to fortify eyesight for ever. If it cannot stand this treatment it is not fit for this hard life, though they do not add this last sentence; yet there is a kind of selected breeding, on the principles of the Spartan laws and the natural laws of the "survival of the fittest." Where the tribe is of an agricultural turn of mind, the boys at an early age are shepherds or help the parents in tilling the ground, whilst, where they are not agricultural, hunting and robbing are learnt. The Bedawîn disdain the "dirty Fellah" and the "pale townsmen" as profoundly as one creature can disdain another. They are exceedingly proud, and the women are as shy towards strangers as those of the towns.

Badawy means "desert man"; and of this name they are as proud as Baron or Count in Europe of his descent.² Being always out in the open air, or under the light tent, they fear buildings as if they were ever on the eve of falling. They dread towns and government, being independent; though laws of their own regulate the discipline of the tribe, as good a discipline as can be

¹ *Cows*.—The pure desert tribes, such as the Beni-Sakhr and 'Anazeh, have usually no cattle, but only horses, donkeys, and camels.—C. R. C.

² *Bedawîn*.—This word is a vulgar plural of Bedawî—a "man of the desert." My experience is that it is only used by the settled population, and much disliked by the nomadic Arabs. I was once reproached by one of these for calling him a Bedawî. They call themselves 'Arab, and are proud of pure descent from the tribes of Arabia.—C. R. C.

imagined in any place. Of course this applies to them in their tribes—their hand being against every man and every man's hand against them, just as was promised to their forefather Ishmael; so it is natural that they should avoid buildings, or even sleeping in unknown places.

Though filthy in many ways, still I think them clean in their customs if compared with the Fellahîn, who have generally water at their disposal, which is very often miles away from the Bedawîn camp. The camp is moved when it has become full of fleas; sometimes they move away not more than a mile, in many cases they move many miles, except in regions where they have not much space and where the tribe is very small. For around all sea-coast towns of Palestine and Syria—from Gaza in the south, by Jaffa, Ramleh, Lydda, Cæsarea, Caifa, and Aere, in the Carmel Bay; Tyre, Sidon, and to Beyrout, in the north—there are small tribes of minor importance who call themselves Bedawîn, having mostly Bedawîn customs, living in tents, because this exempts them from military life. They do not wear the turban, but the flying head-cloth, held to the head by a double cord so characteristic of the Bedawîn. Yet they have lands which they cultivate either in shares with some proprietor of the town or some saint, and they have droves of cows and buffaloes, which wallow in the swamps of the rivers, and are almost as savage as their Bedawîn lords.

The greater tribes are generally very little under Government control, and roam about the plain of Jezreel in the centre of Palestine, retreating towards Gilead and Bashan in case of need; others have all the northern Syrian desert from Damascus to Bagdad; some occupy the east of Jordan plains and mountains of Moab and Ammon, and are the terror of all southern Palestine. The Tayaha and the Terabeen of the Sinaitic peninsula would never have been under the Turkish rule, few as they are, had they not disagreed amongst themselves, and carried on petty wars for a number of years.

Some of the women of these tribes, especially in the north, who flock to the markets, have more gaudy dresses, and many have done away with the veil, so strictly bidden by their primitive laws. High red boots may also be seen amongst some. Especially among the Bedawîn women are tattoo marks yet to be seen on the face, though, as already remarked, other classes also have this custom. The face is marked with divers figures, lines, &c., tattooed in blue. These markings are as old as human history, for in

Leviticus xix, 28, we read: "Ye shall not make any cuttings in your flesh for the dead, nor print any marks upon you." Prohibited to the Jews, the practice was carried on by the nations all around. Judaism could not crush those old customs. On the other hand, as they are allowed by the more tolerant Islam, their minutest details have been maintained side by side with the three great religions of Palestine proper—Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Illiterate generally, the Bedawîn probably followed more or less indifferently the prevailing religion, as it benefited their commerce or simply suited their convenience. And none of these creeds have ever really influenced them in the least. They were friends and foes with the Canaanites, had several wives like Abraham, when they could afford it, kept herds, and were hunters or robbers. During the heroic age of the Maccabees they became as Jews but continued to talk Arabic, sometimes became Christians in the latter years of the Byzantine empire, and subsequently fervent defenders of Islam during several centuries. The exploits of the wild crusader, Renaud de Chatillon, made them change the name only. As Christians they still went on robbing and killing, wearing ever the same style of dress; always fond of horses and arms, while the coat-of-mail of the Crusaders was very attractive to them, and when Islam was lord again they again became Mohammedans. They pray and even fast sometimes, like other Mohammedans, but the further away from towns the less they observe any religious rites at all. Superstitious as all others, they believe more in signs and traditions than in actual religious laws and ordinances. In fact, they care very little even for the Mohammedan religion, to which most of them now claim to belong, a very few beyond the Jordan excepted, who belong to the Greek Church. They have their saints and prophets, and it is usually round the tombs of these that they have their cemeteries.¹

Rachel's tomb near Bethlehem, for example, is the burial ground of the Ta'amry Bedawîn of the wilderness of Judea, and when a person dies, no matter how far away, sometimes near the Dead Sea, a distance of more than twenty miles, the dead person is transported on camelback, hanging in a carpet on one side,

¹ *Religion*.—One tribe is known (in the desert of Judah) as *Jahalin* or "ignorant," a term which strictly means Arabs before Islam was preached. The Bedawîn have very little knowledge of Moslem beliefs, but Islam originated among them. Before the time of Mohammed most of them were Pagans, but some had become Christians and some Jews by religion, even in Arabia, while others were "enquirers" of no fixed creed.—C. R. C.

whilst earth in a sack forms the counter-balance on the other. The Bedawîn of the plains of Philistia transport their dead to near the shrine of the prophet Saleh, near Ramleh. The burial and mourning do not differ from those of the other classes; but on account of distance they cannot visit the tombs on Thursdays, and instead visit them occasionally, when they pass near by chance, and if possible on the Thursday of the dead. In some tribes it is customary for the women to cut a tress of their hair and fix it on the tomb, as a token of love for the departed. The tombs are not tended with the same care as those of the townspeople, who sometimes have inscriptions cut and plant trees or flowers in their cemeteries; but neither the Fellahîn nor the Bedawîn plant flowers on their graves, excepting those who frequently mix with the townspeople.

A woman of the Bedawîn had lost her only son, about ten years of age. After the usual compliments of condolence, I told her God can give her another son, a compliment often used in such circumstances. "No," says the desolate mother, "if God wished to give me another; he would not have taken this one." Having no more hopes to get any others, some mollah told her that she should go with her husband and hand in hand dip themselves seven times in the Mediterranean Sea, repeating the Fattiha. She took her husband and she dipped seven times, but the husband afterwards confessed to me secretly, that he so much dreaded dipping, that he only feigned doing so, making his wife dip and he looking on, like the clown in the circus, feigning to stand on his head and looking only at his companion, who expects all the time his comrade to do the same. Very generally speaking the Bedawîn women are the liveliest and quickest of the three classes of native women. The townswoman with her slow aristocratic walk, as they call it, looks with disdain on the European or American lady walking quickly, "like a servant in a hurry."

Wild and rude as they may be, it is but fair to say that womankind, even among the sands and thorn-bushes of the Jordan valley, have a kinder feeling than men. I have lain sick and wanting nursing in towns, in villages, and in the Bedawîn tent, and they all did their utmost to make me forget the seclusion, each one as much as could be expected from them, and according to the degree of their knowledge.

In the plain of Jericho, more than twenty years ago, I had grown quite friendly with a Bedawîn woman, and one day when

the caravan from Jerusalem arrived and brought us neither news nor victuals from home, my Bedawîn friend took an old rag and blackened it with soot, and said: "This is the letter I shall send to Jerusalem, they will know well enough that we are in the most miserable state that can be imagined." And when at length the long expected victuals and ammunition arrived, this wild Bedawîyeh divided them into equal parts on the banks of the Jordan, giving me a part, as if we had gained booty from some passing traveller.

CHAPTER VII.—LEADING WOMEN.

That when women choose to rule, they well knew how, is true of the Bedawîn woman as well as of any other, and perhaps to some degree she is more imperious than any other woman in Islam.

My old Bedawîn friend in the plain of Jericho was a widow and had an only son, aged about 22. We had rented their lands to sow wheat and barley, with a family of Fellahîn. Although the young man, Mohammed-et-Talak, had to arrange the contracts and so on in Jerusalem, yet at home his mother wholly commanded him. And even in my presence she beat him and scolded him till he simply cried, and contrary to the habits of the Fellahîn, said: "She is my mother, and I have to obey her, and receive her chastisement." Im-Mohammed, the old woman, would sit down, without a veil, smoking her big pipe, and giving orders, at the same time emphatically striking the ground with her pipe, as much as to say: "So will I have it." And when the young man one day showed impatience, she told him: "Sure, you chicken, I shall retreat to the mountains, and see what will become of you." On such occasions he again became quite tame, and promised to follow her instructions.

Another Bedawîn widow, in the plain of Philistia, was very wealthy, possessing 300 or 400 cows; this fact alone gave her superiority, and everything regarding the community was discussed with her and even to a certain degree had to be ratified by her. I was very much surprised that she should not have gone to the expense of erecting a stable of some kind for her cattle, to protect them against thieves or rain or the heat of the sun. Of thieves she was not afraid, as for the rain she thought this was God's will, and besides, building expenses were too great, no matter how primitive the building might be. Very soon after my interview with her, a heavy rain swept over the camp.

and the whole region, and in that very night she is said to have lost three-fourths of her cattle. Stoically she bore this loss, and like the Bedawîn Job, hearing of his losses, she also said: "The Lord gave, and the Lord hath taken away, blessed be the name of the Lord."

A legend of an old Bedawîn woman so independent that she even braved the seasons is told of February 24th.

Having had much rain during February, the old Bedawîyeh, to spite the month, put herself and tents in a mountain pass in the wilderness of Judæa, and said: "February, the roarer, is past; I'll kick him a hundred times, for I and my goats are saved from his waters"; but February, whose reputation is known, and of whom it is said: "February, the roarer, climbs and kicks, but summer's odour is in him," was furious at the woman who had thus abused him, and said to his cousin, March: "Please give me three days, I have only four left; we can make the waters flow once more." February and March thus agreed, and during seven days there was unceasing rain. When the weather was fine again and the sun shone on the camp of the old Bedawîyeh, not even a trace of it was left. The terrible waters had washed her away with her tents and goats and all appurtenances, and the dead bodies alone were found floating about the Dead Sea. These three days are therefore called the borrowed days, as February had borrowed them from March.

Some Bedawîn women also enter holy orders, but this does in nowise exclude marriage, as for the nuns in monasteries. A woman may be born holy, and in this case she is believed to work miracles. A Bedawy in Philistia, very badly sick with the malarial fever, and whom I could not help any more than I could help myself, being badly taken with it too, told me the only remedy for this was to go to the Darwishy of the Hrari family. "God's party—yâ Hrari,"¹ is an exclamation always used when the name of any holy person is pronounced. She was expected to heal the sick by a mixture of herbs, a secret of her own.

¹ شيل الله يا رجال الله—*Shael Illah ya rijâl Allah*—is an exclamation used by every Mohammedan when the name of any holy man is pronounced. شال—to lift up; to take away from the place. The Bedawîn say شال—*Shâl*—to move camp. The Bedawîn decamped—شالة العرب—*Shalat el'Arab*. Thus it means "from the (same) camp," or "lifted up by the same movement of departure," i.e., "the party"; and "Shael Illah ya rijâl Allah" would be "(Respect before) God's companions (ye) men of God."

Another woman of holy orders, known under the name of the "prophet's foal," walked about for years, begging or asking alms without pronouncing a single word, but neighing like a young foal. This is, of course, understood by all believers. Dr. Chaplin, for many years a physician in Jerusalem, says: "This is a peculiar nervous affection, not very uncommon among girls born in Palestine, which seems to compel those labouring under it to go about imitating the sounds made by animals."

A holy woman of renown, said to have lived somewhere about the fourteenth century of our era, only known by the name of "Daughter of Bari," and who had drunk of the jug of Paradise water, which entitles everybody to become holy, was so ambitious that she tried to drink the whole, leaving nothing for some of her companions, who were already holy too. She was so beautiful that she had to wear seven veils, laid on each other tile-fashion, the lowest being shortest. It is known that no Derwish may look at a woman lest he lose his holiness, unless he be so well proved in virtue as to withstand all evil thoughts. As she had taken the sacred jug, three of the leaders of holy orders went to take back the jug, but at her beauty had to withdraw. The fourth one, by the name of Bedawy, now came in old ragged clothes, with vermin all about him; of course she, being a Derwisha, at once could read his thoughts. He now came and asked for the jug, but would not be moved by her beauty, so she uplifted one veil, which discovered a part of her neck, without effect; a second veil was lifted, discovering her chin; still it was useless. Finally, she asked him to marry her, but not only would he hear nothing about it, but even ordered the earth to swallow her deeper and deeper, till on the fourth summons she ordered a servant to get the holy jug and give it to the Bedawy.

PART IV.—THE EGYPTIAN WOMAN.

CHAPTER I.

As regards the Egyptian woman it must be understood that I attempt only a general description of her as she lives in Palestine. Though Palestine really borders on Egypt, still the great sandy desert lying between has, in many instances, given another character to their respective peoples. The Egyptians in Palestine

have settled in the country successively; the Egyptian Pashas trying from time to time to colonise Palestine with their own subjects, as being of a more submissive character than the independent Palestine mountaineer, ever ready to revolt. The last great attempt was made by Mohammed Ali, founder of the present dynasty of the Khedives of Egypt, who sent a force to invade Palestine in 1831 under the command of his son, Ibrahim Pasha. During the nine years following, while the Viceroy was absolute master, he established colonies all about the plains of Philistia, Sharon, and Jezreel. Their descendants still remain, having kept their own customs to a certain degree, as well as their language, or rather dialect, which, however, is now fast becoming merged in the Palestinian.

The Egyptian is a separate type, resembling the flat-nosed and thick-lipped African to a certain degree, but not black as most African nations are. He is a real link between the Caucasian and the Negro.¹

Naturally those transplanted to Palestine, either by order of the Viceroy or voluntarily, are mostly of the agriculturist class, as commercial men have much better chances in Egypt than in Palestine. The blue dress worn by the women is less wide than that of the Bedawin, and a little wider than the Fallaha's. It is covered with a white or dark head-dress, with a heavy black face-veil attached to the head like that of the Bedawin, but instead of being short, like the Bedawin, so as to cover only the lips and chin with dangling coins, the Egyptian veil hangs down to the breast, and coins are sewn at the bottom to hold it in place.² The general character of the Egyptian woman is softer than that of the three other classes of women already described; she is more polite, and will more readily answer even a stranger. The townswoman is scandalised, or fears the appearance of her husband or of some

¹ *Type*.—The Egyptian type is rather that of the ancient Egyptians before 2000 B.C.—a race distantly connected with the Semitic peoples. The Copts alone preserve the old language. The Arabic which is spoken by Egyptian Moslems is, in some respects, nearer to that of Arabia than to that of Syria. Syrian is considered the more elegant dialect, but the Egyptian Arabic descends from the time of the Moslem conquest.—C. R. C.

² *Egyptians*.—In Ashdod especially the Egyptian dress may be observed, but the colonies of 1831–1840 spread even to Galilee, and the name *Kefr Musr*, or “Egyptian hamlet,” still applies to a village in the Valley of Jezreel, near Beisân. The Egyptian veil is distinguished, not only by its length, but by the peculiar fastening of metal (usually brass) which connects it to the head-dress in the middle, between the eyes.—C. R. C.

indiscreet visitor, and will therefore be rather unpolite with you. The Fallaha, thinking that you are mocking her language and costume, will therefore remind you of your business; the Bedawîyeh will indignantly point to the men as if to say: "If you have anything to say go there and leave me in peace." The Egyptian may even answer you with expressions like "my eye," "my heart," and "my life," though the Egyptian husband may be as jealous as any other in the East. Perhaps the simple fact that they are strangers in the land makes a difference in their behaviour. They are not masters. Whether they live in the towns or in the country they are more or less given to occupations connected with agriculture. Round about Jaffa they are dairy women, and in the villages they are Fellahîn, but do not call themselves by this name in Palestine, and do not easily intermarry with natives. The Palestine Fellah is as proud of his pedigree as the Bedâwin, and if you ask him or her whether they are related to so and so he will say: "No, they are Egyptians, whilst we are Fellahîn." Generally speaking, they also say in talking of an Egyptian: "With my respects to yourself, she (or he) is an Egyptian." This same contempt is almost as old as history. In Numbers xii, 1, we read: "And Miriam and Aaron spake against Moses because of the *Ethiopian woman* whom he had married: *for he had married an Ethiopian woman.*" After showing why they spoke against Moses, the writer seems to excuse them in the last sentence, which means as much as "it is true he did take such a woman." This sentence shows us that already in those remote times it was considered degrading for the Israelites to enter into unions with the Africans. At a later period many Israelites took Canaanite wives, though it was against their laws. Even men like Samson took daughters of the Philistines.

The plain of the Philistines being the highway to Egypt, with Gaza as the last city, it is, as might be expected, very much peopled by Egyptians. And even whole villages of Egyptians exist in the same plain, the people of which do not mingle with the Fellahîn save now and then, and always with repugnance. In the towns of Gaza, Jaffa, Ramleh, and Lydda there are very important Egyptian settlements, for the most part such as were fixed in the country by the great soldier, Ibrahim Pasha, from 1831-40. An Egyptian woman living in Lydda is blessed with worldly goods, and with the honourable name of Sit Ikhwetha, that is, "Lady of her brothers." For many years this important lady not only ruled amongst her own family, but even had

influence on the whole town. She used to go to the Government Hall, whence women are excluded, imprison this one and loose that one, and the Governors of Lydda and Jaffa trembled when she wanted anything. But in most cases she had no need of help from anybody. She simply enforced her will on those with whom she had to do. Her sons and relatives had no wish or will of their own, for she arranged everything. In marriage affairs she would prescribe this woman to that man, as respected her relatives. But as everything has an end in this world, the riches which, it is said, had been unjustly accumulated in the Egyptian wars of 1830-40 gave out: process after process was lost, and in her old age she even had to endure arrest and imprisonment. Although the old Turkish law forbade imprisonment of women, the husbands having to undergo that penalty, the new law allows money to be claimed from women, and in serious cases imprisonment of women in the house of some honourable citizen of the town. Women generally are talked of with contempt as inferiors, and many will not even admit that they have an immortal soul like the men. But though they be beaten by husbands or brothers, on the other hand the women are considered holy, and the title Walié may be interpreted "Saint," as woman has the holiest of duties to perform, such as bearing and rearing children, and making the bread. Then again another expression for woman is "the weaker rib," and this prevents any stranger who respects himself from lifting his hand against women, even if he should be attacked. Women are to be avoided in all cases; and, as Abimelech was half killed by a woman at the siege of Thebez, and asked his armour-bearer to slay him "lest they say a woman slew him," with the same feeling such a fate is avoided nowadays. I remember a man killed by a stone from the hand of a woman in a general skirmish in the village of Abu Ghôsh; and his name was ever afterwards mentioned with contempt: "Ah! such an one who was killed by a woman." A young man who had beaten his mother was reprovèd by his uncle for the deed, and she left her son to live with that uncle, but needing her very much in the house, and to save his honour, the son came and asked me if I would be arbitrator to bring her back. We went together, and, having drunk coffee, explained our mission. The uncle reprovèd the nephew somewhat in these terms: "Your mother who bore you and brought you up when your father died remained a widow to help you to succeed in life; how dare your criminal hand touch not only the Saint but a person, who, though

old, is not abandoned by everybody. By the most mighty God, by the merciful God, oh Ethman, this same Amrié that you see wrinkled and ragged, if you do not respect her and obey her I will forbid to go back to you. She is happy in my house: may she be on my eyes and on my head, and if I have nothing to feed her with, let her sit on my right shoulder and eat my flesh, and when there is nothing left, let her change shoulders and begin eating my left." Of course, the son promised everything, and they both went home and lived again as happy as before, without going to the extravagance of shoulder eating.

CHAPTER II.—GENERAL LIFE.

Religion and superstition, as may well be expected, are in the same degree of development in Egypt as in Palestine. In Egypt the people are Mohammedans and Copts; these last have been Christians from the remotest ages, before the invasion of Egypt by the Arab Moslems. A small colony of Copts live in Jerusalem, and have their own church and khan, a kind of hostelry in which the pilgrims of their church live when visiting the Holy City at Easter.

Egypt is supposed to be full of holy men of all kinds, and of evil spirits, whilst Palestine is the home of the prophets, not to be confounded with simple saints of historical reputation only. Among Egyptian women, more even than amongst the others, the most extravagant beliefs as to ghosts are found.

The ceremonies of birth, marriage, divorce, burial, and mourning are not very different from those already described and need not be repeated. Cradle songs are customary among them all to lull the baby to sleep, often, of course, improvised, as was this one to a little girl:—

Helwé died, Helwé is dead. No! by Allah, she liveth still,
She'll grow up and eat her bread, that might stick right in her throat.

In naming the child the Egyptians make a small difference; instead of naming immediately after birth they follow the Judaic custom, and give its name on the seventh day. The child is washed and salted, as among others, and then a copper basin is put above its head, which the midwife knocks with a stick to test whether the child is fearless. If it gets frightened it will always be a coward; if, on the contrary, it is not afraid, the midwife asks the father: "How will you name it?" The father gives the name

“Mohammed” or “Aishy,” or whatever he may choose; then the midwife, giving a knock again on the copper basin, says: “Do you hear? Your name is Mohammed,” or “Aishy,” as the father has named the child. If it is a boy it is circumcised weeks, months, or years afterward; no particular age is fixed for this ceremony. In general it is very expensive, as they have to invite all friends and relatives to the feast, so it is put off to some favourable date when they may have money to spare, or for some procession which they care to attend, thus increasing the solemnity. Before they are married the women go about without the veil, or simply throw it back, especially when out to fetch water in the big jar.

Like the others an Egyptian woman may have to live with two or more other women as the wives of one husband. They call themselves *durra*, that is “rival,” a name which exists only among the Orientals. My “rival” is not here, is equivalent to “the wife of my husband is not here.” The rivals almost always hate each other, as is very natural. When they are too poor to have separate houses they live in one and the same room. I have even known an old man who lived in a house with his two wives and his son, and his son’s two wives. Of course it would be very hazardous to state that they lived in perfect unity, yet it is hard even for an Egyptian Fellah to be harsh always to his wives, and these two families lived on side by side for many years, stoically bearing the burden of their laws; and though this one was now a little more favoured, or now that one, according to the mood and temper of one or the other, it is still remarkable how few quarrels they had. Four different women in one household, and almost every instant they might be wanting the same article! My brother and I rode up to these Egyptians in the plain of Sharon, where they were gardeners, and as it was very late in the evening my brother proposed to stop there for the night. Being summer it was too warm to be indoors, so the women brought carpets and we were seated below the huge mulberry trees. To begin with we asked for a jug and basin to wash ourselves. The whole family were sitting or lying around. We received the philosophical answer that the water always flowed at the well, thus rendering jug and basin superfluous—evidently it was less troublesome. Next we asked for a box to put some barley in for the horses, but this seemed as superfluous as the jug. They never bought any barley, their animals had the plain to feed on, and though grass is not as nourishing as barley, their mules, though very

thin, still lived, and in consequence a box was altogether a luxury to keep. When I read the late news of the Italo-Abyssinian campaign it was hoped that Menelek would be soon reduced through want of food and of porters for his considerable army. After the terrible battle of Abba-Garima on February 29th, 1896, and the following days, in which the Italians lost nearly 10,000 men, the prisoners, or such as could escape, reported wonderful facts; for whilst the Italian army had to carry food for themselves and for their animals, and still went into the battle in despair, almost dying of hunger, the Abyssinians carried nothing with them and still were better off, and the numerous mules of the Choan army lived on the fields and came into action more vigorously than their fellow mules in the Italian army, accustomed to better food, but for the time deprived of any at all. As it became dark sitting under the mulberry trees we asked for a light by which to unpack our saddlebags and partake of our victuals. This was more than our host expected to hear. What in the wide world did he, living most of the time in the open air, want a light for? The moon was quite light enough for him and his families, and when there was no moon they went to bed earlier and by turns they watched, being much exposed to thieves and robbers. We left off asking for anything, but soon felt enough of one of the Egyptian plagues still extant in these countries; fleas innumerable invaded our bodies and rest was impossible. I have been out very often and had to share the bedding of the Fellahîn, and still I am inclined to give some credit to the inhabitants of the "Vale of Yearning," as the place is called in the immediate neighbourhood of the Vale of Sorek, from their belief that the *Sultan of the fleas* has taken his abode there. At all events if he himself is absent his hosts are there, and remind you of a visit to their court for a long time afterwards.

Two of the women, one a wife of the father and one a wife of the son, were almost of the same age; the elder woman was very old, being the mother of the only son. The old father married the second wife in order to have more children, and so did the son. His first wife had sons and daughters, but they died, so he married a second woman to have children. These four women had to help their husbands in the gardens, watering and tilling, but they never had much work to do, and led a very idle life, dreaming away existence. In a village near, altogether inhabited by Egyptians, settled there for half a century or more,

life was very much the same. As to the morality of the women in general, their reputation was as bad as could be. Delilah's home has also spread Delilah's character broadcast amongst these Egyptians.

These women shriek and scream at the funerals, waving their handkerchiefs: and, though Mohammed forbids mourning altogether, it is curious to see how women have stamped this law under their feet, not at all minding the swearing, cursing, or begging of the husbands to leave off because it is very sinful. Why men have accepted the command of Mohammed, and why women have not, is perhaps to be explained by a kind of egotism. Death of any member of the family is a grief to anyone, and perhaps the woman—who, after all, is the echo of the family—is silently allowed to let the sorrow, which is hidden by the man, be expressed loudly and vehemently—oftenest at the burial, or after the virtues of the departed have been loudly recited in presence of the assembly of women. That the departed was “the camel of the house” is a very general expression. In their extravagance in telling the praise of the departed the most curious pet names are invented, and at the same time the dulness, stupidity, and all bad qualities of those remaining are given in contrast to the brightness, cleverness, and virtues of the departed. All this is said in a half-singing, half-wailing tone, intermingled with individual shrieks on the highest notes. Some are real mourners, some are simply feigning as friends, or are paid wailers. The hair is torn, and the black veil in many cases is changed for a white one during mourning.

There are different kinds of mourning songs for men or for women; riches or love form the principal subject:—

•O seller of corals, come down with your articles, Here is a fair one about to buy,
 •O seller of corals, bring the bowl and come down.¹ Fatmé, the beautiful, is waiting for you.

All such singing is thought fine, and is gay to their ears, yet always has a wailing tone to ours; and even as to the words, some sorrowful event is always mingled with the more joyous ones.

In years gone by, when the agriculturists were not yet accustomed to serve in the army, and were pressed to be soldiers, the departure of the recruits was always a very sad event. They

¹ Feigning the dead person to be waiting only.

were generally bound together by fours, and led by soldiers as prisoners of war to their barracks, and thence sent to remote provinces. Such columns of young men were usually accompanied by nearly as many women, shrieking and tearing their hair, very much like the behaviour at a funeral. In modern times the military life, as in all European States, has become obligatory for all, and, as they well know that enlisting does not of necessity mean being killed in battle, the fuss about the departure is less.

An Egyptian soldier's song, full of all kinds of episodes from a soldier's life, still shows how woman is foremost in his mind, and though really a Mussulman soldier can only *imagine* kissing his bride or wife publicly, in the song it is mentioned as though it were really done:—

Born in Galiub, since my birth, sixteen times have I seen the Nile's waters
overflow our fields,
And I had a neighbour, Sheikh Abdelhei, whose daughter's face was known
only to me :

Nothing could be compared to the beauty and tenderness of Fatmé,
Her eyes were as big as coffee cups, and her body was firm with the vigour of
youth.

We had one heart, and were free from jealousies, ready to be united,
But Allah curse the military inspector who bound my two hands,
For, together with many more, we were marched off to the camp.

I was poor, and thus had to serve, nothing could soften the inspector's heart,
The drums and the trumpets daily soon made me forget my cottage and the
wheel-well on the Nile,

But nothing could make me forget the bright sun and the life of my eyes, my
poor abandoned Fatmé.

They gave me new clothes, a gun and a cartridge box.

They made me turn to the right, then to the left, and kept my foot in suspense :
I soon learned the different salutations with my gun, and was finely drilled.

I was sent off with my regiment to Mecca, where I saw the sacred Kaaba.

We fought many a battle with the enemies of our prophet, to him be praise.

After roaming about the rocks and mountains I was sanctified by my visit to
Mecca, and am now a pilgrim, rejoicing in the name of Hâji.

One day I was promoted corporal, and after three years' wars we were
Re-shipped to Egypt, and I delighted to see my sacred river.

In the camp, near Galiub, how my heart beat to be so near Fatmé,
Yea, yet afraid of going there, for fear of finding a change.

Then I got the fever, and was taken into the hospital to European doctors.
They were worse than the ague—for they forbade me my accustomed food,
And very likely they sold my rations—may Allah curse them !

Dying from hunger and sorrow, I was given a horrible medicine,
The smell alone inspired fear, and made me more sick.

I had the cup at my lips, when a piercing cry penetrated my soul,
And I distinctly heard her voice, crying, " Hassan ! my eye ! "

I flung my cup at the nurse, and new strength flew into my veins,
 I was healed, and those idiots think it was their drug that did it.
 I asked at once to leave the hospital, and it was granted to me.
 I flew into Fatmé's arms, who awaited me impatiently,
 And after many caresses she told me how she had found me.
 She had many difficulties in entering the camp, and heard strange words.
 At the gate the sentinel told her "Dour," and as she continued he stopped her,
 Till an officer came and questioned her,
 And she said: "Give me my love Hassan, absent these three years."
 But the officer turned round, and thought she had lost her senses.
 She had to retire, and happily met the sister of my sergeant,
 Who knew I was in the hospital, and that I was seriously ill.
 But, swifter than the gazelle, the light of my life came near the hospital
 And called in at the window: "Hassan! my eye! my heart!"
 And full of joy I carried her about the camp, and presented her to all my
 superiors, leaving out none, from the colonel down to the sergeant.
 I received my dismissal, to return to Galiub and to marry.
 Old Abdelhei was awaiting us, to bless us. God be praised!

The Arabs' poetry is mostly fiction, but, as may be seen by the above verses, what they think, whom they love, what they feel, can best be given in long-drawn-out notes. Sadly the singer puts her hand to one side of the head, bent as if she were wailing, and with heartrending tones will sing of love or war.

The Egyptians are called "Masarwy" in Palestine—that is, inhabitants of the land of Masr, the native name of Egypt. The Christians of Egypt—that is, the old Egyptians—are known by the name of Copt. These Copts are the real transmitters of old Egyptian traditions. One example will suffice to show how they have transmitted old customs, or rather kept them alive:—Herodotus says that whosoever killed a cat, even involuntarily, was put to death. It is strictly believed amongst the modern Moslems and Copts in Egypt that a cat is holy, and she cannot be killed, or vengeance will sooner or later fall on the person who has committed the deed. Therefore the proverb says: "The crime committed on a cat will never be pardoned"; and by dozens will they tell stories about persons who have killed cats becoming blind or ending their lives in misery.

PART V.—THE GIPSY.

CHAPTER I.—GENERAL DESCRIPTION.

This class of inhabitants, known under the name of "Nowar," is certainly the most despised by every one. They are the real pariahs of society. To call a person a "Nury" for a man or "Nurié" for a woman, expresses at once the meanest title and the greatest contempt for any person that a Palestinian or Syrian can imagine.

They have a language of their own, of Central Asiatic origin, and though they all talk the Arabic, yet they have a letter "k" which they pronounce very strongly, and by which the gipsy is immediately recognised. Probably they have always had very little attachment to any country, for they live in tents like the Bedawîn, but are always found round about towns or wealthy villages, where they can easily earn a living. They are generally blacksmiths, and as the villages have no others, they are welcome guests. The ironwork is always put away for the "Nowar's" arrival.

In Palestine they profess Mohammedanism, though in reality they have very little religion at all. They keep the feasts and fasts if the occasion suits them, and bury their dead in the cemetery nearest to the place where they are temporarily living.

They are mostly darker than the Bedawîn, always black-haired, and, like all the tent-living people, are very thin as they grow older. The young boys and girls are fatter, and the young women are often even good-looking.

They are under the jurisdiction of a Sheikh of their own election, ruling in or about Gaza, and the Government makes him responsible for crimes, for paying of tithes, and so forth.

The gipsies living in tents are considered as Bedawîn, and never serve in the army. Generally speaking, they are great cowards, and have no arms, though they are almost always out of doors. They pitch their tents next to the most important approaches of the towns, and whilst the men put up the anvil, light the charcoal fire, and put the bellows in motion, and by forging some old iron advertise their arrival. the women go about from house to house begging for bread or whatever they can get, occasionally stealing, if they find unguarded homes.

CHAPTER II.—THE WOMEN.

The women are generally dressed in blue like the Southern Palestine Fellahîn, but have somewhat ampler clothes. They have bracelets, earrings, and noserings, and have the head tied round with a kind of turban of blue, this being the veil. They more readily than any other class wear any clothing that they may receive.

Besides the guttural “k” already mentioned as peculiar in their speech, they all have a particular movement of the hips in walking, so that this kind of throwing the hips right and left whilst walking is called the gipsy walk. Whilst the Palestinian generally carries her child of two or three years on the shoulder as before stated, the Nurié carries her child on the hip, distorting her body, or, rather, forming a kind of obtuse angle with her own body to afford a seat to the heavy baby.¹ The dowry in marriage is generally made up of a certain number of donkeys, which the bridegroom has to give to the bride’s family, and the ceremonies are as short as possible. Then again, they are very cautious towards strangers, and seem to surround themselves with as much mystery as possible, being ever on their guard for fear of being known, as they generally have either done something they ought not, or are ready to plunder and steal, and thus had better conceal themselves.

The women are tattooed on the face, arms, legs, and often on the whole body; this tattooing very much serves their purpose, as they are often supposed to possess supernatural qualities as soecerers and geomancers. As they wander about the country and see all classes of people, they are naturally physiognomists, and can tell by the looks of a person either what he wishes, or to some degree guess at the troubles he has.

An old geomancer, tattooed literally from head to foot, was sitting down at the roadside near Jaffa, and had drawn squares and angles in the sand before her. I had lost my brother a short time before and was about to leave Palestine, but was not quite sure what I should do; thus a woman like that old geomancer could probably read in my face that I had troubles of different kinds, besides knowing that Europeans generally go back to their

¹ *Carrying Children.*—The Gipsies came from Scinde, in India, and their language is the Scinde dialect, from the original Sanskrit. It is remarkable that they preserve the Indian custom of carrying the child on the hip, while Arabs carry it on the back or shoulder.—C. R. C.

country sooner or later. It is no wonder that she told me many things which, to the more simple-minded, appear wonderful if not supernatural. I had often seen her sitting there, and wondered what kind of prediction she might have in store for persons with whom she certainly did not very often come in contact. I rode up to her and, without dismounting from my horse, threw her a coin, and asked her "My lot" for some time to come. She had half a dozen shells of different shapes, and threw them into the figures drawn on the sand. Then picking them up, she said: "You have a great sorrow just past you, and, like a black star, it has fixed itself on your forehead, and only time and patience can take this away. A letter is coming to you from over the seas calling you to leave this country and cross home in a steamer, for which you will be glad temporarily only, for you will not receive what you are awaiting, but the struggle for life will be heavy upon you for some years to come; and you will not be satisfied until at least ten years are passed." I now prepared to ride away, when she opened her clothes in front and showed me all her upper body absolutely tattooed, and taking out a bag, she went on: "I have here a very precious stone which I brought from Mecca, this is to be rubbed in oil, and by some other formulas that I will tell you about, *if you give me one dollar*, it will almost wipe away the black star from between your eyes." Of course in this they are quite the same as all people of the clairvoyant family, in whatever part of the world they may exercise their tricks; the soothsaying and prophesying is always a vague expression of some things you like to hear or are likely to undergo, in some way or other, and after having excited the curiosity of the credulous, they easily find scores of people who readily pay a relatively small sum for "some more knowledge." Nor is it the exclusive peculiarity of Orientals, or of these pariahs of Palestine humanity—for a statistician has found that in Paris, one of the most progressive cities in Europe, not less than 250,000 persons are said to consult the "modern witches of Endor" yearly, and such witches make a good living, be they in the East or in the West.

The feminine congress held in Paris in 1895-96 is supposed to be an outcome of nineteenth century Occidental civilisation. But woman in these lowest conditions of humanity is certainly more of an *individual*, having her own say and sway in her humble tattered tent, being more a helpmate and companion to her husband than in many supposed civilised societies.

As with the Bedawin, the woman must answer for her husband, and often keep the tent when he is away, or go out on errands when he is busy repairing some plough or hatchet, so naturally she is forced to represent the man in his absence. Again, as they are usually very poor and never remain more than a few days in one place, they cannot afford to have more than one tent for the whole family, consisting of ten or twelve persons. Consequently, no place is reserved for this or that member. No privileges are allowed; it is simply, perhaps, the right of might, and as might sometimes means finding the easiest way of enabling a family to live, the woman has her great share by begging and bringing home the necessaries. I have also observed elder women, especially, forging in lieu of the men on an emergency.

Besides being geomancers, soothsayers, or house (tent) wives, they are often dancers, for in this they are very dexterous. When they dance in public they put on a coloured petticoat, and with the castanets at the tips of their fingers, perform very much in the style of Occidental ballet dancers, though not with the same agility, but they could probably be trained to do so, if they had a series of lessons. Very often the dancer has a tambourine, with cymbals all round it, thus timing herself by the sound. They have often two names, one for the Arabic population, taken from the favourite names of Islam, as Fatmey, Aishy, Hamdy; and also names of animals, as "She-wolf"; or even of fruits, as "Peach," and so on.

They never intermarry with any other class of people, probably because of mutual repulsion. Mohammedan law forbids inter-marriages with them, for they are "forty times" unclean. This probably points to the fact that in centuries past they were not Mohammedans. Islam leaves many such questions without an answer. For all Mohammedans are equal—no matter in what condition or of what nation. But the same case presents itself as an enigma in another question. Mohammed has promised a number of *huris* in Paradise, and it is not difficult for God to create such, out of nothing. But what becomes of the soul of the woman who was a believer on earth? Some believe her soul immortal, some not. If immortal, where is her place in Paradise? If not, why does she pray and fast when on earth? And why is she to be buried like every other believer?

CHAPTER III.—ORIGIN.

The name of Nowâr is said to have been given them when they were building the Kaaba, in Mecca—which is called the “Imnowara,” that is, “the enlightened,” whence they received the name of “Lighters.”¹ They say they came away from the Najd, in Arabia, with the Beni Hilâl (the story of which exodus has been partly related in Part III), and when in Palestine they fought against their own tribe. As two leaders, Zeer and Jassas, being cousins, were each striving to be the head of the tribe, the Gipsies of to-day held with their leader Jassas, and therefore they also call themselves “Arabs of Jassas”; but they were overcome by the mightier Zeer, who, after a decisive victory, laid a curse on them to ride donkeys perpetually, wherefore they always use donkeys, but say: “Cursed be the father of the Zeer, who condemned us to ride donkeys.” But Jassas said he had the victory, and condemned the party of the Zeer to plough and hold the handle all their lives; wherefore the Fellahîn, condemned by Jassas to hold the handle, say: “Cursed be the father of Jassas, who made us guide the handle.”

It is traditional to say: “You arrive like the Gipsies,” when you arrive in the middle of the day. The Gipsies have their excuse in this—that they have no arms, are consequently very timid, almost cowards, so they always leave a place only in the morning or at noon, to arrive at the next station again at noon, or, at least, long before sunset, as they have to look out in the new locality for a good camping place, and for the most necessary supplies.

They believe themselves to come from Egypt, and they resemble the present Egyptian population a good deal, but their language is not Egyptian. The inhabitants of Palestine call them Zoot, or Nowâr, but they call themselves Dôme, and also Nowâr, as above-mentioned. They believe in good and evil spirits, like others; especially do they fear the “horned owl,” who is a disguised witch, and very fond of the children.² A white flag is

¹ *Nowâr*.—This is the plural of *Nûri*. I have always heard it explained as connected with *Nâr*, “fire,” rather than with *Nûr*, “light,” as meaning persons who worked with fire, that is to say, “smiths.”—C. R. C.

² *The Horned Owl*.—This is a remarkable superstition, because in Hebrew *Lilith* is the horned owl, and is also the name of the female demon who steals children. Why this should be found among gipsies rather than natives, it is difficult to understand. The small owl (*Bumeh*) is sacred to the Fellahîn in Palestine.—C. R. C.

hoisted on the tent where the visit of the owl is mostly feared, to prevent her coming. They have the liveliest children that can be imagined. In the big camps in the plain of Philistia, round Ramleh and Lydda, I have often seen groups of boys and girls of four to ten years run, jump, and dance, stripped naked, and as soon as strangers passed by, swift as lightning wrap themselves in a rag or old cloak, run after the passers by, and ask for alms. No sooner were the strangers gone than they would fling off their rags and continue their interrupted play.

There are other settlers and inhabitants of Palestine and Syria, but in describing these five very different populations and distinct classes a fair view of manners and customs has been given, and in many cases these very much resemble those of Bible-times.

On the market place inside the walls of Jerusalem can be seen the daily life of that town: the Fellaha women selling their cauliflowers and other vegetables; men with camels loaded with roots for fuel; townspeople, Bedawin, Jews with their long gowns and slippers, Europeans, and at the gate of the citadel the Turkish soldiers—a gathering of many nations.

THE SITE OF GOLGOTHA AND THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

By the Rev. Canon MACCOLL.

I HAVE said elsewhere that the case of the traditional site of Golgotha as against the new claimant "is not a case of strong evidence against weak, but a case of overwhelming evidence against none." In the following pages I shall endeavour to make good that assertion; and I begin with a few preliminary observations.

The advocates of the new site disdain the superfluous task, as they deem it, of disproving the authenticity of the traditional site. They assume, and some of them have declared publicly, that no person of common sense and competent knowledge can for a moment believe in the authenticity of the traditional site. The number and class of persons who are thus proved destitute of common sense and adequate knowledge are somewhat remarkable. The "Speaker's Commentary" was edited and written by eminent scholars, and it declares: "The evidence in support of the traditional site is strong, and appears conclusive." The most recent authoritative American pronouncement on the subject was

published in 1896. Its title is "The People's Bible History, prepared in the Light of Recent Investigations, by some of the foremost thinkers in Europe and America. Edited by Rev. Geo. C. Lorimer, LL.D., with an Introduction by the Right Hon. William Ewart Gladstone, M.P." There are 18 contributors, belonging to various religious denominations, including from England, besides Mr. Gladstone, such names as Professor Sayce, Rev. Dr. Moore, editor of "The Christian Commonwealth," the Dean of Canterbury, Professor Agar Beet, D.D., of the Wesleyan College, Richmond. According to this authority, "the evidence available points to the acceptance of the ordinary tradition, and to the belief that this church does mark the place where the Lord's body was laid" (p. 683). To pass from collective authorities to individual writers, it is necessary to take samples out of a multitude. The late Rev. George Williams's "Holy City" (two vols., published in 1845) disposed entirely of the elaborate guess-work and slipshod reasoning of Dr. Robinson as well as of the fantastic paradox of Mr. Fergusson. Mr. Williams's masterly monograph is the result of some years' careful researches on the spot. The publication of the first edition of his book made a sensation. Those who had accepted without inquiry Dr. Robinson's confident dogmatism, especially in Germany, acknowledged themselves converted by Mr. Williams's book. Dr. Schultz, who devoted the leisure of three years as Prussian Consul in Jerusalem to the study of its topography and archæology, came to the same conclusion as Mr. Williams, to whom he owed some obligations in a volume on the subject. German scholars then took the matter up with the thoroughness which is characteristic of them, and decided by a preponderance which amounts to moral unanimity in favour of the traditional site. Let one example suffice. In a learned work published five years after Williams's "Holy City" (Berggren, Leipzig, 1854) I read :—

"Overlooking the fact that tradition is often worthy of attention, there is every possible positive reason why we should seek Golgotha at once, and only there, where the tradition places it. Neither the Old World nor the New has any good ground for doubting the common opinion regarding the Holy Sepulchre."

He goes on to argue (what subsequent explorations have demonstrated) that the city extended considerably from the south to the north and north-west, while the third wall, built some ten years after the Crucifixion, enclosed in this quarter a considerable piece of ground, very sparsely peopled westward, which bore henceforward, or at least after Hadrian's change of Jerusalem into an Italic colony under the name of *Ælia Capitolina*, the name of the "New Jerusalem."

Dr. Alford, a man of keen and practised critical faculty, says (Greek Test., vol. i, 270), after examining the arguments on both sides :—"*As regards the situation, Williams has made a very strong case for the commonly-received site of Calvary and the Sepulchre.*" The italics are Dean Alford's.

Finlay, the illustrious historian of the Greek Revolution and the Byzantine Empire, arrived at the authenticity of the traditional site by a new process of reasoning, to which I shall refer presently, and which he considers so conclusive as to dispense altogether with archaeological arguments. His conclusion is :—

“If history can prove any facts by collateral evidence, it must be admitted that it has proved that Constantine could not possibly have been mistaken in identifying the site of the Holy Sepulchre, and that the Christians cannot have transferred the site [as Fergusson imagined] from the spot fixed on by him in his time. We may consequently rest perfectly satisfied that, when we view the marble tomb now standing in the Church of the Resurrection at Jerusalem, we really look on the site of the Sepulchre that was hewn in the rock in the place where Jesus was crucified.”¹

Dr. Stapfer, professor in the Protestant Theological Faculty of Paris, writes :—

“We accept as authentic the traditional site assigned to Calvary and the Holy Sepulchre. This opinion is general to-day among the learned.” (“Palestine in the Time of Christ,” p. 50, Engl. Transl., London, 1886.)

The bibliography appended to Dr. Stapfer’s volume shows that he has mastered the modern literature on this subject, including the publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Another Protestant, a Swiss *savant*, who went to Jerusalem in 1875 on purpose to investigate the question on the spot, having previously compared the arguments for the old site and the new respectively, says that, while sentiment and prejudice inclined his mind to the latter, historical and topographical evidence forced him to accept the traditional site. (“Voyage en Terre Sainte,” par Felix Bovet, pp. 127–230, Paris, 1876.)

My next appeal is to the distinguished archæologists of the Palestine Exploration Fund. My first witness is General Sir Charles Warren, G.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., R.E. There is no one to whom we are more indebted for the light thrown on the topography of ancient Jerusalem. He was formerly in charge of the exploration at Jerusalem, and exhibited, as the publications of the Palestine Exploration Fund show abundantly, extraordinary diligence, perseverance, and intuitive insight, which resulted in some valuable discoveries. He has at different times published his reasons for believing on archaeological and historical grounds in the

¹ Mr. Finlay’s argument, in brief, is that the Roman Ordnance Survey, especially about the time of Constantine, was so perfect that, if there had been the smallest doubt about the site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre, a reference to the map would settle the matter. Fields, trees, prominent objects were clearly marked on these maps, copies of which were kept in the Imperial archives in Rome, in the provincial capitals, and for local use. Joseph’s villa and garden would have been on the map, and certainly so famous a place as Golgotha. (Finlay’s “Hist. of Greece,” i, App. III.)

authenticity of the traditional site. It will suffice to refer here to his convincing refutation of Mr. Fergusson in his masterly volume, "The Temple or the Tomb, giving further Evidence in favour of the Authenticity of the Present Site of the Holy Sepulchre," &c. (London: Bentley, 1880).

My next witness is Dr. Schick, who knows more about the topography of Jerusalem than any man living. He has himself related in a former *Quarterly Statement* (for April, 1893) how, after many years' unbelief in the traditional site, he was converted by evidence, which he considers decisive, into a believer. But he is far too modest to parade his own special qualifications as an expert on the topography of Jerusalem. A German Protestant by birth, and by profession an architect, he went to Jerusalem 55 years ago, and has been constantly exercising his profession in the Holy City, generally in the employment of the Turkish Government, and also of the Society for the Conversion of the Jews. More recently he has done a good deal of excavation for the Russian Government; and it is this which has led him to the discovery, as he believes, of remains of the second wall, just within the traditional site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. He has lived in Jerusalem continuously for 55 years, and has made the archæology of the city, and latterly of the holy places in particular, a matter of special study. He has thus had unique opportunities for verifying his own and others' theories; for the altering and pulling down of old houses and the building of new ones have greatly changed the exterior aspect of Jerusalem during the last 55 years. So that an architect whose vision covers that interval, and who himself superintended most of the changes, has obviously an unrivalled advantage in that respect over all competitors. Colonel Conder refers to him in the following terms:—

"Not only has this careful and patient workman erected many houses in the city, but, his professional ability being fully recognised by the Turks, he has been constantly consulted by the Government, and has had opportunities of examining buildings in every part of Jerusalem. All this valuable information remained still unapplied to the use of antiquarians. I gave Mr. Schick the Ordnance Survey map on which Major [now Major-General Sir Charles] Wilson, R.E., has shown all the present levels in the city, and he kindly undertook to mark accurately every spot where, from digging foundations and examining levels, &c., he was able to give the depths below the surface at which the native rock was reached."

He goes on to acknowledge his own obligations to Dr. Schick, especially in finding levels and contours in Jerusalem (*see Conder's "Tent Work in Palestine,"* vol. i, p. 349).

It is evident, therefore, that Dr. Schick's unique knowledge of modern Jerusalem, extending over more than half a century, enables him to detect topographical indications and suggestions where the most accomplished archæologist, who did not possess Dr. Schick's prolonged experience, would see nothing. This was forcibly impressed on myself

during my last visit to Jerusalem. Dr. Schick was good enough to conduct me along the course which he believes the second wall to have taken. We started from the point where all authorities place the beginning of the second wall, and made our way to the Russian excavations, which Dr. Schick superintended, in the vicinity of the Holy Sepulchre. Every door was open to so well-known and respected a man, and an official of the Government in addition, and the inmates gladly removed pieces of furniture to let my guide show me portions of ancient Jewish masonry embedded in the walls of the houses. He believed—and his belief seemed to me well founded—that these pieces of ancient Jewish masonry were parts of the second wall. The course was irregular, curving in and out, thus corresponding to the form of the second wall as we learn from other sources. Dr. Schick told me, with some pathos, that if his quiescent prejudice against the traditional site had not dominated his mind for the first 37 years of his residence in Jerusalem, he believed he could prove to other minds the course of the second wall as plainly as it is now present to his own mind. Much of the evidence which his memory recalled was now obscured or obliterated. On the whole, the undoubting belief in the traditional site of a convert and an expert of Dr. Schick's long experience must be admitted to be a very weighty piece of evidence.

Another of the experts of the Palestine Exploration Fund is M. Clermont-Ganneau, for many years attached to the French Consulate in Jerusalem, and now Professor of Sinaitic Archæology at the Sorbonne. His reputation is world-wide, and his contributions to the archæology of Palestine are voluminous and valuable. His opinion will be found at the end of this article.

Another eminent authority is Sir Charles Wilson, K.C.B., K.C.M.G., F.R.S., R.E., at one time Ordnance Surveyor of Jerusalem and the Peninsula of Sinai. He is of opinion "that no certain trace of the second wall has been found." As far as visible evidence goes, "that wall may have included or excluded the site of the Church. Either is quite possible, but nothing certain is known." This leaves the historical evidence, to which I shall presently appeal, untouched. But although Sir Charles Wilson is unable to prove that the second wall passed inside the traditional site, he feels equally unable to prove the contrary, and he sees strong arguments in favour of the traditional site. "To my mind," he says, "one of the strongest arguments in its favour is that it was never disputed, so far as I know, in the early days either by Jews or heathen. Surely when Julian was rebuilding the Temple, and Cyril was boldly denouncing the attempt in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the Emperor would have indulged in one of his sneering remarks if there had been any doubt with regard to the authenticity of the sites."

That is an argument hard to upset. Sir Charles Wilson's own candid conclusion is:—"I am satisfied to think when I am in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre that I am standing near the spots which were believed

in the fourth century to be the scenes of the Crucifixion and Burial." I am quoting from a letter to myself.

One eminent authority connected with the Palestine Exploration Fund, and one only, can be quoted against the authenticity of the traditional site. Colonel Conder, unless he has changed his mind within the last seven years, is a convert to Dr. Robinson's "pious fraud" theory. He has evidently not gone deep into the historical evidence, and his own contribution to the theory crumbles to pieces on close scrutiny, as I shall endeavour to prove.

So much then as to the jaunty allegation of the literary advocates of the new Golgotha and Sepulchre, that no one dowered with common sense and moderate knowledge can believe in the authenticity of the traditional site! Ignorance of one's own ignorance, said Plato, is the worst of all, for it bars the way to knowledge. He who thinks he knows all has no motive for further inquiry. "I have not been able," says Mr. Hugh Price Hughes in the "Westminster Gazette" of May 4th last, "to discover any evidence whatever of the traditional site except a foolish dream of the Empress Helena in A.D. 326." That gives us the measure at once of Mr. Hugh Price Hughes's reading on the subject, and an explanation of his scorn for those who still believe in the traditional site. But the great protagonist of the new site is Mr. Haskett Smith. He was allowed unfortunately to use the authority of Murray's "Handbook for Syria and Palestine" for disseminating all over the world his romance on this subject. Every traveller reads Murray's "Handbooks," and it is a just tribute to their general accuracy that their statements are commonly accepted without question. But for the respectable sponsorship of Murray's "Handbook" the egregious absurdities of the spurious site would have killed it at the birth. All the evidence for it is given in Murray's "Handbook." Mr. Hugh Price Hughes, indeed, has told us that he "was at Jerusalem last year, and studied the whole question minutely on the spot. The nature and result of my investigations, he adds, "were published in a careful article in the 'Methodist Times' of March 28th last" ("Westminster Gazette," May 4th, 1901). I sent for that article, and found that it was nothing more than an epitome of Mr. Haskett Smith's article in Murray's "Handbook." I prefer, therefore, to go to the original source of this myth and examine Mr. Haskett Smith's arguments *seriatim*. He begins in the high pontifical tone to which the impugners of the traditional site have accustomed us:—

"There is little to prove its claim beyond the ecclesiastical tradition of centuries, besides the miraculous vision which Helena, the mother of the Emperor Constantine, is supposed to have had . . . On the other hand, the whole locality has been shown by the best authorities to have been unsuitable."

I have already given the reader some specimens of the opinions of "the best authorities"; and as for "the miraculous vision of Helena," which Mr. Hugh Price Hughes calls "a foolish dream," let it suffice to

say here that authentic history knows nothing of it. Having thus magisterially dismissed the evidence for the traditional site into the shadowy realm of dreams and fable, Mr. Haskett Smith proceeds to give the readers of Murray's "Handbook" the evidence for the spurious site, which he prefaces, *suo more*, with the observation that "it is sufficient to say that the arguments in favour of this site are so strong as to be practically convincing to the unprejudiced mind." Let the reader judge. Here are the arguments :—

(1) "The tomb has never been finished, and yet has been occupied." I have examined the tomb several times in the company of experts, including Dr. Schick, and I assert that the tomb was beyond all question finished. Dr. Schick was present at the opening of the tomb 34 years ago, and found then *in situ* the stone slabs, the absence of which now Mr. Haskett Smith alleges in proof that the tomb was never finished. And even if it could be proved that the tomb never had been finished, what then? The original narrative does not say that Joseph's tomb had never been finished; it implies the contrary.

(2) "It has been occupied for one burial, and one burial only." Mr. Haskett Smith is a genial gentleman. I met him in Egypt, and afterwards in Syria, and I asked him how he knew that the tomb had been occupied for "one burial only." He was told so by "an eminent chemist," who assured him that the fact was capable of chemical demonstration. I wished to get the name and address of that chemist, but Mr. Haskett Smith was in a great hurry, being in charge of a party of ladies whom he was conducting on a pilgrimage to the tomb. Mr. Hugh Price Hughes says ditto, ditto to Mr. Haskett Smith :—"It is evident that it was originally intended to contain *loculi* for several bodies, but only one of these was ever completed and used. The rest, for some reason (I think an obvious one), were never finished and never occupied" (*see* Mr. Hugh Price Hughes's "Careful Article," in "Methodist Times" of March 28th, 1901). As a matter of fact, when the tomb was opened it was full of human bones and the mould of decomposed bodies. So Dr. Schick, who was present, told me, and Colonel Conder has borne similar testimony in a letter to the "Times" dated "September 24th, 1892." "The tomb was excavated," he says, "in 1873, and I then explored it, and found in it the remains of the bones of a large number of persons, and two red painted crosses on the walls, which had the form of a Latin cross, and could not be earlier than the twelfth century. The tomb was close to a large Crusading hospice, and I have no doubt that it was used for the burial of pilgrims."

(3) "It was constructed about the time of Christ, being Herodian in character." Again Mr. Hugh Price Hughes echoes ditto :—"The construction" satisfied him that the tomb "was the property of a 'rich man,' who was a Jew of the time of Christ, as its character is Herodian." Let Mr. Hugh Price Hughes settle that with his own infallible authority—when he happens to be on his side—Colonel Conder.

(4) "Though built for a Jew, it has been an object of sacred reverence

to the early Christians, for it has been used as a place of Christian worship, and is surrounded by Christian tombs." The proximity of Christian tombs is just as applicable to any other tomb in the neighbourhood, and there is not a scrap of evidence that it was used as a place of Christian worship.

(5) "It occupies a position with regard to the hill beside it which accords with the Gospel narratives." Just as applicable to several other tombs.

(6) "The frescoed cross, with the sacred monograms, still faintly to be traced on the east wall, and evidently of an age about, if not quite coeval with, the first century, connects the tomb most intimately with Christ." On the contrary, Colonel Conder is unquestionably right in saying that the cross is Latin and mediæval. Any tyro in ecclesiology could tell Mr. Smith that no example of this cross is found within many centuries of Christ's death. The alleged copy of the cross which Mr. Haskett Smith gives in his pamphlet is quite incorrect and most misleading.

(7) Mr. Smith next advances "one of the most remarkable corroborations of the truth of the Gospel which has perhaps been ever exhibited." In St. John xx, 5, we read that St. John, "stooping down and looking in, saw the linen clothes lying." In this spurious tomb there is a small window opposite the *loculus* in which Mr. Smith alleges the body of Christ to have lain. He proceeds:—

"In no ordinary tomb would it have been possible to see from the outside to the bottom of the *loculus*. But in this tomb, by leaning forward and peering through this opening, one can see quite clearly to the very bottom of this receptacle."

Mr. Haskett Smith assumes here that our Lord's tomb had a window in the rock opposite the *loculus* where his body lay. The fact is that this window is exceptional, and did not exist originally in this tomb. Next, in the authentic Holy Sepulchre, as in other rock tombs of the kind, the door leading from the outer chamber to the burial cave is so low that one must stoop down to enter, and by thus stooping down it would be quite easy to see whatever was laid on the depression, generally a few inches, which formed the *loculus*. But the most astounding part of Mr. Smith's argument is his assertion that the apostle, stooping down and looking through this very window, saw the linen clothes lying at the bottom of the trough—some 3 feet in depth, and therefore intended for more than one body, as Dr. Schick has rightly observed—which forms the *loculus*. But Mr. Haskett Smith cannot be accurate even in trivial details. It is *not* possible to see to the bottom of the *loculus* by any amount of peering through the window. I made the experiment with a gentleman—an English architect who had been in Jerusalem six months before I met him studying its archaeology. We laid a white handkerchief in the *loculus*, and peered in succession through the window without being able to see the handkerchief till it was raised about 18 inches from the

bottom. And so far from being obliged to "stoop down," I was obliged to place a stone below the window before I could bring my eyes to a level with it, while my companion, who is over 6 feet, was obliged to stand erect before he could see through. But the most incomprehensible part of Mr. Smith's argument remains. There is, or was then, a heap of rubbish underneath the window on which the looker stood. Remove that rubbish, which of course was not there originally, and the sill of the window is quite 10 feet from the ground! "How could St. John," I asked Dr. Schiek, "stoop down to look through that window?" "How, indeed," he answered, "unless he brought a ladder with him?" Here, too, Mr. Hugh Price Hughes, in his "Careful Article," has caught the infection of Mr. Haskett Smith's wonder-working imagination, and has drawn the same inference from the same figment.

(8) The knoll which we are asked to accept in place of the traditional Golgotha "is," Mr. Haskett Smith tells us, "held as an accursed spot; and Jews, when they pass it, spit and throw stones in its direction, uttering at the same time the following imprecation: 'Cursed be he that destroyed our nation by aspiring to be the King thereof.'" "An ancient Jew" told Mr. Smith that "this is the formula generally employed" by Jews when they pass the place. I tried hard, but in vain, to find any trace of this "ancient Jew," or, indeed, of any Jew in Jerusalem who ever heard of this formula and custom. I applied for information, among others, to the Rev. J. E. Hanauer (himself a Jew by race), who has spent all his life in Palestine except during the period of his education abroad. He has worked for years as a missionary among the Jews, and is a learned man withal, and thoroughly acquainted with the customs and traditions of the Jews in Palestine. Here is his answer:—

"JERUSALEM, *May 5th*, 1893.

"Dear Sir,—I beg to state that my inquiries, both amongst Jews and Hebrew Christians, have utterly failed in eliciting any information confirmatory of the statement of Mr. Haskett Smith, that the Jew spits in the direction El Heidemiyeh as he passes near it, and mutters to himself the accustomed curse, 'Cursed be he who destroyed our nation by aspiring to be the King thereof.' I am myself almost certain that the 'ancient Jew,' from whom Mr. Haskett Smith derived his information, shaped his story so as to suit the wishes of his questioner. That the Jews identify El Heidemiyeh with the Beit Ha Sekelah [place of stoning] is certain. My recent inquiries have afforded me fresh opportunity for verifying this.

"Yours respectfully,

"J. E. HANAUER."

(9) Mr. Haskett Smith has one more argument "which almost settles the question," namely, "two memorial stones," on one of which is inscribed, "Buried near his Lord"; on the other, "To Nonus and Onesimus, deacons of the Church of the Witness of the Resurrection of Christ." Mr. Smith's inference is that there was an early Christian Church close to "Gordon's tomb" bearing the title which he quotes, and

that Nonns and Onesimus were deacons of it. But the only Church in Jerusalem which ever bore the title of "the Martyry of the Resurrection" is that which occupies the traditional site. Mr. Smith's last argument does therefore "settle the question" against him. "Near his Lord" is, of course, a relative term, meaning any part of Jerusalem or its environs.

Such are the arguments on which Mr. Haskett Smith bases his astounding assertion that "there is actually not a link missing in the chain of evidence which connects this tomb with the sepulchre of Christ." Mr. Hugh Price Hughes thinks the evidence so overwhelming that he does not hesitate to write :—

"I was so convinced that this was indeed 'the place where the Lord lay,' that if an angel had suddenly appeared I should not have been at all surprised, but should have turned to him with eager confidence and exclaimed, 'That is where my Lord's body rested from Friday to the first day of the week, was it not?' I could not resist the desire to place my poor body on the very spot on which the Sacred Body once rested. For a space I lay there flat on my back."

I respect and honour the sentiment which prompted Mr. Hughes's action. Let the reader, who has now all the so-called evidence before him, judge whether Mr. Hughes's fervent faith rested on a single scrap of tangible proof. Nor is this all. Not only is there no evidence for the spurious site, but there is demonstrative evidence against it. There is a general agreement among the defenders and impugnors of the traditional site that the rocky mound which the believers in the spurious site have selected for their Golgotha was the Jews' place of public execution. This is enshrined in the early tradition which caused a church dedicated to St. Stephen to be erected there, and which gave the name of St. Stephen's Gate to that now known as the Damascus Gate. Indeed, Mr. Haskett Smith and his disciples, including Mr. Hugh Price Hughes, make a point of their "skull-hill" being the ancient place of stoning. The fact is the corner-stone of their case. But a little reflection would have shown them that to prove that the "skull-hill" was the Jews' place of stoning is in fact to prove that it could not have been Golgotha. "Now in"—not near—"the place where He was crucified there was a garden, and in the garden a new sepulchre wherein was never man yet laid. There they laid Jesus" (St. John xix, 41-2). Now it is simply inconceivable that "a rich man of Arimathæa," who was also "a councillor of honourable estate," "a good man and a righteous," and a member of the Sanhedrin as well (St. Luke xxiii, 51), should have had his villa and garden abutting on the accursed place of public execution. The fact that "in the place where He was crucified there was a garden" belonging to a member of the Sanhedrin is alone a decisive proof that it was not a place of public execution; therefore not the so-called "skull-hill."

Whence then the name? St. Matthew calls it "a place called Golgotha, that is to say, a place of a skull." St. Mark says that "they brought Him to Golgotha, a place which by interpretation means a place of a

skull." St. John says that "Jesus went forth into a place called that of a skull." St. Luke says elliptically that "they came to the place called a skull."

It is plain, then, that for some reason not mentioned in any of the Gospels Golgotha was a marked feature in the topography of Jerusalem. The Jewish Evangelists, Matthew, Mark, and John, naturally gave their Greek readers the meaning of the word—"the place of a skull." Plainly therefore the name was not derived from any peculiarity in the place itself. The genitive case precludes that suggestion. The three Evangelists clearly imply in their explanation some story of a skull distinct from the place itself. On the other hand, St. Luke, a Gentile by birth, an educated traveller¹ and man of the world, and writing for Gentiles, did not think it necessary to encumber his narrative with explanations of Jewish words, and therefore simply translated the Hebrew Golgotha into its Greek equivalent.

We may dismiss at once then two explanations of Golgotha. It did not derive its name from being a place of public execution.² No skulls, few or many, could have been lying about; for, in the first place, the Jews put criminals to death by stoning, not by decapitation; in the next, all bodies had to be buried before sundown. Nor did it derive its name from its likeness to a human skull. Cyril of Jerusalem does mention that suggestion, but only to dismiss it. "There is no evidence," as Sir Charles Wilson says, "that 'the place called Golgotha' was a hill, or that it derived its name from a topographical feature"; "and artists, unmindful of truth-telling photographs, have supplied the 'skull' of the nineteenth century Golgotha with eyes, nose, and mouth." (Letter from Sir C. Wilson, in "Times" of October 2nd, 1893.) In a letter to myself a few weeks ago Sir Charles Wilson says:—

"As regards the spurious site, I came to the conclusion that the tomb belonged to the series of tombs in the Dominican grounds, which are only separated from it by a few yards, and that it was probably Christian. It also seemed to me that the cliff below what is called 'skull-hill' did not exist at the time of the Crucifixion, and that the so-called 'eye-sockets' were not then in existence," being, in fact, the effect of quarrying "after the Great Siege."

¹ Mr. Smith, of Jordanhill, in his very interesting monograph on "The Voyage and Shipwreck of St. Paul," argues with great plausibility that St. Luke was a ship's surgeon by profession.

² It must be remembered that our Lord was put to a Roman death by a Roman governor with a guard of Roman soldiers under a Roman centurion. The Romans had no place of execution in Jerusalem. Crucifixion was a punishment which they often inflicted on the Jews, sometimes in the streets of the city. Pilate would have paid no heed to the Jewish law forbidding to execute inside the wall, for he and others violated it. That he was overruled to fulfil the type here we know from Heb. xiii, 12. But he chose Golgotha for the crucifixion for the purpose of insulting them, not in order to fulfil their law.

I have myself walked over and round the "skull-hill" several times, and saw no more resemblance to a skull than is to be seen in any number of mounds in a rocky country. I have, however, seen pictures and photographs considerably touched up, so as to give some likeness to a skull. But if the cavities in which prejudiced eyes see a likeness to eye-sockets did not exist at the time of the Crucifixion, the misnomer loses even the shadow of plausibility.

The real truth, however, is that Golgotha derived its name from an old Jewish tradition, which said that a skull was found there in ancient days which was identified by Solomon's wisdom as the skull of Adam, whose body was believed to be buried there. For this tradition there is a cloud of witnesses whose testimony must be regarded as conclusive. Here are some specimen quotations. Origen says :—

"The Hebrews have a tradition about the Place of the Skull, viz., that the body of Adam was buried there : that as in Adam all die, in Christ should all again be made alive."

Epiphanius :—

"Since the skull of the first man was found there, there also his remains were buried, and for this reason the place where our Lord Jesus Christ was crucified received the surname of the Place of a Skull."

Athanasius :—

"Nowhere else did He suffer, nowhere else was He crucified, but at the Place of a Skull, which the doctors of the Hebrews say was Adam's Sepulchre."

Basil :—

"According to the traditions of the Jews the skull of Adam was found there, and they also say that Solomon recognised it by his surpassing wisdom. For this reason they also say that place is called the Place of a Skull."

Ambrose :—

"There [Golgotha] is Adam's sepulchre ; that He [Christ] might raise up that dead man through His cross. Where, therefore, is the death of all in Adam, there is the resurrection of all in Christ."

In his exposition of St. Matthew (Lib. x) he refers to the tradition of the Jews on this point.

Jerome :—

"Tradition has it that in this city [Jerusalem], nay, more, on this very spot, Adam lived and died. The place where Our Lord was crucified is called Calvary because the skull of the primitive man was buried there. So it came to pass that the Second Adam, that is the blood of Christ, as it dropped from the cross, washed away the sin of the buried protoplast,¹ the first Adam ; and thus the words of the Apostle were fulfilled : 'Awake thou that sleepest and

¹ See "Book of Wisdom," vii, 1, where mortal man is described as *ἀπόγονος πρωτοπλάστου*.

arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.'” (Paula and Eustoch, “Ad. Marcell,” Ep. 46.)¹

Let it be remembered that some of the writers whom I have quoted (*e.g.*, Origen in the East, and Tertullian in the West), wrote long before Constantine’s recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and their words imply that Golgotha was then a place well known to both Jews and Christians. There is not a hint or suspicion of the site being lost, not a doubt as to its locality and the origin of the name. Origen, moreover, was perfectly familiar with the topography of Palestine and Jerusalem, and thoroughly versed in Hebrew lore. We may take it then as absolutely certain that Golgotha was so called because Adam’s skull was believed to have been found there, and to lie buried with his body. The passage from St. Paul (Eph. v, 14) referred to above by St. Jerome is a quotation; but the Apostle does not indicate its source. It is poetical in structure and the reference to Christ indicates a Christian origin. It is doubtless a quotation from one of the “hymns and spiritual songs,” of which the Apostle makes mention elsewhere, and it embalms an amalgamation of Jewish and Christian tradition, namely, that some of the second Adam’s blood percolated through the ground, or through the fissure in the rock, and touched the body of the first Adam, who was thus one of those who rose from the dead, as related in St. Matthew xxvii, 52, 53.

Golgotha was, therefore, to Jew and Christian alike one of the holiest spots on earth. The Jew believed it to be the burial place of the first man, and the spot predestined to be the scene of the victory over the Evil One promised to the Woman’s Seed. He believed it also to be the scene of the arrested sacrifice of his son by the Father of the Faithful.² Here then we have a clue to the triple crucifixion on Golgotha. The Jews forced Pilate, against his conscience and his wife’s warning, to crucify a man whom he had publicly pronounced innocent, and whose mysterious words bewildered and awed the superstitious and pusillanimous Procurator. The threat to denounce him to Cæsar as a fautor of sedition cowed the wretched man into obedience to the frenzied cries of “Crucify Him!” But the iron of humiliation entered into the proud Roman’s soul, and he determined on revenge. And what revenge so triumphant as to crucify his tormentors’ Victim, with a robber right and left of Him, on sacred Golgotha, with the mock trilingual title, which infuriated them, over His head? Hence the emphasis with which the Evangelists tell that the Crucifixion was on Golgotha, where, according to the hymn quoted by St. Paul, the New Man met the Old and revived

¹ Cf. also Tertullian, “Adv. Marc.,” ii, p. 883. I have given the above quotations in the original, with references, in an article on “The Site of Golgotha” in the “Contemporary Review” of February, 1893.

² The narrative in Gen. xxii does not say that the sacrifice of Isaac was to take place on Mount Moriah, but “on one of the mountains” in “the Land of Moriah.” Moriah thus appears at that time to have embraced the whole amphitheatre of hills which surrounded Jerusalem.

him by His life-giving blood. To the minds of the early Hebrew Christians, therefore, Golgotha presented no picture of executed criminals or hideous figure of death with its eyeless skull, but a place *sacro-sanct* in their national traditions which the malice of the Jews and the vindictiveness of Pilate had unknowingly conspired to fulfil. Golgotha was thus a place of which the vicinity would naturally be coveted by rich Jews of distinction and piety for their villas and gardens and family tombs.

It is, therefore, evident that Golgotha was a place which would not easily pass out of the memories either of the Jews or Hebrew Christians.

Let us now consider the principal objections against the traditional site. A learned supporter of the spurious site writes as follows:—

“As to the tradition of ‘more than fifteen centuries,’ what is it worth in the face of the fact that at and after the Siege of Jerusalem by Titus the Christians fled from the city, and the Jewish population were either slain or carried captive; so that for perhaps a century or more tradition was absolutely broken, while the whole interior of the city was reduced to ruins and most of the old landmarks were erased?”¹

“The Jewish population either slain or carried captive,” forsooth! when within about 60 years they reconquered their metropolis and most of the strongholds of Palestine, and held their own for two years against the might of the Roman Empire. And as to the Christians’ flight to Pella beyond the Jordan, the exile lasted only about two years. After the fall of Jerusalem many of them returned to the city, and their ecclesiastical organisation then, as is evident from Eusebius, continued without interruption. Moreover, even those who abode at Pella till the reign of Trajan “enjoyed,” as Gibbon (i, p. 461) says, “the comfort of making frequent visits to the Holy City,” including, doubtless, pilgrimages to the sacred shrines of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. Yet we are assured by objectors to the traditional site, from Robinson downwards, that both Jews and Christians were excluded from the Holy City from the capture of Jerusalem by Titus to the reign of Constantine! After the insurrection under Bar-Cochebas the Jews were forbidden and forcibly prevented from approaching the city within a distance of seven miles. That prohibition lasted for some centuries, though Constantine relaxed it so far as to allow the Jews, on certain conditions, to behold the Holy City from the neighbouring hills. But the Christians of Palestine were exempted from the edict of proscription. “They elected Marcus for their bishop, a prelate of the race of the Gentiles. . . . At his persuasion the most considerable part of the congregation renounced the Mosaic law, in the practice of which they had persevered for a century. By this sacrifice of their habits and prejudices they purchased a free admission to the colony of Hadrian” (Gibbon, i, 461).

But “the city was reduced to ruins and most of the old landmarks were erased.” How curious that able men should make random assertions without taking the trouble to verify them, and that, too, in a matter

¹ Letter to the “Guardian” in December, 1892, from Professor Hull.

where so much depends on exact accuracy. The destruction of Jerusalem was not nearly so thorough as many imagine. Josephus tells us that Titus gave orders to spare the principal towers which defended Jerusalem, as a lasting proof of the strength of the fortifications which cost him so much labour and blood to master. Titus, moreover, left the whole of the north-western part of the city comparatively uninjured, and repaired the breaches in the wall to protect the garrison which remained to guard his conquest. That quarter of the city, therefore, underwent no material change, and it is there that the traditional site lies. The garrison left by Titus consisted of the tenth legion, some squadrons of cavalry, and several cohorts of infantry. A quarter of the city where such a body of troops could be lodged cannot have been seriously demolished, and there is no reason to suppose that either Golgotha or the Holy Sepulchre underwent any change at all.

Nor was the traditional site affected by the subsequent rebellion of the Jews and the recapture and more complete destruction of the Holy City. Some 10 years after our Lord's crucifixion Agrippa built the third wall, leaving a wide and thinly-peopled space between it and the second wall on the north-western side. This we may infer from the fact that Titus had during the siege a large body of troops encamped in this space between the two walls. To blot out the rebellious city from the page of history, and to disgust the Jews with it for ever, the Roman authorities did two things: they demolished the inhabited part of the old city—the city within the second wall; transformed what remained into an Italic colony, and gave it a Roman name, which, however, never took root, and the city outside the second wall was commonly called “New Jerusalem” —an important link in the chain of evidence, as we shall see presently. The second thing that the Roman authorities did was to erect a temple to Jupiter, with two idol statues, on the site of the temple of Jehovah, and a temple with statue to Venus (the Hebrew Astarte) over Golgotha, the second sacred shrine of the Jews. The statues of Jupiter were still standing *in situ* while Constantine's Basilica over the Holy Sepulchre was in building, and Roman coins, with inscription and picture, attest the existence of the temple of Astarte over Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. That temple remained till it was removed by Constantine's order. So that, in matter of fact, there never has been any *hiatus* in the evidence for the traditional site. Except during the two years' siege by Titus, Jerusalem has never been without a Christian community. The huge mound of earth which was piled over Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre as a foundation for the idol temple did indeed conceal Golgotha and the Sepulchre; but it also marked the site indubitably. We have thus two pieces of evidence, each of them sufficient to attest the site—a resident Christian community without break, and a conspicuous heathen temple over the traditional site.

This is the state of facts on which we are assured that all knowledge of the genuine site of the Holy Sepulchre was lost between A.D. 70 and A.D. 1867, when it was discovered and verified by a chain of evidence in

which "there is actually not a link missing." That evidence is in its integrity before the reader. And the propounders and supporters of this amazing assertion wave aside, as persons either grossly ignorant or incapable of weighing evidence, all who believe in the traditional site. They are assumed to be, like Constantine and the Christians of Palestine in A.D. 326, the victims of "a pious fraud," practised by Bishop Macarins of Jerusalem and some clerical confederates at that date. A gentleman writing against myself on this subject eight years ago declared that "the age of Constantine and Helena was one in which religious credulity ran mad." And Mr. Hugh Price Hughes has recently informed the readers of the "Westminster Gazette" (in a letter dated May 13th) that "the fourth century" was "a very ignorant and superstitious century." One is obliged to say, with all courtesy, that assertions like these prove the writers to have no real knowledge of the literature or intellectual history of the age which they thus characterise. If we take the period embraced by the united ages of Helena and Constantine, it contains such a galaxy of illustrious names in almost every department of learning and intellectual effort as no period of Christian history within the same limits of time can show. It embraces names like Origen and Tertullian at the one end, with the towering names of Augustin and Jerome at the other, and in the list are Athanasius, the two Cyrils, Basil, Gregory of Nyssa and Gregory of Nazianzus, Chrysostom, the two Eusebiuses, Ambrose, and a host of others. It was an age also remarkable, not for credulity, but for critical inquiry. Arian and his followers—a brilliant band intellectually—aided by all the intellectual forces of Paganism, were finally marshalled by the Emperor Julian against Christianity. Never in the history of Christianity has there been such a trial of strength, exhibiting such varied skill and resource in offence and defence, as there was then between the assailants and defenders of Christianity. "Pious fraud," indeed! when there was a legion of keen critics—Pagan, Jew, and heretic—to pounce on any weak spot in the armour of Christianity. Was the sneering and agile-minded Julian—who took Jews as well as Pagans under his patronage in his fanatical campaign against Christianity—likely to endure in silence Cyril's denunciations, delivered in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, against the Emperor's attempt to rebuild the Temple, if he could have pointed to the Holy Sepulchre, 400 yards distant, as "a pious fraud"? For if fraud there had been it was then too fresh to escape detection. The silence of Julian and his malevolent allies in Palestine is the best proof that there was no case against the traditional site.

The one authentic account of the recovery—not "discovery," for it was never lost—of the Holy Sepulchre is that of Eusebius, Bishop of Cæsarea, in Palestine, who was an eye-witness of what he relates. He was one of the most distinguished writers of that or of any age, and one of the least credulous of mankind. He possessed the historical faculty in an eminent degree, and was of a cautious and critical, not to say sceptical, temper; so cautious, indeed, was he that he accepted the Nicene definition

of Christ's Divinity with reluctance, and was suspected of leaning towards semi-Arianism. And his reputation for critical sagacity and historical accuracy has risen with our fuller knowledge of those times. The joint editors of the Apocryphal Gospel and Revelation of St. Peter (Canon Armitage Robinson and Mr. James) pay a well-deserved tribute to his accuracy and critical acumen, and refer to him as "the Father of Church History," "who seems so well to have divined what would be of interest to readers who lived 15 centuries later than his own time" (p. 15). Eusebius gives the particulars of the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre in his "Life of Constantine" (chaps. xxvi xlvi), which I have summarised as follows in my article in the "Contemporary Review":—

"The statement of Eusebius is that, in the year after the Nicene Council, Constantine, moved by a Divine impulse, after establishing peace throughout his empire, determined to do honour to the site of our Lord's resurrection, and accordingly commanded a church (*ἐκκλήριον*) to be built there. Neither here nor elsewhere in the historian's narrative is there the slightest indication that there was any doubt as to the precise locality. Eusebius proceeds:—

"'This cave of salvation (*τὸ σωτήριον ἄντρον*) certain impious and godless persons had thought to remove entirely from the eyes of men, supposing in their folly that they should be able effectually to obscure the truth. Accordingly, with immense labour they brought a quantity of earth from a distance (*ἐξωθεν*) and covered up the whole place. Then, having raised this to a moderate height, they paved it with stone, concealing the divine cave (*τὸ θεῖον ἄντρον*) beneath this huge mound.'

"On this mound, he goes on to say, they erected a shrine for an idolatrous statue of Venus, 'and offered detestable oblations there on profane and accursed altars.' 'These devices of impious and wicked men against the truth had prevailed for a long time, nor had any of the governors, or military commanders, or even any of the Emperors themselves, ever yet appeared who had courage to abolish these daring impieties, except our Prince, befriended by God.' Here we have a proof that the site of Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre and the purpose of the mound were known all along to the Roman authorities. By Constantine's order the temple and statue were destroyed. But 'the Emperor's zeal did not end there.' He ordered 'the materials, stones and timber, to be carted as far as possible from that quarter.' He also ordered 'that the ground itself should be dug up to a considerable depth,' so that the soil brought thither might be removed 'to a far distant place.' 'And when another level appeared instead of the former—viz., the ground which lay below—there at length appeared, beyond all hope, the solemn and all-holy witness (*μαρτύριον*) of the Saviour's resurrection; and thus the cave, a holy of holies, imaged the Saviour's revival, and, after being sunk in darkness, came to light again, and to those who witnessed the sight presented a manifest history of the wonders which had then been done,

witnessing by facts more eloquently than by any voice the resurrection of the Saviour.’”

Not a word does Eusebius say about any discovery of the Holy Sepulchre by means of miracle or Divine interposition. His narrative implies throughout that the site was known to everybody. He does say that the recovery was beyond all hope (*παρ' ἐλπίδα πάντων*): and Constantine's letter to Macarius (given by Eusebius) speaks of the recovery of the Sepulchre as “this marvel” (*τοῦ θαύματος τούτου*). But the meaning is plain. The object of Hadrian having been to desecrate and efface a sacred Jewish shrine, it might well seem a “marvel” “beyond all hope” that, when the temple and artificial mound were removed, the Sepulchre was found intact. Not a word or hint does Eusebius drop of any miracle connected with the recovery of the Sepulchre. He does not say a word about Helena in this connection, though he says that she built a church at Bethlehem and another on the Mount of Olives. He is equally silent about the discovery of the crosses. Authentic history says nothing about the discovery of the site of the Sepulchre by Helena. Eusebius declares repeatedly and emphatically, and Constantine's own letter confirms him, that the desire to recover the Sepulchre originated, from a Divine impulse, in the Emperor's own mind long before he carried out his wish. Three historians (Socrates, Theodoret, and Sozomen), writing a century later, relate, with substantial agreement, that Helena, “divinely moved in her dreams” (Socr., Lib. i, c. xiii), made a journey to Jerusalem in her old age (about 80), and became thus the bearer of Constantine's (her son's) letter to the Bishop of Jerusalem, commissioning him to erect a splendid church over the Sepulchre regardless of cost. Helena does not appear to have known accurately the details of Hadrian's endeavour to efface all trace of Golgotha, and Socrates relates that on her arrival in Jerusalem she eagerly inquired where the Sepulchre was. “But when she was informed of the facts” she had the idol removed and the mound cleared away, when three crosses were found in the Sepulchre, with the *titulus* over the Saviour's cross lying detached. Helena “was not a little distressed” by the uncertainty as to which was the true cross. “Not long afterwards” the doubt was resolved by the application of the three crosses to the body of a woman in Jerusalem who was seriously ill. Two crosses touched her in vain; but the touch of the third cross cured her. Theodoret (Lib. i, c. xviii) and Sozomen (Lib. ii, c. 1) agree with Socrates. In no single account is there the slightest reference to any dream, vision, or miracle ancillary to the recovery of the Sepulchre. They all agree that the site was well known, though there was fear that the Sepulchre might have been destroyed in the construction of the superincumbent mound and temple. The only miracle mentioned is the cure of the sick woman by the touch of the cross, and to that Eusebius makes no allusion. And to dismiss that miracle contemptuously is hardly philosophical when men, who do not believe in Christianity, accept the evidence for the miracles of Port Royal and the stigmata of Louise Latour. I should have thought, too, that the recollection of a passage in Holy Writ

(Acts xix, 11, 12) would have restrained Mr. Hugh Price Hughes from an insinuation and a sneer which others might turn against what he reveres. I am, here, however, concerned only to show that the solitary miracle related in this connection has nothing to do with the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre, and is not even mentioned by the eminent and cautious historian who was an eye-witness of what he relates.

And now I proceed to another link in the chain of evidence for the traditional site which of itself goes far to settle the question. In his "Life of Constantine" (Lib. iii, c. 32), Eusebius says that "on the very spot which witnessed the Saviour's sufferings a new Jerusalem was built over against the old (*ἀντιπρόσωπος τῇ παλαίᾳ*), so celebrated, which, since the foul stain of guilt brought on it by the murder of the Lord, had experienced the last extremity of desolation, the effect of divine judgment on its impious people. It was opposite this city that the Emperor now began to rear a trophy of the Saviour's victory over death." This alone seems to me decisive of the controversy. The "New Jerusalem" was the city outside the second wall. Constantine's church was in the "New Jerusalem," "over against the old," which crucified the Lord "without the gate."

It seems that the revolt under Hadrian resulted in the entire destruction of the city inside the second wall. The passage just quoted from Eusebius implies this, and it remained in ruins still later. For Jerome speaks of that part of Jerusalem in his day as reduced to cinders and ashes.¹

Those who repeat Robinson's coarse and absurd imputation of "pious

¹ Referring to the gates of Sion, which David "loved above all the tabernacles of Jacob," Jerome says: "Non eas portas quas hodie cernimus in favillam et cinerem dissolutas" ("Ep. Ad. Eustoch. Epitaph. Paulæ"—Erasmus's Basle folio edition of 1565, tom. i, p. 172). I give these particulars because an editorial note calls attention to the fact that Hadrian so enlarged *Ælia Capitolina* ("New Jerusalem") towards the north that the places of the Resurrection and Crucifixion, "which had formerly been outside the walls," were in the time of Jerome surrounded by a wall, *i.e.*, the third wall (*ut loca Resurrectionis et inventæ crucis, quæ prius intra mœnia fuerant ætate divi Hieronymi, septentrionali muro circumdarentur, ut ipse testatur alibi*). From his use of the plural (*loca*) Jerome evidently believed that the Cross was not found in the Sepulchre, but in some cave at Golgotha, which is more probable. The unclean instruments of death had of course to be hurriedly hidden away before sundown, and there is nothing improbable in their recovery during the excavation of A.D. 326. The course of the second wall, we thus know, was visible in Jerome's time, and his testimony as an eye-witness to its being then inside the traditional site is surely conclusive. Eucherius visited Jerusalem about A.D. 430, and describes it minutely, and especially Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre. He, too, says plainly: "These places are seen outside Mount Sion, where a knoll of scanty size stands on the north" (*see "Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem," p. 18*). But outside Mount Sion means outside the second wall, which enclosed Sion.

fraud" fail to see the extraordinary inversion of reasoning which their accusation involves. Persons who wish to palm off a pious fraud try to impart verisimilitude to their invention. They choose what is probable and plausible, not what is violently improbable. If Macarius and his supposed confederates—assuming for argument's sake the site to have been lost—had wished to gain credence for their alleged fraud, would they not have fixed it outside what was then the exterior wall? They knew that Golgotha was outside the wall at the time of the Crucifixion: why did they select a site inside the wall? Only one answer is possible: the genuine site was known to everybody. We may confidently apply Tertullian's axiomatic paradox to their choice: *credo quia impossibile*. The choice was an impossible one except on a basis of absolute certainty.

I must hurry over some further pieces of evidence. Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, delivered his Catechetical Lectures in Constantine's Basilica. He testifies that in his time "there was a garden where Christ was crucified," "for though it was much adorned by the gifts of the Emperor, yet it was formerly a garden, and the evidence and remains of this continue (*σύμβολα τούτου μένει καὶ λείφωνα*)." ¹ This is a most important fact. For by Jewish law no gardens were allowed inside the walls of the old city, with one exception—a rose garden, which dated from the time of the prophets.²

There is evidence that Joseph's garden remained as Cyril describes it for centuries afterwards. Saint Willibald was in Jerusalem about A.D. 722. He visited Golgotha and Constantine's Church, and reports that "they were formerly outside of Jerusalem." "And near at hand is the garden in which was the sepulchre of our Saviour cut in the rock. . . . The bed on which our Lord's body rested stands within the rock on the north side, to the right of a man entering the Sepulchre to pray." ³

A Moslem traveller, 'Ali of Herat, describing the Holy Places in A.D. 1173, says that the Church of the Resurrection "of old lay outside the city. . . . The Christians have in this place the rock which they say was split,⁴ and from beneath which Adam rose up, because it stood under the place of the Crucifixion, as they relate. They have also here the garden of Joseph, surnamed As Siddik (the Truthful), which is much visited by pilgrims."⁵ We must distinguish here between what this Moslem writer reports as the belief of the resident Christians and his own observation. The church-enclosed tomb, he asserts on the evidence of his own eyes, was in "the garden of Joseph"; which proves that it was then outside the second wall, since no gardens were allowed inside.

¹ "Catech.," xiv, 5.

² Stapfer, pp. 53, 62. See also Babylonian Talmud, *Baba Kamma*, c. vii.

³ "Survey of Western Palestine: Jerusalem," p. 29.

⁴ A natural rent right down the rock of Golgotha from the spot where tradition puts the Cross is plainly visible. If any rocks were rent in sympathy with that great tragedy—as Christians will find no difficulty in believing—certainly the rock of Golgotha must have been one of them.

⁵ "Palestine under the Moslems," p. 208.

In the year 1225, after the recovery of Jerusalem by Saladin, another Moslem traveller of the name of Yakut gives an account of the Holy Sepulchre :—

“It stands,” he says, “in the middle of the city, and a wall surrounds it. There is here the tomb which the Christians call Al Kayâmah (the Anastasis) because of their belief that the Resurrection of the Messiah took place here.” It “stood anciently without the town . . . There is here a rock which they say was split, and Adam arose from it; for the Crucifixion took place on the summit of the same. The Christians have also in this spot the Garden of Joseph the Truthful, and visitation is made thereto.”¹

Here, again, we have the independent testimony of a Moslem eyewitness to the existence of the garden in the thirteenth century, and, therefore, to the site being then clearly outside the second wall.

Colonel Conder has thrown much valuable light on the archaeology of Palestine, especially eastward of the Jordan, and I gratefully acknowledge my own obligations to him. But the exploration of Jerusalem has been mainly the work of Sir Charles Warren and Sir Charles Wilson, and Colonel Conder's strictures on the traditional site lack the evidence of research and care which are apparent in his work generally. He appears to have relied chiefly on Robinson, a most untrustworthy guide, and he is led astray, like so many others, by assuming that Golgotha was the Jews' place of public execution. It is probably on Robinson that he relies when he tells us that “Eusebius gives a long description of the growth of New Jerusalem, to account for the position of Constantine's site almost in the heart of the town.”² What Eusebius describes is not the growth of New Jerusalem, but the building of Constantine's Church in the New Jerusalem, and as to its length, it occupies 15 lines of Greek. He says expressly that the Church was *ἐν μέσῳ* of the city, at the dividing line between the new city outside the second wall, and the old which lay in ruins within.

But Colonel Conder offers two arguments of his own against the traditional site which I must now briefly examine. The first is that Josephus says that the second wall “encircled the north quarter of the city,” whereas the exclusion of the Holy Sepulchre would require the wall to be serpentine. His second objection, which he regards as decisive of the controversy, is that the exclusion of the traditional site would require the second wall to run in part through a valley; and :—

“No military man will suppose for a moment that the wall of a fortress could have been constructed in a deep valley and commanded from without by high ground immediately near. Fortresses stand on hills, not in deep valleys.”³

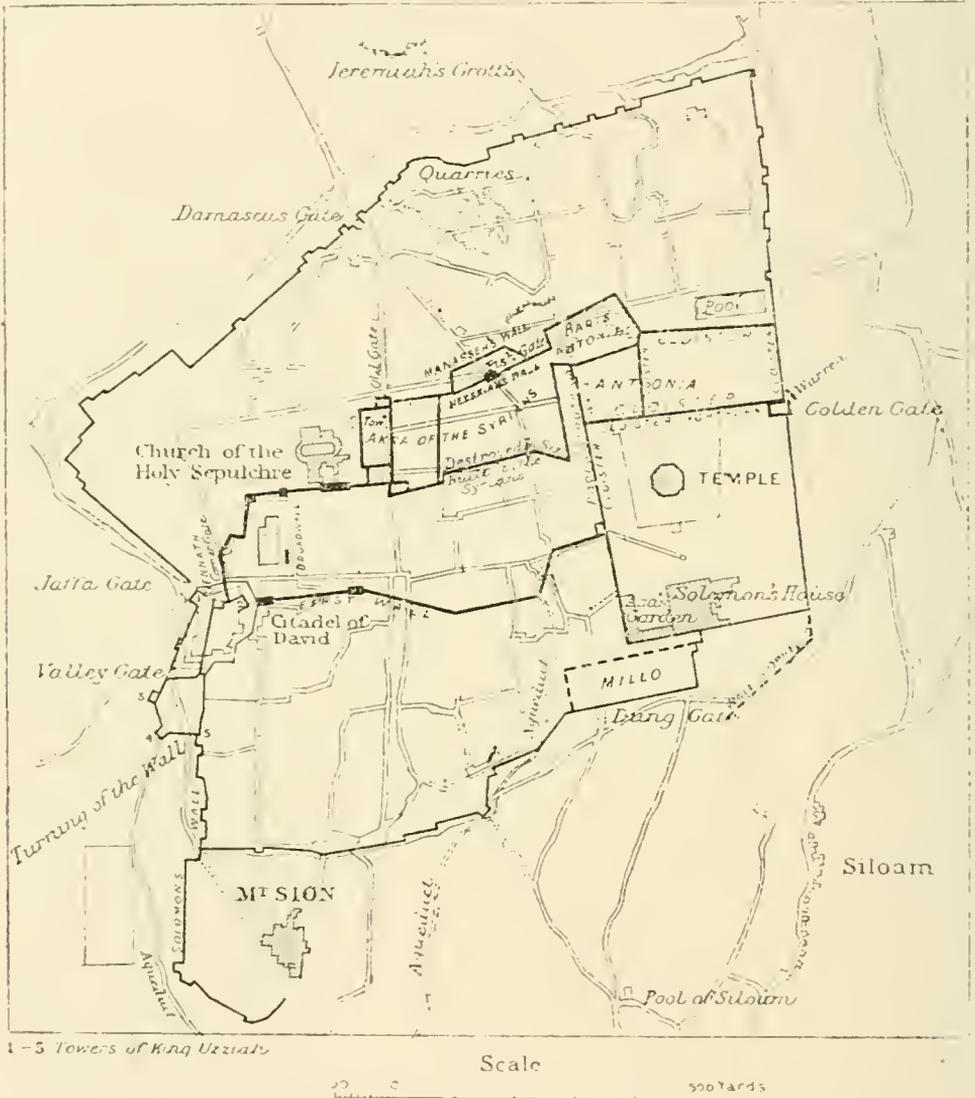
But Colonel Conder strangely forgot that this is not a question of a fortress wall but of a city wall. The citadel of Jerusalem had a wall

¹ “Palestine under the Moslems,” pp. 208–9.

² “Tent Work in Palestine,” p. 362.

³ “Tent Work,” p. 194.

of its own, and on its rocky height defied all the efforts of the Israelites to take it from its Jebusite inhabitants till the reign of David.¹ But the Israelites occupied the rest of the city, and surrounded it with a fortified wall. If Colonel Conder had looked at his Bible he would have found a complete answer to both his objections (2 Chron. xxvi, 9). The Septuagint describes exactly the course of the second wall as given in the



accompanying map showing the line of which Dr. Schick believes he has discovered traces :—

“And Ozias built towers in Jerusalem, and fortified them at the gate of the corner, and at the gate of the valley, and at the angles.”² Here

¹ 1 Chron. xi, 4-6.

² Καὶ ὠκοδομήσεν Ὁζίας πύργους ἐν Ἱερουσαλήμ, καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τῆς γωνίας καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν πύλην τῆς φάραγγος, καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γωνιῶν, καὶ κατίσχυσε.

we have described exactly the angular course of Dr. Schick's map, with the abrupt bend eastward at "the corner," where the traditional site is. Of this Biblical description Tacitus gives us a remarkable confirmation in his account of the siege by Titus. I had better quote the passage in the original :—

"Sed urbem arduam situ opera molesque firmaverant quis *vel plana satis munirentur* : nam duos colles (*i.e.*, Akra and Sion) *immensum editos claudabant muri per artem obliqui aut retrorsus sinuati, ut latera oppugnantium ad ictus patescerent* ; extrema rupis abrupta : et turres, ubi mons jurisset, in sexaginta pedes, inter dexera in centenos vicenosque attollebantur, mira specie, ac procul intuentibus pares : alia intus mœnia, regie¹ circumjecta, conspicuoque fastigio turris Antonia."²

Here we have specific and demonstrative evidence that the very conditions and peculiarities in the course of the second wall, which, according to Colonel Conder, the traditional site requires, and which he thinks so impossible as to disprove absolutely the truth of the tradition, did, in fact, characterise the second wall. Never did objection more completely establish the position it assailed and destroy the cause which it was summoned to support. The wall, says the historian, was made to run zigzag for a military reason, namely, to enable the defenders to take assailants, who attacked at close quarters, in flank and rear as well as in front. Tacitus says distinctly that even the low grounds were efficiently protected by a fortified wall. I wonder, moreover, that it did not occur to Colonel Conder that wherever the course of the second wall may be fixed it must cross the valley of the Tyropœon, which was much deeper at the time of the Crucifixion than now. There is nothing in Colonel Conder's argument from Josephus's use of the word "encircle." The verb *ἐγκυκλίω* is constantly used, like its English equivalent, in the sense of enclosing. Sir Charles Warren's explorations convinced him, as his convinced Dr. Schick, that "in the time of Pilate" "there was an indented wall bounding the northern portion ; the site of the Holy Sepulchre being in the re-entering angle *without* the wall, past which ran the main thoroughfare from Jerusalem to Jaffa and Cesarea."³ Following this quotation is a bit of criticism so important that I must give it in Sir Charles Warren's own words :—

"It is worthy of mention that the walls of the present Church of the Holy Sepulchre, which, in all probability, stand on the lines of the former walls, are built square with the west wall of the Haram area [the site of the old Temple], that old wall ascribed to the time of Herod. It is further to be remarked that a line, drawn from a point a few feet north of the Holy Sepulchre, perpendicular to the old west wall of the Haram area, passes through the remains of the portico (ascribed to Constantine) still existing in the market street, and runs straight down one of the principal thoroughfares, the Akabât at Takiyeh, to the

¹ *i.e.*, the Asmonean dynasty, and afterwards the Herodean.

² "Hist.," Lib. v, c. 11.

³ "The Temple and the Tomb," p. 37.

gate of the Inspector in the Haram area. It may be naturally inferred from this that this street existed when the site of the Holy Sepulchre was first built over by Constantine, and that advantage of the position was taken to give his portico one of the finest prospects that could be desired, a view upon and over the Temple area, and up to the Mount of Olives."

This tallies exactly with the passage in Eusebius describing Constantine's Church as built in the New Jerusalem "right over against the old." Sir Charles Warren continues :—

"This street is, in many parts, cut in the rock and appears to be one of the old streets of Jerusalem. If so, it would, from its position, have been the principal thoroughfare from the Antonia, Temple, and market of the Lower City to Jaffa and Cæsarea. The city gate would have stood where Constantine's portico was afterwards built, and now remains, and the thoroughfare beyond the wall would have passed close to the present [traditional] site of the Crucifixion."

This harmonises in all particulars with the Gospel narrative : the procession along the "Via Dolorosa" to Golgotha ; the seizure of Simon of Cyrene coming in from the country along the principal thoroughfare to the market place ; the passers-by railing at Jesus from the highway, a few paces from Golgotha ; and the jeering priests and scribes and elders, not mingling with the rabble outside the wall for fear of defilement (St. John xviii, 28), but flinging their insults at Him from the wall across the road.

To this may be added a corroborative piece of evidence furnished by Eusebius in his "Theophany" (book iii, Sec. 61. English translation of Syriac version, p. 199) :—

"The grave itself was a cave which had recently been hewn out : a cave that had now been cut out in a rock, and which had experienced (the reception of) no other body. For it was necessary that it, which was itself a wonder, should have the care of that Corpse only. For it is astonishing to see even this rock, standing out erect and alone in a level land, and having only one cavern within it ; lest, had there been many, the miracle of Him who overcame death should have been obscured."

It is plain from this that the Holy Sepulchre was outside the second wall in the time of Eusebius. Constantine levelled the slope of the garden round about the Sepulchre to enable him to enclose it within his Basilica.

Arculfus, Bishop of Gaul, visited Jerusalem about A.D. 680, and he gives a most interesting account of Golgotha and the Sepulchre. He describes the tomb as "hewn out of the rock, 7 feet in length, and rising [*i.e.*, the *loculus*] 3 palms above the floor." It was "broad enough to hold one man lying on his back." "Internally the stone of the rock remains in the original state, and still exhibits the mark of the workman's tools. Its colour is not uniform, but appears to be a mixture of white and red." "The exterior is covered with choice marble to the very roof, which is adorned with gold."

I may add that while St. Mark xvi, 5, confirms the genuineness of the traditional tomb, it is fatal to the spurious one, where the *loculus* is on the left of a person entering.

One more little item of evidence may be given before I conclude. On a piece of stone which Dr. Schick found among the *débris* which he unearthed near the Holy Sepulchre are the letters I M P . . . PART . . . This Dr. Schick considers, with great probability, to be part of the words Emperor Parthicus. Hadrian was one of the few Roman Emperors who bore that title, and the mutilated words are probably a portion of the dedicatory inscription on the temple which he built to Venus over the traditional site.

I have by no means exhausted the evidence; but I have exhausted my space, and I leave the reader to judge whether I have made good my thesis that this is not a case of strong evidence against weak, but of overwhelming evidence against none. Not a scrap of evidence which a lawyer or logician would look at is adducible in favour of the spurious site, and not a single archaeological or historical authority can be cited in its favour. All the experts of the Palestine Exploration Fund—*e.g.* Sir Charles Warren, Sir Charles Wilson, Dr. Chaplin, Colonel Conder, M. Clermont-Ganneau—think it undeserving of serious argument. I have heard from several of them on the subject.

I wrote to ask M. Clermont-Ganneau's opinion on the controversy as to the authenticity of the traditional site and its modern rival, telling him that I was going to write on the subject. I received a courteous reply, in which he said, *inter alia*, that in his view "two questions dominate the situation:—(1) The second wall ought to be east of the Sepulchre; (2) there were genuine Jewish sepulchres on the traditional site of an age not later than the time of Christ." On these two points M. Clermont-Ganneau is supported by all the experts. The existence of these ancient tombs is another piece of hardly disputable evidence that the traditional site is outside the second wall, since burials were not allowed within. I asked M. Clermont-Ganneau's permission to publish his letter, and, at the same time correcting an obvious slip of the pen—"l'ouest" for "l'est." I received the following reply. In his previous letter, M. Clermont-Ganneau expressed his surprise at "the infatuation" which induced so many of the British public to believe in "Gordon's tomb," adding that Gordon was no authority on topography or archaeology. The readers of the *Quarterly Statements* will not need to be told that M. Clermont-Ganneau is one of the first living authorities on the topography and archaeology of Palestine. He is now Professor of Palestinian Archaeology at the Sorbonne:—

"1, AVENUE DE L'ALMA,

" PARIS, 15 Juin, 1901.

" Cher Monsieur,—Comme vous l'avez justement supposé, c'est par suite d'un *lapsus calami* que j'ai mis 'ouest' pour 'est' dans la petite note en réponse à votre question. Bien qu'elle contienne en gros ma façon de voir sur la question, je ne crois pas qu'elle soit suffisante pour mériter l'honneur

d'être citée *textuellement* dans votre article. Vous pourriez tout simplement dire en deux mots que je me suis toujours rangé dans le camp de ceux auxquels vous apportez l'appui de vos conclusions personnelles. J'ai toujours été d'avis que le Hammām-el-Batrak représente une partie du fossé qui courrait à l'ouest le second mur ; c'est aussi, si je ne me trompe, l'opinion que Schick a formulée lui-même plus tard, en l'otayant d'importantes constatations faites sur le terrain même. J'espère que votre article paraîtra dans le prochain *Statement*, et je me propose de le lire avec tout l'intérêt qui mérite cette importante question.

“Veuillez agréer, cher Monsieur, l'assurance réitérée de mes meilleurs sentiments,

“CLERMONT-GANNEAU.”

All who have really examined the evidence will share M. Clermont-Ganneau's wonder at “the infatuation” which has accepted, in lieu of the traditional site, a site for which no rational argument can be produced. And this fact has an aspect more serious than an archaeological blunder. Here we find a number of excellent persons, all good and pious, and some of them able, intelligent, well-read, allowing their emotions or their prejudices to reject what must at least be considered as exceedingly strong evidence in favour of the traditional site, and believing in the authenticity of a site on behalf of which they genuinely believe that they possess irrefragable evidence, whereas, in matter of fact, they possess none. This is a serious injury to the cause of our holy religion. There are those who will say—who, in fact, have said—“Behold an illustration of the evidence on which the Resurrection of Christ was believed under the influence of unreasoning and emotional enthusiasm !” I implore, therefore, those who have encouraged and still support this extraordinary illusion, to examine the facts in the dry light of reason and evidence before they proceed further. I learn, to my amazement, that they have already given £2,000 for a plot of ground which is intrinsically not worth £20, and that they are now asking for £3,000 more to keep this “site” in order and give a salary of £70 a year to a caretaker ! If this is persevered in one thing is inevitable. The believers in “Gordon's tomb” will never again be able to accuse the Roman Church of “pious frauds.” For neither Lourdes, nor La Salette, nor the Holy House of Loretto rests on a more complete absence of evidence for and a more complete mass of evidence against it than does the mound beyond Jeremiah's Grotto which is pointed out by credulous enthusiasts as the site of the Crucifixion and Resurrection.

One more illustration of the carelessness with which the supporters of the spurious site have jumped to their conclusion must be noted here, because I have only just received authentic confirmation of my own recollection. Mr. Price Hughes says, in his “Careful Article,” that “the trough or groove in which the circular stone [that closed the tomb] revolved has been laid bare. That rolling stone was at least 5 feet in diameter.” I felt convinced on reading this that Mr. Price Hughes had made a mistake. But wishing to be quite sure, I wrote to Jerusalem

to Dr. Schick for information. I have just received his answer, in which he says:—"It was not with a round or millstone-like stone, but with a regular door, with lock and hinges, that this tomb was closed, as can be clearly seen." The "trough or groove" that Mr. Price Hughes has mistaken for the receptacle of a circular stone door is, in fact, one of the grooves in which the slabs were fixed for the receptacle of other bodies. The absence of these slabs is Mr. Hughes's proof (following Mr. Haskett Smith) that the tomb was never finished. But the slabs were *in situ*, and the tomb was full of bones and mould when it was first inspected by Dr. Schick, showing not only that the tomb was finished, but that it was full of human remains. As the tomb stands, it is not Jewish at all, but indubitably Christian, and long subsequent to the time of Christ.

ON THE SITE OF THE HOLY SEPULCHRE.

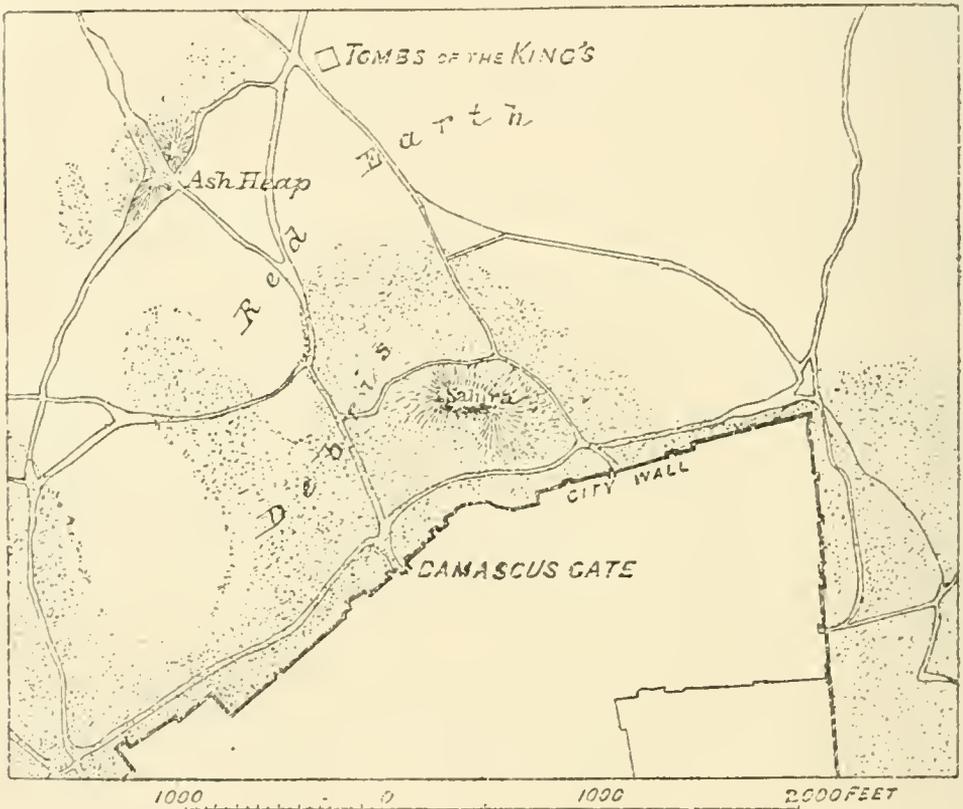
By REV. FRANCIS GELL, M.A., Rector of Ripple, Hon. Canon of Worcester Cathedral, and Chaplain to the Lord Bishop of Worcester.

WE are witnessing a reerudescence of the old controversy as to the real site of Golgotha, and we shall, perhaps, be told that it is a sign of the decay of faith. It has been remarked that, as true faith in the Divine person of the Lord Jesus ebbed and flowed, the ebb has always been marked by an almost feverish desire to find, what will probably never be found in our time, the exact spot where the greatest crime man ever committed was perpetrated, and the greatest deliverance man ever experienced was accomplished.

Of late years the saintly eminence of Gordon, backed by the topical knowledge of Conder, has given currency to a theory which has a certain sort of plausibility. On the other hand, the revived ecclesiasticism of the day has contended against it with some ingenuity, and polished up the old arguments for the traditional site, which has at least the advantage of ancient prescription in its favour, if it has nothing else.

Otto Thenius, in 1849, was, I believe, the first to suggest that the striking mound just outside the Damascus Gate was the true place of the Crucifixion; and Gordon, holiest of soldiers, who was, unfortunately, neither an Orientalist nor a topographer, adopted this theory. Like the sweet singer who composed those tripping verses, sung by every English child the world over, "There is a green hill far away, outside a city wall," he fell into the venerable blunder of supposing that Calvary was a hill; and the children who sang that simple ditty grew up to believe that it must be a hill just outside the existing city wall; and have thus been prepared to accept with acclamation from a Christian hero and a diligent and learned explorer, what I venture to call the Gordon myth.

We hear of large subscriptions paid down to keep the favoured spot from desecration, and of fervent believers who are prepared to pay three or four times its value to become its possessors. If those ladies and gentlemen have actually parted with their money, I can scarcely hope to convince them of the improbability of their theory; but having given nearly two months to the careful study of the site of Calvary on the spot, and some years of reading and reflection upon it since, I may beg the many reasonable persons who are interested in the topography of Jerusalem to entertain, at least with patience, a few considerations from one who is not swept away by prepossessions, and who does not feel sure even of the site which he believes has most to say for itself.



One of the earliest and soundest archaeologists in Jerusalem, when I resided there, was Dr. Rosen, the Prussian Consul. He entered with kindly zest into my investigations, and suggested a line of argument which was quite new to me, but which my Indian experience at once accepted as sound. He had noticed that wherever ground has been thickly covered by buildings the soil itself testifies unmistakably to the fact. Applying this test to the suburbs of Jerusalem, he constructed a chart, a copy of which accompanies this paper, showing that the northern suburb of the city extended considerably beyond and all round the knoll, ei-Heidhemiyeh—now generally christened “Gordon’s Calvary.” As far as it goes this argument proves that the place was at the time of the

Crucifixion in the middle of a large and populous suburb. We know that every vestige of building there was afterwards razed to the ground; but the tell-tale soil still testifies to the fact that a considerable portion of the ground within the third wall built by Agrippa 11 or 12 years afterwards to protect it, was then covered by buildings to accommodate the vast crowds who assembled at the Passover.

There is some conflict of testimony as to the numbers usually present at that time in and near Jerusalem. Josephus has been, perhaps, too much discredited by reason of his patriotic exaggeration; but careful calculations have estimated the normal population of Jerusalem in the time of Christ at 70,000, which would certainly be doubled or trebled during the Feast days; so that however largely we may discount the two or three millions of the Jewish historian, there remains a population far beyond the capacities of the old city, unless the people stood upon each other's heads. 97,000 are said to have been made captive by Titus, and 40,000 more were set at liberty, and yet that was at a time when every soul who could escape out of the doomed city had fled. Such multitudes could never have been crammed into that part of the city behind the second wall, wherever it was, especially when the great northern plateau presented unlimited means for expansion. I think any unprejudiced person reading the history of the siege would gather that a large space intervened between the third and second walls, and as Dr. Rosen's *Terrainkarte* shows, a good deal of the eastern part of it was not built upon. Tobler, no mean authority, believed the third wall reached northward nearly to the tomb of Helena of Ediabene, to give room for the 90 towers, 200 cubits apart, which stood upon it; almost all traces of which appear to have been swept away. Is it in the least degree probable that the place of execution selected by Pilate, or his centurions, for the three crosses, would have been in the very middle of a thickly populated suburb of fanatical Jews? Even supposing that the knoll had not been utilised for some shrine (and we know that subsequently a Byzantine church stood upon it), would it have been in the least likely that such a place would have been desecrated by the disgraceful punishment of criminals condemned by Roman law? We forget how terribly disgraceful, and even obscene, that punishment was, because to us, "the shameful cross" now symbolises the highest point of Divine self-sacrifice. Moreover, we have it from Dr. Chaplin that the knoll was a place of Jewish execution by stoning, and in the Talmud is called *Beth-ha-sekela*. But our Lord suffered at the hands of Roman executioners: and the place of Jewish executions, even if it could be proved that it was so then, would have been the last place where the Roman law would have been carried out. This consideration should give the advocates of this locality pause. But the final and, to my mind, conclusive argument against it, is the universal and scriptural conviction that the Crucifixion fulfilled the type to which the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews refers (xiii. 11, 12), and that the direction, "without the camp," in Leviticus iv. 11, 12, 21, meant without the city which represented it. Thus independently of all arguments

drawn from the direction of the walls (which lead, as we know, to an interminable wrangle), but merely on the showing of Dr. Rosen's map there can be no doubt that the inhabited city did extend, in our Lord's time, to the northward of the present wall, and we are driven to the conclusion that we must look for the place of Crucifixion, and of the sepulchre outside the city somewhere on that northern plateau.

In 1865 I pointed out to Dr. Gobat, the then Bishop of Jerusalem, and to Dr. Barclay, that the Levitical ritual required¹ that the carcase of the burnt offering, represented in antitype by the Crucifixion, should be consumed north of the altar. The Bishop at once adopted the inference, and told me that when he first knew the city, there were considerable remains of tombs on the north side, near the slope into the Kedron Valley, which, when he returned as bishop, had been broken open or lost sight of. I am glad to see that such an authority as Sir Charles Wilson, in the new edition of the "Dictionary of the Bible," adopts the opinion that the northern plateau is the most probable site for the sepulchre.

Of course, if these arguments are sound they dispose of what is called the "traditional" site. In full view of all that has been so ably said in defence of that site, the fatal objections of Dr. Robinson are unanswered. The facility with which the transference of holy sites was made, in very early times, is known to all students of history (*see* a valuable article by Mr. Simpson in the *Quarterly Statement* for January, 1879), the total lack of the "topographical instinct," as proved by many instances, in days when few could read or write—and the absolute subjection of reason to faith in those who could—incline all who have no prepossession to think St. Willibald was not far wrong when he said that Helena had "arranged" that the place which was formerly outside should be inside the city: (*see* "Hodeporicon," XVIII, Pilgrims' Text Society, p. 19), and in that age who could possibly object to it! Similar "arrangements," for the sake of convenience, are met with everywhere. What but convenience ruled the "invention" of the cross, together with the tablet which Pilate wrote to affix upon it, and "arranged" the stone of unction and the pillar of the flagellation, and all the rest of it? And when the pious custodians had, without any idea of fraud, "arranged" objects and places of interest to their liking, a wealth of legendary association clustered round them, and it became worth no one's while to dispute them. Why should any one do so? The facts were the really important things. The exact places where they were enacted was a very small matter. So we get venerable churches, built in impossible places, yet purporting to be on the very spots; and venerable "fathers" by the score proving that they had seen the localities two or three hundred years afterwards, and had no doubt whatever about it; till now it becomes difficult to plead for strict adherence to the only reliable documentary evidence we have, and to insist on squaring our topography with fair inferences from history and the Holy Scriptures.

Let me enumerate some of the essentials for the identification of the

¹ Lev. i, 10-11; iv, 21.

true sepulchre ; and I do not think those who have closely studied the matter will demur to any one of them :—

1. It must be in a garden. St. John xix, 41.
2. It must be hewn out of the rock. St. Matthew xxvii, 60.
3. It must be the tomb of a rich Jew of the Herodian period St. Matthew xxvii, 57, &c.
4. It must be close to the place of the Crucifixion. St. John xix, 41.
5. It must be near a high road. St. Matthew xxvii, 39, 41 ; St. Mark xv, 29 ; St. Luke xxiii, 26.
6. It must have been quite new, and therefore would have had then no loculi or kokim. St. John xix, 41 ; St. Luke xxiii, 53.
7. The place of the Crucifixion, which was close to it, must be where it could be seen “afar off.” St. Matthew xxvii, 55.
8. It must be clearly outside all the inhabited parts of the city. Hebrews xiii, 11.
9. The tomb must be a chamber in which at least five people at one time could move about and converse. St. Luke xxiv, 4, 10.
10. It must be closed by a great rolling stone. St. Matthew xxviii, 2, 4 ; St. Mark xvi, 4, &c.
11. It must be “nigh unto the city” (St. John xix, 20), but far enough for persons coming to it and going from it, to miss each other on the way (compare the various visits to the tomb).
12. The tomb must be so constructed that a person close to it must stoop down in order to look into it. See St. John xx, 11 ; St. Luke xxiv, 12.
13. And yet so that persons sitting “over against it,” *i.e.*, at some distance, could see into it, and observe “how the body of Jesus was laid” in it. St. Matthew xxvii, 61 ; St. Luke xxiii, 55 ; St. Mark xv, 47.

These are a few of the indications given us in Scripture to guide us as to the kind of sepulchre which received the dead body of our Lord, and from which he was raised on the third day. There may be more ; but these are enough to give a high probability to any tomb which combines them all. Over 500 rock tombs have been carefully examined by the agents of the Fund in the neighbourhood of Jerusalem. They need not be compared, because Sir Charles Wilson says in his paper (*Quarterly Statement* for 1869, p. 67), with which I concur, that the most complete of all yet discovered is the Kubur es-Saladeen. This tomb has gone through many vicissitudes and been called by different names. In “Josephus” it is called the Monument of Helena, Queen of Adiabene, a Jewish proselyte who adopted it, and whose sarcophagus was “appropriated” by De Sauley in 1863, and is now in the Louvre. The tomb is now called the Tombs of the Kings, probably because there is no evidence that any king was ever buried in it. As a typical Jewish tomb of the time of Herod, however, it has a special value for us, containing, in a condition of more or less preservation, all the four members of a rich man’s tomb of that

period, *i.e.*, first, a garden; secondly, a vestibule or ante-chamber; thirdly, an embalming chamber; and fourthly, loculi, arcosolia, or kokim, excavated as they were required by deaths in the family or friends of the owner—the whole called the sepulchre. As that in which our Lord was buried was just dug, “wherein never before man was laid,” it would, at that time, have had no additional chamber or loculi.

Armed with these tests, my very first object on reaching Jerusalem was to apply them to Tombs of the Kings, which I need not describe, as they have been carefully described by our agents. Leaving the Bab-el-Amud by the great north road, I easily found the excavated garden near the road side, approached by 25 steps down to a doorway through a wall of rock. There was the vestibule with the tank for water required for the ablution—there the 3-foot square entrance below the level of the floor of the vestibule—there the greater part of the rolling stone by which the entrance was closed; and there, on the architrave, not only the triglyphs and pateræ of the Debased Doric of the Herodian period, but the grapes in the central metope, indicating that the tomb originally belonged to a rich Jew. Entering the chamber, I found it 19 feet square, surrounded by a stone ledge or seat, except where the rock wall has been since pierced by doorways to other chambers.

These observations disposed of Nos. 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, and 14. There remained 12 and 13. As to 12, it was clear after trial that a person near the entrance or in the vestibule, must stoop to see into the tomb chamber. But the women “sat over against the sepulchre,” and from that point “beheld how the body was laid.” Leaving the excavated garden I ascended on to the plateau, and seating myself on the north-western side of the excavation I found I could see through the 3-foot square opening into the embalming chamber, in the middle of which I desired my servant to lie down; but it was too dark to see much of him till I called to him to take off his dark blue embroidered jacket, and as soon as he did so, and lay in his white shirt, I could distinctly see “how his body was laid.” The tomb being new, the paving slab, which was ultimately to conceal the entire entrance, had not been laid over the opening in the floor of the vestibule. It was therefore possible for the Jews to see the Governor’s seal affixed to the rolling stone. This disposed of tests Nos. 12 and 13, and the facts were so striking in their undesigned coincidence with the New Testament narrative, that at that time I had no doubt I was looking on the spot where the body of Jesus had lain. I do not feel sure of it now, but ever since I have felt assured that if that tomb is not the tomb, it must have been one in that neighbourhood, and similar to it. It is not above seven minutes’ walk from the place where, according to Rosen, Josephus, Tobler, &c., the city suburb extended in our Lord’s time. It is near a high road, and, though I altogether repudiate the cocksureness of some of our friends, it has a stronger claim than any other existing sepulchre to the honour of having been the mortuary chamber in which our Lord’s body was temporarily laid. But certainty is forbidden us; good reasons for

which are not far to seek. Meantime we may well utilise the help it affords us in realising the most important event that ever took place in the world.

God forbid that in this faithless age I should speak scornfully even of erroneous beliefs. I can never forget how, on one occasion, I climbed to the top of that canopy (is it a baldachino?) covering the traditional tomb, and lay there for an hour or more unobserved; gazing down through the open work I saw group after group of frowsy pilgrims from the farthest corners of Russia, pressing as near as they could get to the tomb slab to pour out their sorrows, while streaming tears poured down brown cheeks—not of women only, but of hardy men, whose passionate devotion shamed my own cold heart, because they believed, what I knew was a fable, that their dear Lord and mine had been buried in that tiny marble cabinet, which monks persuaded Constantine and Helena had been the sepulchre of Christ.

THE RUIN AT KHURBET BEIT SAWIR.

By Rev. J. E. HANAUER and Dr. E. W. GURNEY MASTERMAN.

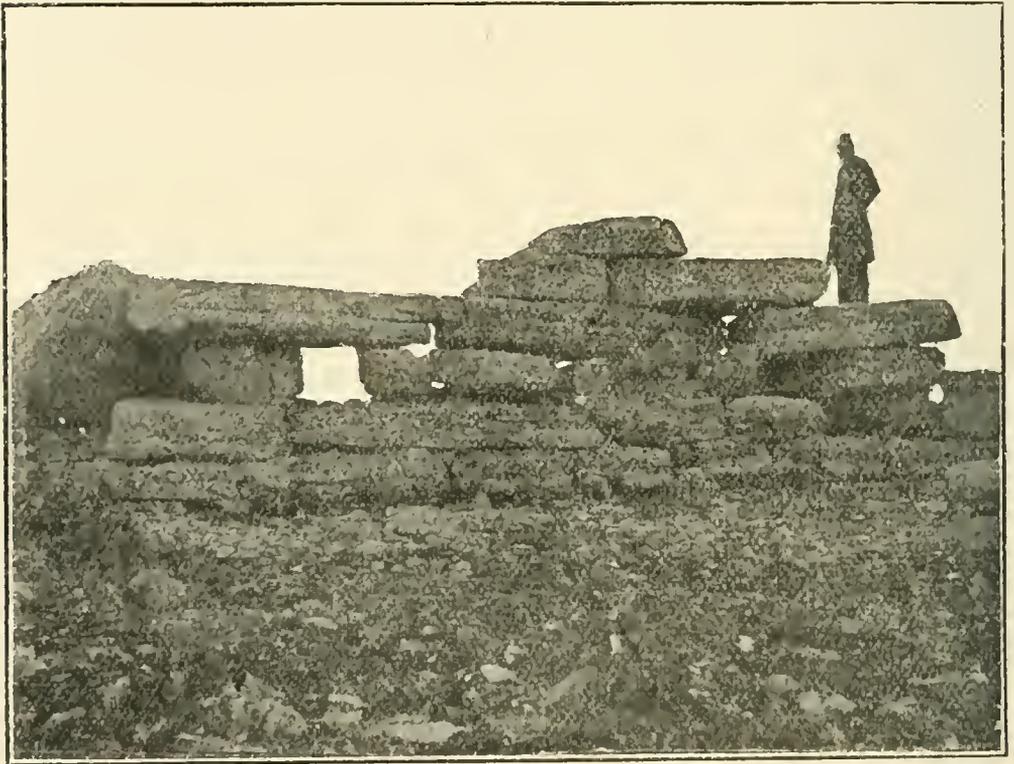
WE are sending some photographs taken by us when on a visit to a ruin north of the new carriage road to Hebron, just before the said road turns south to El Arrûb, and situated some 350 paces from the road itself, near the 20th kilometre stone from Jerusalem.

The photographs are not a great success, as the day was a bad one, and a fine rain was actually falling when they were being taken, but they show in a general view the megalithic nature of the remains to which we wish to call attention.

In the "Memoirs," vol. iii, p. 351, under the heading "Khurbet Beit Sawir," the ruin is thus referred to:—"About half a mile to the south" (*i.e.*, of Khurbet Beit Sawir) "is an ancient tower, visible from the Hebron Road; it is 22 paces square, and consists of large, roughly-squared stones 8 or 9 feet long, 5 feet wide, and 1 foot 4 inches thick. The stone is much worn, and there is no trace of mortar. The tower has fallen over to the south, and on that side is a large cistern, the mouth partly closed by a slab like those in the tower. This tower has an appearance of great antiquity. Some three or four courses" (there are still, as the photographs show, six in the western wall) "remain in the walls," which, according to our measurements of January 9th, 1901, form two sides of a square of 14 metres outside and 12.50 inside.

With the general description given in the "Memoirs" we are in agreement, but it seems to us that the ruin is worthy of a more detailed study.

In the first place, the orientation of the building is interesting, inasmuch as it is exactly to the points of the compass; or, to be more accurate, the only wall standing, viz., the west one, shown in the photographs, runs exactly north and south. The south wall is almost entirely thrown down, the great slabs of which it was built standing on edge in parallel lines on the ground, but it is evident that it was built at right angles to the west wall. This



south wall shows clear traces of having been of six courses, all of which, except the lowest, having been shot out one beyond the other down the slight declivity, and looking at first sight like the broken ends of a series of limestone strata. Of the north wall not a trace remains, and of the east wall only the slightest indications. Indeed, according to the very massive way the other sides have been built, it is hard to believe that there ever had been walls on these two sides. It is, however, possible that such was the case, as the building is on a hill-slope, the lowest part being the south-west corner, and the highest where the north-east

corner was, and so it is possible that the two walls supported an earth platform. The building is high up on a hill-side, and commands an extensive view in all directions, as well as overlooking the valley below. It is doubtless extremely ancient and primitive, and we would suggest that it may have been a "high place" or "hill sanctuary" for sacrifice, and, furthermore, that the way the south side has been thrown down would make us think that this "Bamah" had been intentionally destroyed.

NOTES ON THE JANUARY "QUARTERLY STATEMENT."

P. 54.—M. Clermont-Ganneau's conjectural identification of the inscription found at Tell Sandahannah in three incomplete lines, with a dedication to Queen Arsinoe, is very interesting. It should be observed, however, that in my brief account (October *Quarterly Statement*, p. 339) I noted that the letters NO (in the incomplete word read Arsinoe by M. Ganneau) "are interpolations made after the stone was defaced, as they are thinner in character than the rest of the inscription, and are sharply cut over traces of other letters." The nature of these letters may be seen in the two squeezes I now send, though their palimpsest character does not clearly appear. It is possible I may be wrong in the latter conjecture, but as I expect to be in Jerusalem in May, I shall study the original afresh and try to obtain better squeezes.

P. 58.—M. Ganneau's suggestion that the small lead figures, bound with coils of iron, bronze, or lead, were intended to represent the victims of incantation, was not new to us. Our report was written under great pressure immediately after the excavations were closed, and we were obliged to confine ourselves mainly to description. I called these figures "captives," from the alternative theory that they represented votive offerings after a battle. The view adopted by M. Ganneau appears to me on the whole to be the more probable.

F. J. B.

NOTICES OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

Flavius Josephus', Jüdischer Krieg, by Professor Doctor PHILIPP KONOUR, Linz, 1901.—A German translation of the "History of the Jewish War," by Josephus, from the most recent text. The most notable feature of the book is the space, one-third of the whole work, devoted to archaeological, historical, and topographical notes and comments. There is also a very useful index. The translator has made much use of German publications, especially of Dr. Schick's monograph on the Temple, and of his papers in the "Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins."

La Montagne de la Galilée, où le Seigneur apparut aux Apôtres (Matthew xxviii, 16) *est le Mont Thabor*, by Father BARNABÉ, d'Alsace, O.F.M., Jerusalem, 1901.—This is an attempt to prove that Mount Tabor is the mountain in Galilee upon which, according to Matthew xxviii, 16, Christ appeared to the eleven disciples after his resurrection. The proposed identification first appears in the record of the pilgrimage of Theodosius (525 A.D.), but the tradition that the mountain of the Apparition was the same as that of the Transfiguration was probably earlier. Although the conclusions cannot always be accepted, Father Barnabé has done good service by bringing together passages from early writers which bear upon the subject. He also shows clearly the untrustworthy nature of the traditions that have gathered round the spot on the ridge of Olivet which is now called *Viri Galilei* or *Mons Galilea*. The book is a companion to the author's "Mount Tabor," previously noticed.

Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale, vol. iv, parts 11-16, by M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, M.I., Paris, 1901.—Translations of four of the articles have already appeared in the *Quarterly Statement*: "The Roman Inscriptions of the Jerusalem Aqueduct"; "The beautiful Sime of Eleutheropolis"; "Rhodian Pottery in Palestine"; and "The Seal of the Leper House of St. Lazarus at Jerusalem." In "Le Zeus Madbachos et le Zeus Bômos des Sémites," p. 164, M. Ganneau points out that the American expedition to Northern Syria has confirmed a previous suggestion of his, that the word Madbachos is connected with the Aramæan *Madbah*, "altar"; and that Zeus Madbachos is equivalent to Zeus Bômos. In "Le trône et l'autel chez les Sémites," p. 247, the author, whilst favourably noticing a paper by Father Lagrange in the "Revue Biblique," pp. 216-251, 1901, examines the meaning of the *motab* of the great Nabatean God, in the expression "Dusares and his motab." He suggests that the *motab* may have been the black square stone of Petra, upon which sacrifices were offered and libations were poured, and which passed in antiquity as a personification of the deity who was in some sense incorporated with it. M. Ganneau asks whether this stone was not at once the altar, and throne—the *motab*—of Dusares, perfectly distinct, at least at first, from his

personality. Following upon this it is not impossible that popular superstition ended by admitting the real presence of the god, and by identifying him with his own *motab*. In "Le peuple des Zakkari," p. 250, M. Gameau discusses the origin of the Zakkari, mentioned in the "Papyrus Golénischeff," who formed part of the pre-Israelite population of Palestine, and apparently lived on the coast near Carmel, possibly at Dor. It is proposed to connect them with the *Dacharenoi*, mentioned by Stephen of Byzantium, and to consider them as forming part of the ethnic group, known later as Nabatean. They have possibly left a trace of their presence in Palestine in the common place-name *Dhikrân*, and perhaps, also, in Zakariya. M. Gameau throws out an ingenious suggestion that the *Shalmu*, *Shalamu*, or *Shalimu* (C.I.S., ii, 197), may have belonged to the Nabatean group, and have once lived near Jerusalem, which perhaps bears a trace of their name.

Revue Biblique, vol. x, part 2, 1901.—The number contains a learned paper on sacred stones and enclosures, "Enceintes et pierres sacrées," by Father Lagrange, the Superior of the Dominican Monastery of St. Stephen, at Jerusalem. The paper forms part 2 of the writer's "Études sur les religions Sémitiques," and deserves perusal by students of the Bible. Justice cannot be done to it in a brief notice. Father Vincent, in his article on "Rude Stone Monuments in Western Palestine," shows that Colonel Conder's broad generalisation that no dolmens, menhirs, or ancient circles have been discovered in Judæa needs modification. He describes a number of dolmens and rude tombs that have been found on the eastern slope of the ridge of Palestine, between Tekoa on the south and Bethel on the north. The paper is well illustrated by plans, sections, and sketches, and is a valuable addition to our knowledge of primitive remains in Palestine.

Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästina Vereins, vol. xxiv, part 1, 1901.—Professor Doctor Röhrich publishes a record of the journey of Duke Henry of Saxony to Jerusalem in 1498. There is little that is new in the diary, but the information respecting the ownership of the Holy Places at that period is not without interest. Dr. Littmann gives an Arabic list of the Bedawi tribes east of Jordan, with transliteration and notes; and Herr Bauer gives an interesting and useful list of the various articles of clothing and ornament which are in use amongst the Arabs of Palestine.

C. W. W.

The Tombs of the Prophets, "Kabâr el-'Anbiâ," at Jerusalem, by Father VINCENT (from the "Revue Biblique," x, p. 72 ff, 1901).—The sill of the entrance must be about 3·50 mètres¹ below the surface of the ground. As the rock falls away very rapidly at this point three or four

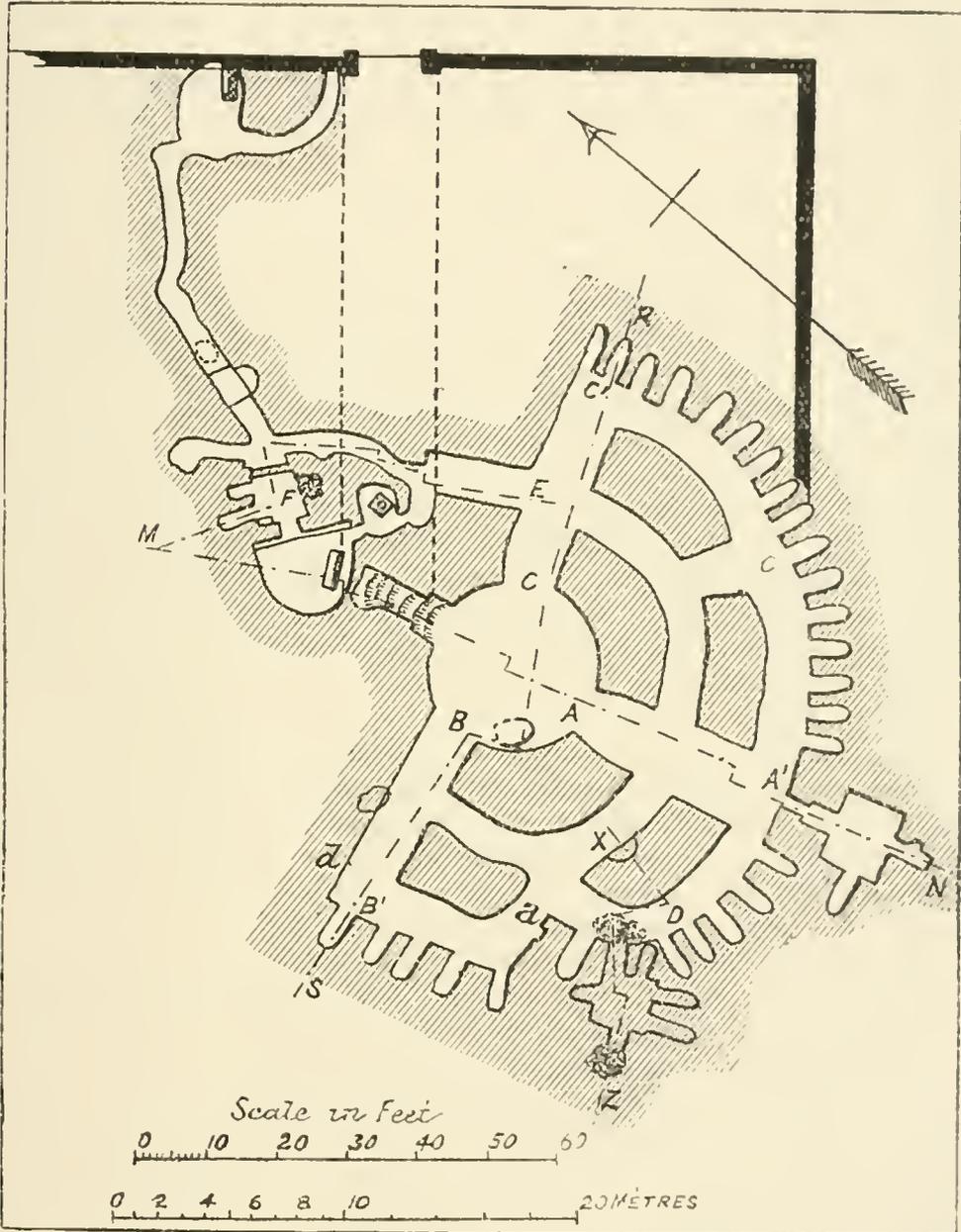
¹ The measurements are given in mètres. On the plan and sections there are scales of feet and mètres.

steps were apparently sufficient to reach the interior. The eight steps restored in M. Schick's plan¹ represent neither the original condition nor the few rude steps in the rubbish which now obstructs the passage. On the outside no trace can be seen of any arrangement for closing the entrance. The doorway excavated in the solid rock is continued in the form of a passage which has a mean length of 2·65 mètres, and an internal width of 1·60 mètres. This passage was closed, at two-thirds of its length, by a swing door, too large, probably, to have been of stone; the positions of the hinges and bolts can still be seen. Judging from the marks they have left on the rock, the latter were of iron. After traversing the passage one enters an almost circular chamber which has a mean diameter of 7 mètres. Here the attention is at once arrested by the character of the ceiling which, instead of being horizontal, slopes upward, following the natural lie of the rock, and at one point approaches the surface so closely that the thin roof has fallen in. The ceiling is pierced also by an artificial aperture, roughly circular, which has a major axis of 1·10 mètres, and has no symmetrical connection with the rotunda to which it now gives light. The walls of the vestibule have preserved large fragments of that coating of pounded brick and broken pottery which is still used in Palestine, under the name *hamra*, to make cisterns watertight. The depth of the chamber cannot be ascertained at present on account of the earth which has come in through the roof and entrance. But a precious detail has been supplied by a small excavation recently made by the guardian—an opening of the transverse galleries, of which one only saw the arched head, has really a minimum height of 2·50 mètres. Without having the complete regularity which has been given to them in the plans, these galleries form, as it were, three radii, perpendicular to each other, of a large arc which should have its centre at the point where the two major axes of the rotunda cut each other at right angles. The opening, A,² which faces the entrance is only from 2·05 mètres to 2·10 mètres wide, but as it lengthens its width increases, and at a depth of 9·10 mètres, where it abuts on a wall of rock, it is 3·15 mètres wide. The passage B has a width of 2·32 mètres at its mouth, and of 2·25 mètres where it ends in a rock-wall at a depth of 8·32 mètres. C, of which the opening is 2·20 mètres wide, has a depth of 9·35 mètres, and a terminal width of nearly 2·80 mètres. A semi-circular gallery, of which the width varies from 1·70 mètres to 1·85 mètres, connects the ends of the three radii. But its course, fairly regular between A¹ and C¹, is abruptly broken nearly midway between A¹ and B¹. Tobler's plan attempted to show this deviation which had been correctly observed by De Sauley and represented on his plan. From the middle of A¹ the gallery preserves its normal course for 9·30 mètres; the curve then suddenly straightens for 2·75 metres, to commence afresh, almost

¹ *Quarterly Statement*, 1883, p. 128 ff.

² The plan and sections made by Father Vincent are reproduced by permission from the "Revue Biblique."

at a right angle, and, after a distance of some 5 mètres, to become nearly circular again until, 6.75 mètres further on, it meets B'. The total height of the great gallery is nearly uniform, and 2.55 mètres from the present floor line, which cannot be much above the rock. A lining, less lasting than the *hamra*, covers the walls and the elliptical arch. It is applied



in coats more or less thick so as to correct the inequalities of the roughly dressed walls.

A second gallery, concentric with the outer one, connects and almost bisects the large radii. Its width varies from 1.60 mètres to 1.80 mètres. It has a similar lining, and opens directly into the outer gallery in the

sector, A¹B¹, whilst in the other sector the two galleries are connected by another very short radius (1.60 mètres long and 1.50 mètres wide).

In front of the point at which the inner gallery meets the radius, C¹C¹, there is another passage, E, which runs off almost at a right angle, and is 1.85 mètres wide and 4.20 mètres long. Here all symmetry, such as it is, ends. M. de Sauley's plan gives least erroneously the curious, complicated arrangement of this part of the sepulchral vault. The drawing in the *Quarterly Statement* is wrong. A passage, very irregularly cut, with a mean height of 0.70 mètre, a width of 0.60 mètre, and a length of 6.20 mètres, turns away to a chamber which opens out at a level much above that of the passage itself. The chamber, which contains tombs, gives access to a second room that looks as if it had never been finished. A fracture, probably recent, in one of the walls of the latter places it in communication with a cistern that opens into the passage, E, through another opening. Opposite these chambers the passage is much higher, and runs on in zigzags, difficult of explanation, through rock that becomes more and more friable. Along the walls are traces of "trough" graves. The over-thin roof has fallen in at two points, and it seems clear that tombs hewn in the surface of the rock were broken into when this long tunnel was cut. After several changes of direction the gallery ends at the boundary wall of the Russian property, by the side of the road. The stone was evidently too soft for a continuation of the work. Robinson¹ had already noticed this, and remarked that the air in the gallery was pure. Beyond the entrance to E there is no lining of *hamra*, not even in the two chambers, the walls of which are dressed with perhaps more care than those of the principal part of the tomb.

The irregular orientation of the tomb was necessitated by the lie of the rock—if, indeed, those who excavated it cared about orientation. But before inquiring into the origin of the tomb we must complete the statement of facts that throw light upon it. These are of two kinds—the technical details connected with its construction, and the inscriptions found in it. Let us return to the entrance.

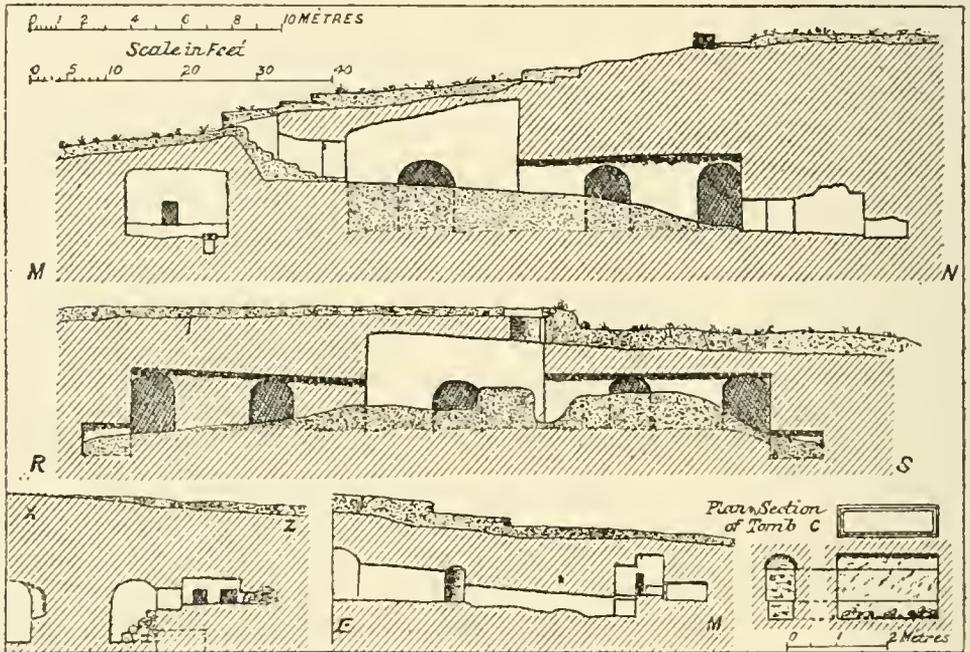
The situation of the outer door with reference to the vestibule, and the form of the latter, seem to indicate a later adaptation of that chamber to a purpose not originally intended. One cannot well explain, as an entrance to a subterranean tomb, that opening, tacked on, as it were, to a wall, and necessitating an inconvenient flight of several steps. Why was not the floor lowered by continuing the outer passage to the slope of the hill? or, if it was thought necessary to lower the level of the vestibule so as to reach a better bed of rock, why was the useless task undertaken of raising the roof in accordance with the lie of the rock to such an extent as to compromise its stability? The opening at one end of the roof is too much out of harmony with the other details to have been placed there for lighting purposes. All becomes clear if the hypothesis

¹ "Bibl. Res.," London, Murray, 1856, vol. iii, p. 254.

of M. Clermont-Ganneau be adopted, that the rotunda was an old cistern selected as the starting point for a large burial place. The original mouth, being rendered useless by the construction of an entrance, was enlarged so as to give light. The circular form is comparatively common in cisterns, and there is no need to attribute to it a Canaanite origin.

No tomb has been found in the vestibule, nor in the perpendicular passages, and the great gallery must be reached to find the *kôkîm*, or tombs cut perpendicularly into the face of the rock. Let us enter by passage B, which is the most obstructed, for earth has fallen in through a fracture in the roof. At B¹ (*d*) in the north wall, M. Ganneau has pointed out the commencement of a gallery which might complete "the symmetry of the circular plan" ("Arch. Res.," p. 348), and contain undisturbed tombs. No clearance has been made since; the rubbish must, on the contrary, have increased, for we could not confirm the existence of the supposed gallery. One would have to presume that it was at a much lower level than the other galleries, for, about two mètres below their roofs, its opening is not visible. Moreover, the completion of the circular plan would be difficult on account of the rapid fall of the rock, and, in any case, it would have been irregular in the opposite section towards the passage E. In the absence of proofs, which could be easily supplied by excavation, it would be simpler to admit the existence of one or more *kôkîm*. The series of visible tombs commences near this point. The mouths of the *loculi* are on a level with the floor and very low, the mean being 0.45 mètre, and they have a nearly uniform width of 0.65 mètre. Their heads are slightly curved, but they show no traces of rabbets to receive flat closing stones. I only noticed one case, the western *loculus* of chamber F, in which that mode of closure could have existed. The "ovens" (*kôkîm*) run into the rock at right angles. They are excavated with little care, and, apparently, widen or contract, according to the greater or less resistance which the rock offered to the miner. They have never had a coating of *hamra*. Their mean length is about 1.95 mètres, and they are usually slightly rounded at the end. A detail, hitherto not pointed out and perhaps of some importance, is their unusual depth, and their division into three floors by insets in the rock that appear to have carried slabs of stone. The sketches published in the great work of the English engineers ("Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem," Plate XXIV, Nos. 6, 7) only give this arrangement approximately. It is not always apparent in the present state of the necropolis, but nearly everywhere traces of it can be seen, and in some tombs it is quite clear. It reminds one of the Roman catacombs with their *loculi*, each containing a body, arranged in tiers one above the other. Admitting the existence of some means of closing the *loculus* when filled, one might readily suppose that each grave of the *Kabâr el-'Anbiâ* received several bodies one above the other—two at least and perhaps three. This detail, quite probable, is of value for the later discussion on the origin of the tomb. It is further the only instance known to me in Palestine of a tomb so arranged. At most one might compare it with that known at Jerusalem

as the "tomb of St. Simon," and in the Greek Orthodox Church as *Katamôn*. Yet the analogy would be imperfect, for there is here only a single inset to carry a slab on which, perhaps, rubble masonry was piled to protect the body. One might cite the Nabataean tombs at Petra which have in some cases been closed by three slabs, one above the other, but the intervals between them were filled with masonry. It was a precautionary measure, added to many others to mislead treasure-hunters, and preserve the inviolability of the tomb. If this had been done in the Tombs of the Prophets some traces of the masonry would have been left. In any case the precaution would have been useless, as the position of the tomb was in no way concealed on the outside.



The openings of the *kôkim* are as a rule 0·65 mètre wide, but in some rare exceptions they are only 0·55 mètre. Their distribution along the wall is very unequal, especially from B¹ to D. Beyond this they are 0·80 mètre, 0·75 mètre, and 0·70 mètre apart. Intervals of 0·65 mètre and of 1 mètre are very rare. At *a*, where the gallery makes such an abrupt turn, one expected to find a *kôk*, but nothing can be seen except a shallow cutting in the rock. Perhaps the work was abandoned when it was found that there was some risk of breaking into the adjoining tomb in the main gallery. Had the chamber, which opens at D, any bearing on the deviation in the course of the semi-circular passage which, up to this point, is regular? Schick thought so. He considers this chamber to be "of Jewish origin and probably older than other portions of the tomb."¹ The plan which he gives would prove the

¹ *Quarterly Statement*, 1893, p. 131. He had, however, previously remarked that the round form is Canaanite, and the square Jewish. The chamber should thus be later than the gallery.

contrary, for it shows that the *kôkîm* were arranged with the greatest care, so that they should not break through the lower tomb or the wall of the passage, which, however, was afterwards broken. There is, however, no contradiction between the text and the plan, for the plan at this point is inaccurate. M. de Sauley, struck by this peculiarity of the sepulchre, found a reason for it which would have been sufficient if it had been real. "At this point," he wrote, "the rock-wall, thanks to the presence of beds of flint,¹ were so difficult to cut that the general idea was abandoned. Four rude irregular steps were cut in the rock, and led to a small square chamber with 2·30-mètre sides. The walls of the latter are pierced by five 'oven' tombs" ("Voyage Autour de la Mer Morte," p. 284). Whether the rude steps are cut in the rock is doubtful—a few blows with a pick would show; but I could not see the beds of flint. The soft, fine-grained white limestone was visible everywhere. After a close examination, it seemed to me most probable that the chamber was excavated at the same time as the remainder of the tomb. Its pre-existence, which would account for the change in the direction of the gallery, raises serious difficulties, of which the principal one arises from the arrangement of the *kôkîm*. The rock-wall on the side of the gallery being only a mètre thick, the "oven" tomb on that side, already shorter than usual, enters the wall at an angle so as not to break through it. The two tombs on the east are regular, whilst that to the south, which is blocked up, may be the door of another chamber, or the exit. The rudimentary excavation on the west can only be an abandoned attempt to make a tomb. Was the rock too bad or did some circumstance prevent the completion of the operation? I think it was stopped through fear of breaking into the adjoining tomb at a lower level. The form of the chamber is another objection to its prior existence. Its large sides are 2·15 mètres and 2·33 mètres, but it is not regular. Its height rarely exceeds 1 mètre, and its original entrance would have to be placed at the opening on the south, which, considering its position on the hill, would have been a bad arrangement. Let us hope that a small excavation may some day throw light on the subject. Meantime we may, if we like, imagine an alteration of the chamber to connect it with the new burial place of which it had so inconveniently deranged the plan. This hypothesis would account for the appearance of the *loculi* on the north and west.

On the other hand, the view that the chamber and the galleries have the same origin meets the difficulties to which allusion has been made. Others doubtless exist. It is necessary to find a reason for the turn in the gallery or say that it was the result of accident. It is also necessary to justify the inconvenient access to the chamber, and its position at this point rather than at another. Without spending more time on a question which may be solved to-morrow by research, let us lay stress upon the

¹ Ganneau ("Arch. Res.," p. 332), mentions these flints, or something like them, to explain the elbow made by the gallery, but he puts forward no hypothesis.

fact that the graves are as numerous as possible, and that little care was taken in making them.

The chamber, which opens at the end of the passage A A', has the same characteristics. The passage, 2·10 mètres long, which leads to it, looks like a lengthened "oven" tomb. At the bottom of the passage, which was closed by a large door 0·62 mètre wide, there is a rectangular chamber 3·10 mètres by 2·75 mètres. Its height is not uniform, and it is difficult to give it accurately on account of the fractures in the roof and the *débris* which covers the floor. The walls are imperfectly dressed, even if one attributes to later deterioration the large hollows which exist in places. There are two *loculi*—one opposite the entrance which has a depth of 1·70 mètres, and one, which is larger and a little less irregular, in the west wall. M. de Saulcy's plan gives only the first, and M. Schick's only the second. The latter, who has written "Jewish tomb" in the other chamber, marks this simply as "unfinished."

No tomb is visible in the rock-masses isolated by the intersection of the galleries. There may, however, be some which are still concealed by the rubbish. Towards the middle of the inner gallery a kind of high, wide niche has been cut in the wall. The Arabs, from its form, call it *heikal*, "apse," and the bench of rock which it surmounts *maṣṭabah*. It is curious that this unexplained recess has not received the more appropriate title *mihrab*. Is it to be regarded as an indication of some religious cult? The group of tombs round the chamber F might well be earlier than the semi-circular sepulchre. Evidence of this might be found in the sudden break in the passage E, and its change of character to pass round known tombs, which had to be spared if it were only for fresh interments. The form of the tombs also presents some peculiarities. I have already mentioned the mode of closing the western *loculus* of the first chamber. One might add the slightly better dressing, the stone bench in front of the walls, and the "trough" grave of the inner chamber. It is true that this last feature, combined with the somewhat oval form of the room, might be opposed to the indications of an earlier date. The plan shows the relations of this chamber to the entrance to the necropolis. If the *kôkîm* were replaced by "trough" graves and the wall of the chamber was not straightened, was not this from fear of injuring the entrance? Every theory has its difficulties. Perhaps some new fact might be obtained if the small eastern opening of F were cleared out. It has not the usual appearance of an "oven" grave, and it may give access to a smaller sepulchral chamber, or to a better concealed tomb. The remains of burials visible in the long passage have been noticed already, and do not forward the solution of the problem connected with the necropolis. There is nothing to be gathered from some small fragments of glass and pottery which I collected in the *kôkîm*.

M. Clermont-Ganneau was the first to collect and interpret the inscriptions. Attention had been called to them by Waddington and

De Vogüé,¹ who, in 1862, discovered a Greek *graffito*, and one in rather old Hebrew. M. Ganneau, in spite of his efforts, could only read part of the *graffiti*. After an interval of 25 years, the difficulty has been increased by the injury which the necropolis has suffered. An unfortunate circumstance has now made it almost impossible to read them. When the Russians bought the tomb, the Jews pleaded the inscriptions in their language on the walls as a prescriptive title in their favour, and it was decided to cut these claims short. A new coating was given to the lining of *hamra*, and this effaced the Hebrew, Greek, and other *graffiti*. The old texts, which are lightly cut, suffered much, but they have not been destroyed. By degrees the new coat of plaster has been covered with other names, and as it falls in dust the large slender letters reappear. By a discreet use of brushes one is able to clear them.

Father Vincent gives each *loculus* a number, beginning at C¹. Nos. 1 to 16 are between C¹-A¹; 17 to 21 between the two chambers, 22 just beyond chamber D, and 23 to 27 in the last branch of the gallery.² The author gives M. Ganneau's readings ("Arch. Res.," i, pp. 342 ff), with notes upon those which have not been destroyed.³ He states that his examination of the tomb, and the corrections he has been able to make in its plan, confirm M. Ganneau's theory. The *Kabûr el-'Anbiâ* is not an ancient Jewish sepulchre, appropriated and developed by Christians, but a tomb excavated in the fourth or fifth century of our era by some foreign association at Jerusalem, for those of its members who died in the Holy City. An abandoned cistern was probably selected as the place for commencing the excavation, and a semi-circular form was given to it so as to obtain a larger number of graves. The same idea led to the adoption of the *kôkîm* characteristic of Jewish tombs in preference to the usual Christian *arcosolia*. There is no proof that the *polyandrium* was originally used by a Jewish institution, and that it only became Christian property at a later period.

C. W. W.

¹ "Le Temple de Jérusalem," p. 132 and Pl. 37, No. 2, and "Inscriptions Gr. et Lat. de Syrie," No. 1903A. The prior notice of M. de Sauley, who writes of very ancient Hebrew texts mixed with Egyptian demotic, cannot be taken seriously.

² Counting only the *kôkîm* in the semi-circular gallery and neglecting those in the chambers, the number visible is 27.

³ See Mr. Macalister's note on the present state of the inscriptions in *Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 22.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____
to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the
said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer
of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my
Executors.

Signature _____

Witnesses { _____

NOTE.—*Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America;
Two suffice in Great Britain.*



(From a photo by Messrs. Alfred Ellis and Walery.)

SIR WALTER BESANT, KNT.

THE
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

NOTES AND NEWS.

THE next *Quarterly Statement* will contain the opening portion of a paper on "Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre," by Sir C. Wilson. The paper will include translations from early writers who have noticed the two Holy Places, and an examination of the various theories which have been advanced with regard to them.

The following information respecting the water supply of Jerusalem, extracted from private correspondence, may be of interest to the subscribers to the Fund:—

The deficiency in the rainfall in Palestine last winter led to such a serious scarcity of water at Jerusalem, that the municipality of the city appealed to the Sultan for assistance. His Imperial Majesty at once ordered that £76,000 should be set apart from the revenues of the "Evkaf" to meet the cost of bringing water in iron pipes to Jerusalem from the "Sealed Fountain," near Solomon's Pools. The work has been placed in the hands of M. Franghia, a Greek engineer, who has ordered, through a German merchant in the city, 20,000 mètres of pipe from Belgium. It is impossible to say when the work will be completed, but in any case the water will only be brought to the Harâm esh-Sherif, and the lower part of the town, and, though good in quality, it will be insufficient in quantity.

Meantime, to alleviate the distress amongst the poor, the municipality, at the suggestion, we believe, of Mr. John Dickson, H.B.M.'s Consul at Jerusalem, have made a contract with the Railway Company to bring water in tanks from "Philip's Fountain," or from the spring at Welejeh. Instead, however, of

building a reservoir close to the station and fitting it with half a dozen brass taps, they have built a small cistern by the side of the road near the lower pool, Birket es-Sultan. The water is conducted from the tank wagons at the station to the cistern by a garden hose and is then pumped up again and sold to the poor for one-third piastre the skin. This has been a great boon to the poor.

Notes by Dr. C. Schick:—

1. Owing to the scarcity of water in the city, the fellahin have begun to bring water in skins laid on donkeys from the various springs at some distance round, as from Lifta, 'Ain Karim, 'Ain Yalo, and 'Ain Hanîyeh on the one side, and from 'Ain Fara and El Bireh on the other; also carriages bring water from El Bireh¹ in large boxes, tinned inside and properly covered. The two following works have been undertaken by the local authorities:—

(a) In the south-western corner of the lower pool or Birket es-Sultan, in the upper part of the "Valley of Hinnom," west of the city, a cistern, about 40 feet long and 13 feet wide inside, has been built. By means of pipes or waterproof hose water from the spring of Walejeh, near Bittir, which is higher than the railway, is conveyed to large vessels on railway trucks and brought to the station at Jerusalem, whence it is allowed to run through similar pipes or hose into this new-made cistern, and an office has been opened for the sale of this water at a cheap and fixed price.

(b) The old, worn-out earthen pipes of the aqueduct from Solomon's Pools are to be removed, and replaced by iron ones of about 4 inches (or more) in diameter, but this will not be of any service this year.

2. My son-in-law made recently a tour with his family to Hebron and stayed a few days there. He told me the springs there are very scanty and some even dry, but, to his astonishment, he found water in the so-called house of Abraham at "Ramet el-Khalil." Some people are now living there, and the ground round about is laid out for gardens and cultivated. It seems that at the bottom or on the sides of the fine round well there there is

¹ As the carriage road to this place has been finished about four weeks.

a spring, which must be perennial, as it is not dried up in such a dry season as the present. I think it may be Bor Hassirah ("the well of Sirah," 2 Samuel iii, 26), as 'Ain Sara is too near Hebron.

3. Some friends made recently a tour to Beit Atab and its neighbourhood, and they told me that in the gardens at 'Ain el-Tannur there are such large and fine lemons as scarcely will be found elsewhere south of Jaffa.

4. On the premises of Christ Church they are now digging foundations for a new school building, and have found the rock in the narrow laue north of the church, about 40 feet below the surface of the ground, or somewhat lower than it was found by me at the minister's house, which is attached to the north side of the church. Hence it appears that the original surface of the rock sloped northwards. Hitherto nothing of importance has been found.

A notice, by Dr. Masterman, of an interesting discovery recently made by the villagers of Siloam has come to hand as we were going to press. Our readers may remember that Dr. Schick, a few years ago, traced, for some distance, the course of an aqueduct in the valley of the Kidron, which, he believed, carried the water of the Fountain of the Virgin to Siloam before the rock-hewn tunnel that now connects the spring with the pool was made. The villagers, working under one of the men, Jum'aa, trained by Dr. Bliss, have found the upper part of an aqueduct, apparently connected with that discovered by Dr. Schick, near the spring, and Dr. Masterman and Mr. Hornstein have followed its course downward for 176 feet. Excavations are being continued, and it is expected that further discoveries will be made. Dr. Masterman's notice, with, it is hoped, additional information, will be published in the next *Quarterly Statement*.

The "Flora of Syria, Palestine, and Sinai," by the Rev. George E. Post, M.D., Beirût, Syria, containing descriptions of all the Phaenogams and Acrogens of the region, and illustrated by 441 woodcuts, may be had at the office of the Fund, price 21s.

In order to make up complete sets of the "Quarterly Statement," the Committee will be very glad to receive any of the back numbers.

The income of the Society from June 20th to September 21st, 1901, was—from Annual Subscriptions and Donations, including Local Societies, £157 0s. 7d.; from Lectures, *nil*; from sales of publications, &c., £96 9s. 1d.; total, £253 9s. 8d. The expenditure during the same period was £381 9s. 8d. On September 21st the balance in the Bank was £236 0s. 3d.

Subscribers in U.S.A. to the work of the Fund will please note that they can procure copies of any of the publications from the Rev. Professor Theo. F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary to the Fund, 42, Quincy Street, Cambridge, Mass.

The Committee will be glad to communicate with ladies and gentlemen willing to help the Fund as Honorary Secretaries.

The price of a complete set of the translations published by the Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society, in 13 volumes, with general index, bound in cloth, is £10 10s. A catalogue describing the contents of each volume can be had on application to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street.

The Museum at the office of the Fund, 38 Conduit Street (a few doors from Bond Street), is open to visitors every week-day from 10 o'clock till 5, except Saturdays, when it is closed at 2 p.m.

It may be well to mention that plans and photographs alluded to in the reports from Jerusalem and elsewhere cannot all be published, but all are preserved in the office of the Fund, where they may be seen by subscribers.

While desiring to give 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.

TOURISTS are cordially invited to visit the Loan Collection of "Antiques" in the JERUSALEM ASSOCIATION ROOM of the Palestine Exploration Fund, opposite the Tower of David, Jerusalem. Hours: 8 to 12, and 2 to 6. Maps of Palestine and Palestine Exploration Fund publications are kept for sale.

Photographs of Dr. Schick's models (1) of the Temple of Solomon, (2) of the Herodian Temple, (3) of the Haram Area during the Christian occupation of Jerusalem, and (4) of the Haram Area as it is at present, have been received at the office of the Fund. Sets of these photographs, with an explanation by

Dr. Schick, can be purchased by applying to the Secretary, 38 Conduit Street, W.

Branch Associations of the Bible Society, all Sunday Schools within the Sunday School Institute, the Sunday School Union, and the Wesleyan Sunday School Institute, will please observe that by a special Resolution of the Committee they will henceforth be treated as subscribers and be allowed to purchase the books and maps (by application only to the Secretary) at reduced price.

The Committee will be glad to receive donations of Books to the Library of the Fund, which already contains many works of great value relating to Palestine and other Bible Lands. A catalogue of Books in the Library will be found in the July *Quarterly Statement*, 1893.

The Committee acknowledge with thanks the following:—

“Recueil d’Archéologie Orientale.” Tome IV, Livraisons 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, June to August. *Sommaire*:—§ 51. Sur quelques cachets israélites archaïques (suite et fin). § 52. Dolmens et monuments de pierres brutes en Palestine. § 53. Bostra et son mur d’enceinte nabatéen. § 54. Sur quelques noms de vêtements chez les Arabes de Palestine. § 55. Urne punique avec inscription à l’encre. § 56. La carte de la Terre Promise d’après la mosaïque de Mâdebâ. § 57. La destruction du Saint-Sépulchre par le calife Hâkem et l’inscription coufique de la basilique de Constantin. § 58. Inscription romaine de Nîha. § 59. Le droit des pauvres et le cycle pentaétérique chez les Nabatéens. § 60. Les cerfs mangeurs de serpents. § 61. Notes de mythologie sémitique. § 62. La stèle phénicienne d’Amrith (à suivre). From the Author, Ch. Clermont-Ganneau.

FORM OF BEQUEST TO THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

I give to the Palestine Exploration Fund, London, the sum of _____ to be applied towards the General Work of the Fund; and I direct that the said sum be paid, free of Legacy Duty, and that the Receipt of the Treasurer of the Palestine Exploration Fund shall be a sufficient discharge to my Executors.

Signature _____

Witnesses { _____

NOTE.—Three Witnesses are necessary in the United States of America;
 Two suffice in Great Britain.

ANNUAL MEETING.

THE Annual Meeting of the Fund was held at No. 38 Conduit Street, W., on Tuesday, July 16th, 1901, Mr. Walter Morrison in the chair. There were present:—Viscount Sidmouth, Dr. Chaplin, Rev. Wm. Henry Rogers, D.D., Professor Hull, Mr. J. D. Crace, Mr. W. H. Rylands, Mr. H. C. Kay, Mr. Herbert Bentwich, and others.

The SECRETARY having read the notice convening the meeting,

The CHAIRMAN announced that letters had been received from the following gentlemen regretting their inability to attend:—Mr. James Glaisher, Major-General Sir Charles W. Wilson, the Dean of Westminster, Canon Tristram, Professor George Adam Smith, Mr. James Melrose, Mr. D. MacDonald, Rev. W. F. Birch, Mr. F. D. Mocatta, and the Rev. Thomas Harrison.

The CHAIRMAN read the Annual Report:—

GENTLEMEN,

In resigning the office to which they were elected at the last Annual Meeting, your Executive Committee have the honour to present the following Report:—

They have held twenty-one meetings for the transaction of business.

Since our last Annual Meeting the Fund has had to deplore the death of Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria, who had been Patron of the Society from its origin, and was one of the earliest contributors to its funds. The late Queen recognised that the primary object of the Fund was to aid in making the Bible better understood by a systematic study of the archæology, natural history, and physical geography of the Holy Land, as well as the manners and customs of its inhabitants, and it was because the Palestine Exploration Fund sought to carry on such investigations that Her Majesty gave it her patronage and support.

It is with much satisfaction that the Executive Committee are enabled to announce that the King has been graciously pleased to accede to the request, submitted to His Majesty by the President, that he would become Patron of the Fund in succession to Her late Majesty.

The Committee have also to lament the loss by death of the following members of the General Committee, namely—the Marquess of Bute, K.T., the Bishop of London (Dr. Creighton), Sir H. W. Acland, K.C.B., Mr. Arthur H. Heywood; and the following members of the Executive Committee, namely—Sir Walter Besant, Mr. Henry A. Harper, and Mr. Basil Woodd Smith.

The death of Sir Walter Besant is especially lamented, on account of his long connection with the Fund as Secretary and Honorary Secretary, his intimate acquaintance with all the details of its management, his sincere and deep interest in its work, and the cheerful readiness with which he always gave his advice and help when appealed to.

The excavations at Tell Sandahannah were brought to a close on August 31st. The Firman having expired shortly afterwards, Dr. Bliss had the surface of the Tell restored to its original condition, and then proceeded to Beyrout, whilst Mr. Macalister returned to England.

Portions of their reports and plans have appeared from time to time in the *Quarterly Statements* of the Fund, and they are at present engaged in preparing a full account of the excavations at Tell Zakariya, Tell es-Sâfi, Tell ej-Judeideh, and Tell Sandahannah under the recent Firman. The work will, it is hoped, be published early next year. It will form a companion volume to the "Memoirs," and will contain over 100 full-sized plates of plans, pottery, &c., besides woodcuts. The specimens of pottery have been drawn to scale by Mr. Macalister, and will form a guide to the classification of future finds of pottery in Palestine.

At Tell Sandahannah the foundations of a small walled Seleucidan town were laid bare and planned, with its gates, streets, houses, reservoirs, &c. During the progress of the works some fine specimens of lamps, vases, and jars, three important fragments of Seleucidan inscriptions, 50 stones with inscriptions in Hebrew and Greek, and a group of small figures in lead were found. Casts of the stones have been placed in the hands of Professor Wünsch, of Breslau, who, in a preliminary report respecting them, writes:—

"In spite of all *lacunæ*, these stones furnish us with sufficient information to enable us to declare their general meaning. It was an ancient Greek practice for a man who conceived himself

to have suffered wrong to deposit a statement of the facts of the case in some sanctuary, thus making a sort of appeal to the god from whose inexorable justice he hoped to receive satisfaction. The existence of this custom is proved by numberless documents, the earliest of which is the papyrus of Artemisia, dating, perhaps, from the third century B.C. (*see* Thompson's 'Handbook of Palæography,' p. 119), which has at last been printed in the 'Corpus Inscr. Attic.,' App., p. xxxi. In this papyrus, which she deposited in the Temple of Serapis, Artemisia informs the god that the father of her children refused to see about the burial of their little daughter. 'When he has done justice to me and to his children in this matter, then all shall be well; but should he do injustice to me and his children in this matter, then may Serapis and the other gods forbid that either his children shall bury him or that he shall bury his parents.' And as in this case the appeal to Heaven works out into a curse on the sinner, so also in the Bruttian lead tablet ('C.I.A.,' App., p. ix), on which a woman informs the goddess (probably Hecate) that she has been robbed, and the thief shall never have a quiet moment until she restores to the goddess what she has stolen.

"A whole collection of such lead tablets has been brought to light of late by the excavations in Cnidus. They were first published by Newton, in 'A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ,' vol. ii, part 2, p. 719, and lately in the 'C.I.A.,' App., p. x. The first of these tablets runs thus:—

"'A vow of Antigone to Demeter, Kore, Pluto, and to all the gods and goddesses of Demeter's court. If I have given poison to Asclepiades, or have the thought of doing him any evil, or if I have given one of the temple women a mina and a half to send him out of the world, then may Antigone be consumed with inward fire until she comes to Demeter and confesses her sin, and may Demeter not be gracious unto her, but rack her with grievous torments.'

"The inscribed stones from Tell Sandahannah belong to the same category. The exact formula of the curse we do not know; but we do know well the matters wherein the writers were injured."

An application for a new Firman to examine a well-known site was sent through the Foreign Office on February 26th. The

Committee have reason to hope that shortly a favourable reply will be received. Mr. Macalister, who has already rendered good service to the Fund, will be in charge.

Some interesting observations by Gray Hill, Esq., on the rise and fall of the waters of the Dead Sea, which were recorded in the July *Quarterly Statement* of last year, have given rise to considerable curiosity with regard to the origin and nature of the fluctuations of level in the surface of the Dead Sea. The Committee, at the suggestion of Sir C. Wilson, instructed Mr. Macalister to cut a mark on a rock, washed by the waters of the lake, from which the level of the surface could be measured and its monthly fluctuations ascertained. On October 9th, 1900, Mr. Macalister cut a horizontal mark on a rock near 'Ain Feshkah, at a height of 14 feet above the surface of the lake on that day. Monthly observations have been taken since, and the results will be published when the observations for a year have been received and compared with those taken at Tiberias and with the rainfall.

Dr. Torrance has made a similar mark at Tiberias, and has made arrangements for monthly observations of the rise and fall of the surface of the Sea of Galilee.

Apart from reports of the systematic researches of the Officers of the Fund, the *Quarterly Statements* contain valuable reports and articles by well-known scholars and explorers.

Mr. F. B. Welch has contributed a paper on "The Influence of the Ægean Civilisation on South Palestine"; Dr. Samuel Ives Curtiss, a description of a "High Place and Altar at Petra," which was rediscovered by Professor G. L. Robinson, Ph.D., of Chicago; the Rev. J. E. Hanauer, an account of the discovery of ancient "Rock-hewn Vats near Bîr Eyûb," and other papers; Mr. Jennings-Bramley, a description of "Sport among the Bedawîn"; the Rev. Putnam Cady, a valuable account of an "Exploration of the Wady Môjib from the Dead Sea"; the Rev. John Zeller, a "Lecture on the Bedawîn."

Mr. P. Baldensperger's interesting papers on "Woman in the East" have been concluded, and Dr. Schick has contributed articles on "The Ancient Churches in the Muristan," "Kubeibel," by some supposed to be the ancient Emmaus, and many paragraphs for "Notes and News."

M. Clermont-Ganneau has commenced his series of Archæological and Epigraphic Notes, and the following have already been published :—

1. Seal of the Leper Hospital of St. Lazarus, Jerusalem. 2. Rhodian not Jewish Amphora Handles. 3. Inscription from the Columbarium es-Sûk. 4. Roman Inscriptions on a Jerusalem Aqueduct. 5. Greek Inscription from Beersheba. 6. The Land of Promise, mapped in mosaic at Mâdeba. 7. The Cufic Inscription in the Basilica of Constantine and the Destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Caliph Hâkem.

During the regrettable illness of the Chairman, Mr. Glaiser, Sir Charles Wilson has acted as Vice-Chairman. He has also contributed notices on foreign publications and other matters to the *Quarterly Statement*.

Through the courtesy of His Excellency Hamdi Bey, the Director of the Imperial Museum at Constantinople, the Committee have received duplicates of some of the objects found during the recent excavations of the Fund. The duplicates include Jewish and Rhodian stamped jar-handles, some of the curious little figures in lead which M. Clermont-Ganneau supposes were intended to represent persons against whom incantations were directed (*Quarterly Statement*, 1901, p. 58), lamps, and pottery of various ages. All have been placed in the Museum of the Fund at 38 Conduit Street.

The small Library and Museum of the Fund at Jerusalem has recently been moved to a large room in St. George's College, which has most kindly been placed at the disposal of the Fund by the Right Rev. G. Popham Blyth, D.D., Anglican Bishop in Jerusalem, acting for the Anglican College Council.

Since the last Annual Meeting 59 names have been added to the list of subscribers, and 118 have been lost through death and other causes.

Our warmest thanks are due to the honorary local secretaries for their generous help in collecting and forwarding subscriptions to the office of the Fund.

The following is the Treasurer's Statement, which was published with the Balance Sheet in the April number of the *Quarterly Statement* :—

THE TREASURER'S STATEMENT.

The income of the Fund during the year 1900 amounted to £2,529 6s. 11d., which was contributed under the following headings :—

From Donations and Subscriptions, £1,999 7s. 5½d.; from Lectures, £11 5s. 6d.; from sales of publications, £518 13s. 11½d. At the end of 1899 there was a balance in the bank of £241 5s. 4d., which included £41 11s. 6d. paid in advance for 1900, making the total available balance £2,770 12s. 3d.

On comparing these sums with those of 1899 it will be seen that the subscriptions are less by £82 10s. 0d., and sales of publications by £91 5s. 0d., nearly.

The expenditure during the same period was :—

On exploration, mainly carried on at Tells Sâfi, Judeideh, and Sandahannah, descriptions of which appeared in the *Quarterly Statement*, £1,063 9s. 0d.

On printing, binding, including the *Quarterly Statement*, £391 0s. 3d.

On maps, lithographs, illustrations, photographs, &c., £209 7s. 0½d., which included a reprint of the 12 and 20-sheet Old and New Testament maps, collotype print, &c.

Against these two sums (£600 7s. 3½d.), the Fund received £518 13s. 11½d.

On advertising, insurance, stationery, &c., £59 12s. 0½d.

On postage of the *Quarterly Statement*, books, maps, &c., £131 12s. 1d.

On the management, which includes salaries, wages, office rent, gas, coals, &c., £594 3s. 11d.

The balance in the Bank on December 31st, 1900, was £291 7s. 11d.

ASSETS.	£	s.	d.	LIABILITIES.	£	s.	d.
Balance in Bank, December 31st, 1900.. ..	291	7	11	Printers' Bills and Current Expenses	605	10	4
Stock of Publications in hand, Surveying Instruments, Show Cases, Furniture, &c.							
In addition there is the valuable library and the unique collection of antiques, models, &c.							

WALTER MORRISON, *Treasurer.*

The amount received from America through the Rev. Professor Theodore F. Wright, Honorary General Secretary, was from—

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions	210	0	0
Sales of publications	31	15	4
Total	241	15	4

The CHAIRMAN.—The first business which we have is to consider the Report, and I have to ask the gentlemen present to be good enough to adopt it. It is with great regret that I find I have to take the chair to-day. You are probably aware that Mr. Glaisher is getting well on in years, and we are very sorry that illness prevents his being present here with us to-day. All the members of the Executive Committee recognise the very great services which he has rendered to the Fund. He has been a most admirable Chairman from every point of view, very attentive and constant in his attendance on the Committees, and doing a great deal of work outside the Committee meetings. He is a man well known in the scientific world, known all over Europe, and we of the Executive Committee recognise fully his administrative ability, and the manner in which he was able to make things go well. From the tone of his letter we hope that he will be again able to attend our meetings.

Sir Charles Wilson is away in Wales, and so my colleagues on the Executive Committee have been good enough to ask me to take the chair to-day as being the oldest member present on the Committee and also as Treasurer of the Fund. I am sure you will agree with us in deploring the loss of Sir Walter Besant. When this Fund was first established Mr. George Grove was our honorary secretary. Some of you will recollect Mr. Grove as a man of very great ability, with a large amount of energy and activity. The chief defect which he felt in the constitution of the universe was that there were only 24 hours in the day. Mr. Grove had that unbounded energy which led him to be always ready to take up any work in which he felt an interest. He was secretary of the Crystal Palace Company, which was quite a big undertaking, and as it was in difficulties it gave him a great deal of harassing work, and at that time he had a number of other interests. Also the remainder of us who were on the Executive Committee were all men who were, and are, busy in different ways, and it became necessary to appoint some one, on a salary, who would be able to give continuous attention to the work. I remember, and I mention it as an illustration of Mr. George Grove's willingness to undertake work, that when the book called "The Recovery of Jerusalem" was being written he gaily agreed to edit it, and as an editor of the "Dictionary of the Bible" he was about the best man to fulfil that task. The time passed on

and on, and we were under contract to deliver that book by a certain date to the publisher. At the last moment Mr. Grove said it was utterly impossible for him to do it. As there was nobody else on the Committee to do it at the time, it was thrown upon me, and in 10 days I had to edit that book, and consequently was compelled to work at it 10 or 12 hours a day. First of all, I had to cut down the papers to about one-third of their bulk in order to reduce them to the limited space to be occupied. I also had to reduce all the transliteration of the Arabic names to the common denominator, thereby, of course, offending every one of the writers.

About this time Mr. Besant came home from Manritins, where he had been Professor of Mathematics in the Royal College, and was appointed Secretary to the Fund. His perfect knowledge of French was of much service to us. He was a man of much ability, and soon brought the affairs of the Fund into order. He established a regular system of accounts, and started the *Quarterly Statement*. He had the literary gift which enabled him with ease to throw off a number of papers and prefaces, and other literary work, in the most satisfactory way to us and to the members of the Society. And then also we had great advantages from his nature; his was a strong and simple character, and he had the gift of sympathy; everybody got on well with him. He had a great knowledge of men, which must have stood him in good case in his profession of novelist, and he seemed to have the gift of extracting information in a quiet way, so that one found oneself almost insensibly obliged to give up everything one knew of the matter in hand. Owing to his other avocations Sir Walter was not, in his later years, regular in his attendance here in the Committee Room; but we could always rely upon him whenever we were in difficulties and whenever we wanted the advice of a sensible, intelligent, and capable man. His loss is very great. It was not until he had satisfied himself that Mr. George Armstrong was capable of taking his place that he discontinued attending our meetings.

I ought to mention that Canon Dalton is one of the most regular attendants and valuable members of the Committee. He is unable to be present to-day because he is accompanying his old pupil, Prince George, on his visit to the Colonies; but we hope

that when he comes back again he will show as much energy and zeal in the work of the Fund as he has done in the past.

With regard to the General Report, you will see that we have been still engaged in excavating the different sites in the Holy Land. We have been urged from time to time to continue our excavations at Jerusalem, but there seems to be more prospect of useful work being done in the very numerous Tells which are found scattered over the surface of the country. The difficulty, of course, is to select sites, but we are gradually getting together the materials for greatly increasing our knowledge of the land and of the habits of the people in ancient times. Professor Wünsch is, I understand, about the highest authority on the subject of the ancient Greek inscriptions which have been found, and you will agree that the extracts from his letter which I have read are very interesting indeed. We have applied for a new Firman, but our experience of the Turkish Government is very similar to the experience which some of us have had of other Governments as well. It takes a long time to get their decision upon any subject whatever. We have a good friend at Constantinople, His Excellency Hamdi Bey, who takes a very deep and intelligent interest in archæological work, and I can only express a hope, as the Committee have also done, that we shall receive shortly a favourable reply. As soon as we get the Firman we shall trust our work to Mr. Macalister, who has already done good service to the Fund under the leadership of Dr. Bliss. Mr. Macalister has learned Arabic, and has a good working knowledge of archæology. You will observe that we state our hope that when the new volume of "Memoirs" on the excavations at these sites is published, it will form a standard guide for the classification of future finds of pottery in Palestine.

I think we owe to Professor Flinders Petrie the systematic arrangement of pottery in such a way as to indicate date. Of course, other people besides Professor Flinders Petrie have seen that there are differences in pottery, and that there are different kinds belonging to different ages; but Professor Flinders Petrie was the first to carry on the study of this pottery in a systematic way. Dr. Bliss was Professor Flinders Petrie's pupil, and was sent to Egypt for six months to study under him the methods of excavation, and especially the way of identifying the age of pottery. No doubt our new book will be of great value to

scholars in all countries. I do not know that I have any other remarks to make, but I shall be very happy to hear any observations on the Report.

Viscount SIDMOUTH.—I should like to ask whether the powers of the late Firman are exhausted.

The CHAIRMAN.—Yes. The powers of the Firman were exhausted at the end of October last.

Viscount SIDMOUTH.—I suppose no further excavations can be made without a further Firman?

The CHAIRMAN. I think not. It has always been our experience that it takes several months to get a Firman.

Viscount SIDMOUTH.—I shall be very happy to move the adoption of the Report.

Professor HULL.—I shall be pleased to second it.

The Report was carried unanimously.

The CHAIRMAN.—It is proposed by the Executive Committee to place on the General Committee Professor Macalister and Mr. Charles Francis Fellowes.

Mr. J. D. CRACE.—I will move that.

Mr. RYLANDS.—I shall be glad to second it.—Carried.

The CHAIRMAN.—We ask you to elect as members of the Executive Committee the following gentlemen:—Dr. Thomas Chaplin, Colonel C. R. Conder, J. D. Crace, Canon Dalton, Dr. Ginsburg, James Glaisher, Professor A. Macalister, Walter Morrison, Professor Flinders Petrie, Joseph Pollard, W. H. Rylands, Professor Sayce, Canon Tristram, Lieut.-General Sir Charles Warren, Colonel Watson, Major-General Sir Charles W. Wilson, Dr. W. Aldis Wright, with power to add to their number. We should very much have liked to put upon the Executive Committee some younger men. We are all of us getting on in years, and would be very glad to find some younger men who are more or less in touch with modern Palestine—gentlemen who speak Arabic, who know Hebrew, and who have travelled in Palestine preferably. It is rather a burden to some of us to come up and attend the meetings. For instance, I have to come all the way from Yorkshire.

Professor HULL.—I have great pleasure in moving that these gentlemen be invited to form the Executive Committee.

MR. BENTWICH. I shall have much pleasure in seconding that. It seems to me it is an advantage to get new men into the Executive Committee from time to time, especially when we find, according to the Report which you read, Sir, that the number of subscribers has decreased by death or other unavoidable causes, and the numbers have not been made up by new comers. The introduction of new interests into the Executive Committee may be a means of interesting others, and of increasing the income of the Fund.

THE CHAIRMAN.—I think all societies are suffering in the same way. It is due to the great number of Funds which are asking for subscriptions. For instance, the Queen Victoria Fund, and the Fund which has been got up for our countrymen in South Africa.

The proposition was carried unanimously.

THE CHAIRMAN.—We must fill up the vacancy caused by the death of Sir Walter Besant. I intended to ask you if you would appoint our friend Mr. J. D. Crace as Honorary Secretary for the next year. He has been in Palestine, and knows a great deal about the subject. He is an energetic man, and one of our most regular attendants on the Committee. I do not think we could find a better man. Mr. Crace says he would be willing to act as Honorary Secretary, at all events for a year, if you were to appoint him; and he hopes that during the year some younger man can be found who will be willing to take an energetic interest in the work. Mr. Crace has got his work to do in the world as well as most of us. I have pleasure in proposing Mr. Crace as Honorary Secretary.

DR. CHAPLIN.—I shall be glad to second that.

The resolution was carried unanimously.

MR. J. D. CRACE.—I have to thank the General Committee for putting so much confidence in me. What you have heard of Sir Walter Besant is enough to make any man backward in undertaking the duties of Honorary Secretary even for a year. In mentioning the term a year, I feel strongly it is most essential that we should get in young blood, not only on the General Committee, but that the general interest of younger men should be enlisted in the objects of the Fund. I think we require to make considerable effort to get into closer touch with the Universities

for one thing. There are a great many men coming out of the Universities now who are greatly interested in things archaeological, and who are full of enthusiasm and energy. And I cannot help thinking that we might get into touch with some of these men and induce them to make the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund an object of interest.

The CHAIRMAN.—That is a good idea, and if anybody can suggest any names we shall be very happy to consider them. I suppose we have power to add to our numbers. Certainly if we could get the right sort of men it would be an advantage. But we want to get people who can and will attend.

I have now to move that a cordial vote of thanks be given to Dr. Bliss, Mr. Macalister, and Dr. Schick, to Mr. Armstrong, our Acting Secretary, and to the Editor of the *Quarterly Statement*, for the work they have done for the Fund in the past year. We have just had a letter from Professor George Adam Smith, describing the great respect and affection in which Dr. Bliss was held by the workpeople he employed.

Mr. BENTWICH.—I should like to be allowed to second that. I have personally had the privilege of benefiting by the assistance which Dr. Bliss was always ready to give to visitors to the Holy City. Although I and my party were perfect strangers to him, he showed the greatest interest in evoking interest from us, and that interest which he did evoke has remained with all the party who were with me, several of whom became subscribers to the Fund. I think Dr. Bliss has had the interest of the Fund at heart, and has induced a living interest in many people who previously had no knowledge of the marvellous work which is being done by the representatives of the Fund on the spot. I am glad also that that feature is being continued in a marked degree by his successor, Mr. Macalister, who not only does the work of the Fund, but who is always glad—I speak from experience—to follow up the smaller interests of individuals who have inquiries to make on the spot, and to interest others in the work which the Fund is carrying on. I am sure that this vote will be unanimously accorded, and I think it a high privilege to be able to bear testimony to the valuable work which is being done, and to the interest which at the same time is being drawn to it.

The resolution was carried.

The CHAIRMAN. I hope Mr. Macalister will be able to say a few words.

MR. MACALISTER read the following notes which he had prepared:—

“I may, perhaps, be permitted to make a few remarks upon the site that has been selected for examination, and to attempt to forecast what we may expect to find there. It has several times been impressed upon the Society that, as compared with the neighbouring countries, Palestine may be described as archaeologically poverty-stricken. The almost total absence of inscriptions older than the Ptolemaic period is especially disappointing. This may be ascribed partly to the alleged indifference of the Jewish nation to historical records, partly to climatic causes. But it is to me inconceivable that the meagre Siloam inscriptions should be the solitary record of the monarchy remaining to our time in the country. I feel convinced that somewhere steles of great importance remain to be found, and they are at least as likely to lie buried in the ruins of the selected site as anywhere else. One such historical document would probably be the greatest prize that could fall to the Palestinian explorer.

“But even if we were unable to expect so important a discovery, there are many problems whose solution would be a reward nearly as ample. Such is the question of the disposal of the dead in Pre-Israelite and early Israelite times, upon which all light has so far been obstinately withheld. A careful special search will, it is hoped, be made for the cemetery of the Pre-Israelite town on the selected site. This question is of great importance, and on its solution hangs the solution of other problems relating to the ethnological affinities of the Pre-Israelite tribes of Palestine.

“Among the other questions that call for solution, upon which the excavation of such a place as the selected site might be expected to throw light, may be mentioned: the nature and extent of the influence exerted by Mycenæan and also by Egyptian culture on the art of Palestine; the period of the introduction of iron, a metal seemingly unknown in the earliest periods of Pre-Israelite occupation; and the development of various implements—knives, arrow-heads, &c.—which it may be found possible to trace out in detail, much as the development of pottery has been systematised by Drs. Petrie and Bliss. At the selected site, also,

we are so far west that we may possibly hope to advance one or two steps in reading the riddle of the Philistines—their ethnological position, and their historical connexion with the country.

“Unless the surface indications are misleading, or have been wrongly interpreted by me, I should say that there, if anywhere, light on Biblical, archæological, ethnological, perhaps I may add philological, questions may be expected; and if the two years' exploration permitted by the Ottoman Government pass without material additions to our knowledge, I for my part will be grievously disappointed.

“I may, in conclusion, mention one or two departments of work other than excavation which, as they do not require a Firman, can be prosecuted at any time, and may be regarded conveniently as ‘holiday tasks,’ to be undertaken when the time of year does not permit active excavation. One very important work is the testing of the identification of sites. Many identifications, resting for the most part on similarity between ancient and modern names, have been propounded and universally accepted, which will probably have to be reconsidered. Since these identifications were suggested a new criterion of accuracy has been developed: this is the chronological scale deducible from the knowledge we have gained of the history of pottery in Palestine, a knowledge to which our excavations recently closed have contributed a very large proportion. An identification can now no longer be maintained if it involve an epoch different from the period of the potsherds found strewed on the site which happens to be under discussion.

“I may, perhaps, be pardoned if I refer also to a branch of field work in which I have taken special interest: I refer to the comparative study of rock-cut tombs. During the last year of the recent Firman I explored and made a report, as exhaustive as I could, on the tombs in the so-called Valley of Hinnom. There are other groups of tombs near Jerusalem and elsewhere as interesting as these, and possibly the study of them may lead to a better knowledge of the history of this branch of architecture (if I may so term it) than we can claim to possess already. I may also remind you that one result of the systematic study which I gave to the Valley of Hinnom tombs was the re-discovery of two inscriptions which had been eadly misread, and for some

30 or 40 years completely lost sight of, notwithstanding the special searches that had been made for them. I would not risk the charge of egotism by referring to this, were it not that I wish to illustrate the possibility that epigraphic novelties may still be hoped for even in so well ransacked a district as Jerusalem and its neighbourhood. My only fear is lest by over-riding this hobby of my own I weary the readers of the *Quarterly Statement*.

“I have only to add my sincere thanks for your kind words about myself, and to express the hope that when the coming season is over I may claim to have deserved them.”

The CHAIRMAN.—There are a number of casts and photographs in the room of things which have been discovered, which, perhaps, gentlemen would like to have explained to them.

Mr. GUY LE STRANGE.—I hope, before we part, you will allow me to submit a vote of thanks to Mr. Morrison for presiding to-day, and for all that he has done as Honorary Treasurer during the past year. We have, I suppose, had a rather bad year, like every other society, and if we are in a favourable financial position, I am sure that is greatly due to Mr. Morrison's care. _____

Viscount SIDMOUTH.—I would like to second that. I am very glad of the opportunity of meeting Mr. Morrison again after the many years since we first came into contact. I am sure we are much indebted to him for taking the chair on this occasion, and I hope that he will continue the office of Treasurer.

I also wanted to ask a question. Three or four years ago some very interesting remarks were made here about availing ourselves of whatever information could be had from the few who are now left of the Samaritan race; I think I saw it stated that not more than 140 or 150 of them were left. The suggestion was made here that no time should be lost in obtaining whatever information could be had from the manuscripts, or at any rate from the traditions which still remain among them.

Mr. H. W. RYLANDS.—I think the Chief of the Tribe was over here five or six years ago, when I met him. He sent four or five sons over here at different times to be educated. I met him at the house of the Jewish Rabbi, and there the Jews did have communication with the Samaritans. He was a fine, big tall man, six feet two in height.

VISCOUNT SIDMOUTH.—I think it was suggested at the time I speak of that we should put ourselves into communication with a native medical man, who would have greater opportunities of conversation with the females, so that he could obtain from them information not to be had from the men. It was supposed that the native medical men were the only persons who could get into conversation with them. I do not know whether any report has been founded upon that.

MR. J. D. CRACE.—I think the articles which have been coming out in the *Quarterly Statement* are partially due to communications of that kind. I think a good deal of that information has been obtained through the native doctors.

DR. CHAPLIN.—I have been acquainted with the Samaritans for nearly 40 years, and quite recently I saw the son of their Chief Rabbi. From him I learned what is a very curious fact: that, although the Samaritans had dwindled in number to about 150 some time ago, yet within the last few years they have increased slightly, so that there are now nearly 200 of them. They are very poor. The member of their community who came over here some years ago is no longer living. The Chief Rabbi is an intelligent man, very amiable, and of course thoroughly acquainted with the Samaritan literature and the traditions of his people. I do not think there is very much in the traditions of the Samaritans that differs from the traditions of the people around them, at all events as regards the social and family life. They themselves maintain and believe that they are really of Israelite origin, although I think I am not wrong in saying that, on the whole, the Jews do not regard the Samaritans as their brothers, and that is rather in accordance with the Scriptural account. There is an English medical missionary residing at Nâbins, who no doubt could tell us much about their traditions.

The meeting then terminated.

NOTES OF A JOURNEY THROUGH HAURAN, WITH
INSCRIPTIONS FOUND BY THE WAY.

By Professor GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D., LL.D.

IN May last, with a company of friends, I made a journey from Tiberias through Hauran to Damascus. My chief objects were to revisit Gadara, to see Ibdar and Abila of the Decapolis, and to examine the supposed sites of 'Ashteroth Karnaim, on Tell el-'Ash'ary and Tell 'Ashtarrah. The following are my notes by the way. They are partly a record of the changes apparent since my last journey in 1891, partly an account of some new inscriptions which we had the good fortune to find, including an important monument of Sety I of Egypt, in Tell esh-Shihāb, and partly some evidence as to 'Ashteroth Karnaim.

I.—FROM GADARA TO TELL ESH-SHIHĀB.

On May 1st we struck our tents at Semak, at the south end of the Lake of Galilee, and after a visit to the neighbouring ruins of Kerak (Taricheæ?), on the west bank of the Jordan, we rode to the hot baths of Hammi, in the gorge of the Yarmuk below Muḡes (Gadara). We reached these, not by the usual road up the course of the Yarmuk, but across the spurs of the Jaulān plateau to the north. The spurs hold one or two clusters of ruins—of small villages and a tower. They are bare and waterless, but in a few of the depressions on their surface are small, poor fields, cultivated to-day by the inhabitants of Fiḡ. The view down the Jordan valley is magnificent: the eye follows the course of the Yarmuk from its issue from the hills to its junction with the Jordan.

We reached the Hammi at 12.40. It was the end of June when I visited these famous baths in 1891, and then they were being used by only a few Arabs. But on this visit, in the season for the baths, the peninsula on which they lie was alive with patients and their attendants, chiefly Jews, with some Turkish officials from Irbid, and one army colonel. Tents and booths of branches clustered round the hotter springs. We had to wait our turn for entering the large pool on the north-west; in this

the temperature of the water is 103° ; that of the air at 2 p.m. was 89° in the shade.

We climbed up to Muḡes in the afternoon. The slopes are much more cultivated than in 1891. This change somewhat prepared us for alterations on the plateau above; but no one who knew the latter in past years can visit it now without disappointment. Muḡes has greatly increased, but at the expense of the remains of Gadara. I need not go into particulars. Schumacher has described, in the "Zeitschrift" of the German Palestine Society for 1900, the complex of dwellings and barns which the village Sheikh has built on the top of the plateau. Content, till a few years ago, to live in the tombs to the east of the ancient city, the villagers have now the ambition to build houses for themselves, and have used, and are using, the ruins of the latter, and especially the stones of the two amphitheatres, for that purpose. It is one of the many proofs with which our journey provided us, that if the ancient sites of Palestine are to be explored and the civilisations they contained brought to light, this must be done as soon as possible. *Every year means irrecoverable loss.* May the fact impress itself upon all subscribers to our Fund!

On the 2nd of May (temperature at 6 a.m. 65°) we struck east, at 8.45, along the ridge, upon the old Roman road. The basalt pipes of the conduit, which I saw in great numbers in 1891, have nearly all disappeared. The soil, though still cultivated, is very shallow. Every year the fine oak woods are being thinned. At 10 we left the Irbid road where it begins to descend to the south-east (temperature 75° with slight breeze) and, striking E.N.E., passed at 10.10 the large oak which stands conspicuous in the wood. At 10.25 the wood was behind us, and in front a long bare plateau sloping up slowly to the east. Hatim lay below us to the south, and beyond it Irbid, which, with Beit Rās, had stood out, from the earlier stages of our march, clear against the south-east sky, but was now sunk almost invisible against the dark background of the Jebel Kafkafa. We reached the top of the slope at 10.45: hewn stones, a sarcophagus, and much pottery, a clear view of the Jaulān Hills and Hermon, with Samar in the near north. From the top the ground slopes gently down towards Ibdar, which I visited in order to see if there is any evidence for my proposal to identify it with the Lidebir of

Joshua xiii, 26, the Lo-debar of Grätz's emendation of Amos vi, 13. Ibdar, though slightly under the level of the neighbouring plateaus, lies on the edge of a plateau of its own. The present village clusters upon the top of the precipitous side of a deep Wady (300 to 400 feet deep) at the junction of the latter with the Wady Samar. There are a few ancient hewn stones, and a number of caves. It is a strong and commanding position. To the south, from the other side of the Wady el-'Arab (in its upper portion Wady el-Ghafr), Gilead slopes up to the distant horizon. To the south-east Beit Rās is conspicuous, commanding the head and southern end of a ridge running south from the main plateau on which the road eastward from Muḳes runs. To the north Hermon is clear and the country between. Altogether the place is suitable for such a frontier-fortress between Gilead and the Aramean territory, as Lo-debar was. It lies near the road from Hauran to Gadara—which I still think may have been Ramoth-Gilead—and the Jordan.

At 11.40 we descended into the Wady 'Ain et-Turab, close beside the 'Ain and a rich grove of oleanders. Striking up the Wady E.N.E. we reached the watershed at 12, and in five minutes more we began to descend, almost due north, the Wady el-Kneilby, reaching the 'Ain el-Hrebi at 12.45. Schumacher has sufficiently described this, the most important spring in the district, in the "Zeitschrift" of the German Society, vol. xx (1897), p. 184, where he makes the valuable suggestion that the aqueduct running from the east into Gadara was supplied from el-Hrebi, and was not connected, as is usually supposed, with the Kanātir Fira'un at Edre'i.

We left the 'Ain at 2.30 (temperature 82°) and following the Wady, on the sides of which are many ancient tombs, we arrived at the *col* on which the ruins of Tell Abil lie, before 3. These display all the importance which Schumacher assigns to them ("Abila of the Decapolis," published by the Palestine Exploration Fund in 1889), and nothing need be added to his descriptions. The strong and well-watered site, the architectural remains on the two hills on either side of the *col*, the colossal wall of solid masonry on the east face of the northern hill, the heavy dam across the Wady Kueilby,¹ with its vaulted sluice, and the

¹ The ridge composed of the two hills with the *col* between them runs north and south, parallel to the Wady.

neighbouring cemeteries assure one (even on a hurried visit like ours) of the fact that we have here a great Greek site, similar in its situation, and in the remains which occupy it, to the other members of the Decapolis.

Leaving Tell Abil at 3.40, we entered at 4 a small Wady running north into the Wady esh-Shellāle, just opposite to ed-Duḡbe. The Wady esh-Shellāle is one of the most imposing among even the gorges of Syria. Where we broke upon it, it lies over 1,000 feet deep, and at the top (according to Schumaecher) is about two kilometres broad. The lofty, steep sides had all their yellow colour brought out by the still high afternoon sun. At the bottom, also in sunshine, lay in brilliant contrast a long, pink ribbon of oleanders masking the bed of the stream. On the southern side the path is very rugged and steep; one cannot ride, and can hardly lead a horse either up or down. Our pack mules crossed the Wady much higher up. It is a permanent frontier, impassable in winter, and in summer impregnable against a vigilant defence. Its waters descend to the Yarmuk by a series of cataracts—hence its name. Along with the Yarmuk, and curving as its upper course does to the south, it cuts off the district of ‘Ajlūn from that of Hauran, and in ancient times must have formed the usual frontier between Gilead and Bashan, Israel and Aram.

We reached the bottom of the Wady at 4.30, and, leaving it a few minutes before 5, arrived on the plateau on the opposite side about 5.25. Striking east across the extremely fertile plain, very different from the barren hills to the south of the Wady, we passed ‘Amrawa at 5.40, crossed the Wadies esh-Shomār and el-Meddau, and reached our tents by Tell esh-Shihāb at 6.30.

The route we had followed all day is the most direct between Muḡes and Tell esh-Shihāb, both of them important towns in ancient times, and it passes Tell Abil or Abila of the Decapolis. Yet it can hardly have ever been a main line of traffic between Gadara (with the Jordan Valley) and Hauran. The depth and ruggedness of the Wady esh-Shellāle forbid this, and after striking off the Gadara-Irbid road (*see above*) we were mainly on local paths. The only traces of a highway were between Tell Abil and the Wady esh-Shellāle; the only ancient remains were in the short Wady leading to the latter. We must, therefore, believe that the great Roman roads between Gadara and Hauran

did not pass Abila but swung round more to the south and east. The significance of the district about Abil and immediately south of the Wady esh-Shellāle was rather military. Wetzstein ("Reisebericht," 149) relates how in 1858 a Bedawîn tribe, retreating from the north, made a stand here: their pursuers being checked by the Wady Shellāle and gorges of the Yarmuk, and retiring after two days had convinced them of the impregnableness of the position of their enemies. Which incident illustrates the ancient contests on this ground between Aram and Israel.

II.—TELL ESH-SHIHĀB AND THE DISCOVERY OF A SECOND EGYPTIAN MONUMENT IN HAURAN.

Tell esh-Shihāb, one hour E.S.E. of Muzeîrib, occupies a strong and picturesque position on a promontory formed by the junction of the Wady el-Meddan with the Wady Tell esh-Shihāb (or Wady et-Tell)¹, just opposite the high cataract by which the waters of the Wady el-Bajjeh pour into the Wady et-Tell. The village is said to be the lowest in Hauran, standing a little over 1,000 feet above the sea; the neighbourhood forms a gathering place of waters. In deep, rapidly-falling beds five or six Wadies concentrate to form in the Wady et-Tell the upper course of the Yarmuk; the Wady esh-Shellāle draining the Eastern 'Ajlûn from as far south as the Jebel Kafkafa; the almost parallel Wady esh-Shōmar, springing from the Zumal range of hills, passing Er-Ramtheh and entering the Wady et-Tell near 'Amrawa; the Wady el-Meddan, or lower course of the Wady ez-Zēdi, whose tributaries rise on the south-west slopes of the Jebel ed-Druz and flow united past Edre'i; the Wady edh-Dhahab (formed of winter brooks draining the west face of the Jebel ed-Druz), which runs into the Wady el-Meddān above Tell esh-Shihāb; the Wady Zignani (?); and the Wady el-Bajjeh draining the lake at Muzeîrib.²

From all this it is obvious that Tell esh-Shihāb must always have been a site of great importance. The cataract gives water-power for a large number of mills, to which grain is brought from

¹ The name Wady Zignani was given to me for the portion of this Wady above and east of Tell esh-Shihāb.

² The courses of these Wadies have for the first time been accurately determined by Mr. Schumacher (see the "Zeitschrift des Deutsch. Palästina Vereins," xx, 91 ff, with map; xxii; map of Golan and West Hauran).

a great distance,¹ and these, along with rich gardens by the water-courses and a stretch of fertile wheat-fields, secure for the large village a considerable prosperity. Its sheikhs to-day belong to a powerful house, and are reputed very rich; nearly all the villagers look happy and comfortable. The Wadies et-Tell and el-Meddān protect the village by their cliffs and steep banks on all sides except the east, where the level approach is crossed by ancient fortifications, still well preserved.² One may believe that a strong



FALLS AT TELL ESH-SHIHĀB.

and well-stocked fortress always existed here. At the same time Tell esh-Shihāb does not now lie, and cannot ever have lain, on a main line of road. There are too many deep gorges about it. The traffic from Gadara to Damascus must have swung round to the south and east. Any visitor to the district can see why the

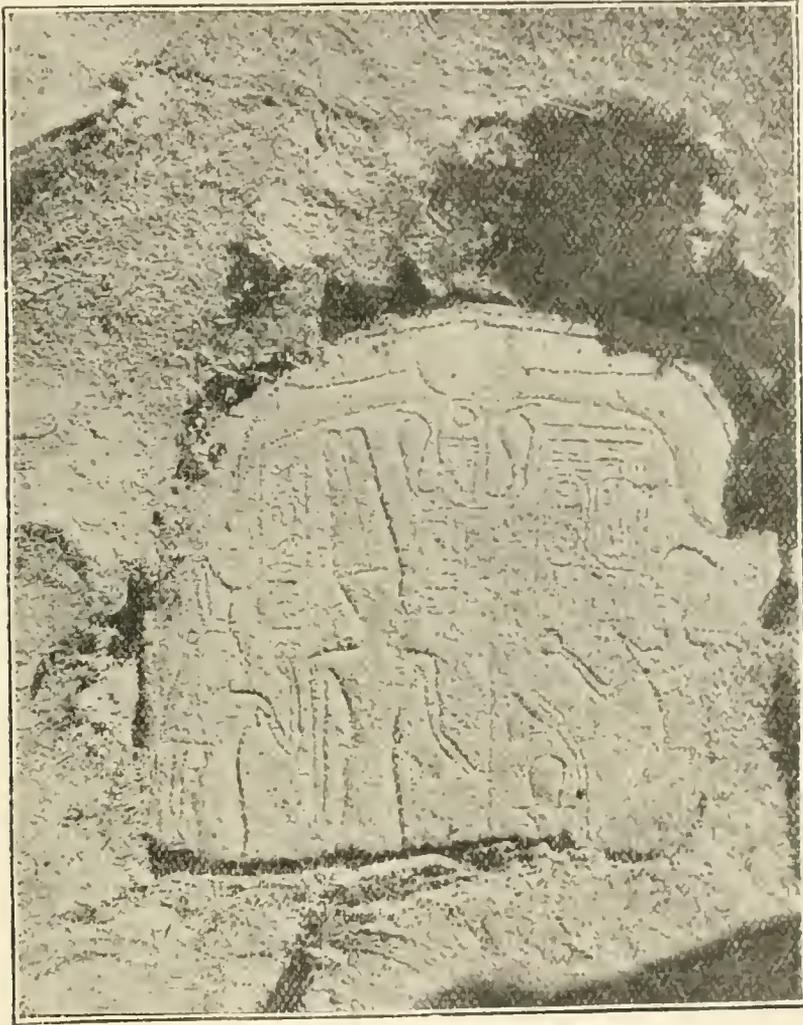
¹ Schumacher speaks of a much used road to the mills from Der'āt (*i.e.*, Edre'i) down the Wady ez-Zē li ("Z. D. P. V.," xx, 129).

² See Schumacher's "Across the Jordan" (published by the Palestine Exploration Fund), p. 200, with a section of the wall.

great roads from Damascus, Nawa and el-Merkez, Der'āt (*i.e.* the ancient Edre'i), the Jebel 'Ajlûn, and Gadara concentrate rather upon the less healthy and less fertile site of Muzeîrib, one hour east of Tell esh-Shihâb, for round Muzeîrib the Wadies are shallow, and the country almost flat.

The name, Tell esh-Shihâb, "Mound of the Warrior," is purely Arabic, and gives no clue to its ancient designation. One naturally seeks for a stronghold so important among the towns taken in this region by Judas Maccabeus on his march to relieve the Jews who were settled east of Jordan (1 Macc. v). Buhl ("Geog. des Alt. Pal.," 250) identifies it with the Raphon of 1 Macc. v, 37, and Josephus, "Antt." xii, 8, 4 (= Raphana of the Decapolis, Pliny, "Hist. Nat." v, 16). There is something to be said for this identification. Timotheus, having been defeated by Judas, presumably to the south-east of Tell esh-Shihâb in the latitude of Boşra, fled north and gathered another army "beyond the brook" (1 Macc. v, 37), Gr. χειμάρρους. If the latter be taken in its strict designation of "winter-stream" it cannot be the perennial stream flowing from Muzeîrib, and descending the cataract at Tell esh-Shihâb, but one of the other Wadies mentioned above which are dry in summer. It is not necessary, however, to take the term so strictly, and the other points given in connection with Raphon suit Tell esh-Shihâb. For when Judas crossed "the brook," from the side on which Raphon was and defeated Timotheus, the soldiers of the latter fled to Karnaim, *i.e.*, 'Ashteroth Karnaim, sites for which have been sought at Tell el-'Ash'ary, about six miles north of Tell esh-Shihâb, and Tell 'Ashtarab, four miles further on. Raphana has been identified with Kapitolias, on the ground that Pliny's list of the Decapolis contains the former but omits the latter, while Ptolemy's omits the former but contains the latter. According to the *Itinerarium Antonini* Kapitolias lay on the direct road from Gadara to Damascus; according to Ptolemy, north-east of Gadara on the same latitude as Hippos; and according to the Peutinger Table, on the road from Gadara to Edre'i, 16 Roman miles from either of them. Now Tell esh-Shihâb fulfils only some of these conditions. It is 19 Roman miles from Gadara, and less than 12 from Der'āt (*i.e.*, Edre'i); and, as we have seen, it can hardly have lain on any of the direct military and commercial roads through Hauran. Buhl's identification, therefore, remains insecure.

Nor is there another much better. One is indeed tempted to suggest Karnaim or Karnion itself. This was difficult to approach *διὰ τὴν πύργων τῶν τόπων στερότητα* (2 Macc. xii, 21); while if it be identical, as is probable, with one of the Ashtoreths of the "Onomasticon," it lay nine Roman miles from the other, which is



MONUMENT OF SETY I AT TELL FSH-SHIHĀB.

approximately the distance between Tell 'Ashtarah and Tell esh-Shihāb; and, besides, lay between Abila of the Decapolis and Edre'i, which Tell esh-Shihāb may roughly be described to do. But there are other data for Karnaim which do not suit Tell esh-Shihāb, and on the whole we must confess ourselves at fault with regard to the ancient equivalent of the latter. Yet see below, p. 360.

Mr. Schumacher “ could discover neither inscriptions nor carved stones ” at Tell esh-Shihāb,¹ and I do not know of any mentioned by other travellers. We made a strict inquiry, and were at first met with the usual denials. Then we were led to a faded and fragmentary Greek inscription on the north-west of the village, on which we could only make out the following letters:—

Φ A B
 N E O T
 A Λ T K
 E T K E

But we called afterwards on the Sheikh, and in answer to our questions after “ written stones ” he led us to the courtyard of a house, where, let into the mud wall, we saw a black basalt slab with Egyptian carving upon it. We took a photograph, a reproduction of which is given on p. 347.

The lower portion of the slab has been broken off. What remains is about 3 feet from top to bottom, and a little over that from one side to the other. All I was able to make out from a list of Egyptian cartouches was that it contained the cartouche of Sety I. On my arrival in London the photograph was examined by Mr. Percy Newberry and Mr. Herbert Thompson. The latter wrote me as follows:—

“ It is undoubtedly of Sety I, his cartouche being written

 , e.g., at Karnak, as well as  . Besides, his other

name is given in the usual form  = Sety, beloved of Ptah.

Above the names are the titles ‘ Lord of the two lands ’ and ‘ Lord of glories (?) ’ (the last word is applied to the rising of the sun and to the king ascending the throne—its exact meaning in the

¹ “ Across Jordan,” p. 203.

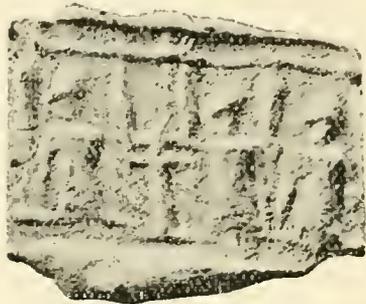
title is uncertain). Below are the words 'Giving life like Ra.' The king (on the right) is holding up two libation vessels before Amen, whose name with some titles is inscribed before him. Behind stands the goddess Mut, with her name."

The stone is of no little importance in connection with the conquests of the Pharaohs on the east of Jordan. Only one other Egyptian monument has been discovered in Hauran—the so-called Job's stone in Sheikh Sa'd (about 1,000 yards north of el-Merkez, the seat of the Hauran Government) with a figure of Ramses II, son of Sety I (*see* Erman in "Z. D. P. V.," xiv, 142 ff, xv, 205 ff). But long before both Sety and Ramses, Thothmes III had marched through Hauran. Not only does the list of his conquests contain, in No. 13, Damascus (as well as some places on the Lebanon), but in Nos. 28 to 31 we find the succession A-s-ti-ra-tu ("Records of the Past," second series, v, 45; *cf.* Ashtarti, Bezold and Budge. "The Tell el-Amarna Tablets in the British Museum," 43, 64), Anau-Refaa, Makata, and Luisa. Astiratu is usually taken for 'Ashteroth Karnaim, Refaa for Raphon, and Luisa for Laish or Dan. May not Maketa be the Maked of the campaign of Judas Maccabens (1 Macc. v, 26, 36)?

Unfortunately the Sety stone at Tell esh-Shihāb has had the lower end broken off: on which some record of Sety's conquests may have been inscribed. I made inquiries about it, but none of the Tell esh-Shihāb people could tell me anything about it. There is no reason to suppose, however, that the monument has been far removed from its original site. The villagers said to me that it had been found at Tell esh-Shihāb; it is of the stone of the district, and it is so heavy that it could not easily have been carried for any distance.

In "Asien u. Europa" W. Max Müller says that "Sety waged war upon a much more limited territory [in Syria] than is usually supposed" (p. 199, *cf.* p. 55); that "the names of the towns conquered by Sety are, without exception, those of the plain of the Kishon and Western Galilee to the foot of Lebanon" (p. 200); and that Sety "succeeded only in a modest expansion [of Egyptian conquest] on the coast of Southern Phœnicia" (p. 276). But if this stone in Tell esh-Shihāb belongs to the east of Jordan, and, from what is said above, it is hardly possible to think otherwise, Sety, like Thothmes and Ramses, must have crossed the Jordan and made some conquests in Hauran.

At Tell esh-Shihāb I also obtained a cylinder seal and a coin. The seal produces an impression $1\frac{1}{4}$ inches long by about $\frac{3}{4}$ inch broad. It is of rough workmanship, hardly (I am told by those who know) Babylonian, but more probably an early Palestinian imitation of Babylonian work. There are three human figures, from the head (with some kind of headdress) to the hips—one figure to the one side and two to the other, of an object like an artificial tree; thus:—



The coin is silver (perhaps only plated), on the one side a lion rampant, with the legend round the rim: CONFIDENS · DNO · NON · MOVETUR · 16-86; and on the other a coat of arms, a small lion rampant at the foot, and the legend: ??? BEL · CAMPEN—MO · ARGCVI?— A hole bored in the top shows this to have formed part of a woman's headdress. At Banias I purchased a silver coin like this one, *i.e.*, identical on one side, except for the date, 1696, and on the other with the legend: FOE · BELG · WEST—MO · ARG · PRO · COI?.

III.—EL-MUZEÎRĪB.

From Tell esh-Shihāb we rode over in something less than an hour to Muzeîrĭb. The railway has come here since my last visit in 1891, and Muzeîrĭb is the terminus of the narrow gauge line which runs south from Damascus more or less parallel to the great Hajj road. There is little change in the village itself, but the sight of a railway station and of engines on a landscape which was hitherto associated only with Arab markets and the gathering of the Meccan pilgrimage is sufficiently strange. The lake was much shrunk, partly from the clearing of the Wady el-Bajjeh, mentioned by Schumacher ("Z. D. P. V.," xx, 167), and partly because of the drought of last spring. No more ancient remains were discovered in the construction of the railway; the Greek

inscriptions in the castle are less decipherable than ever. The long Arab use of the place in connection with the Hajj has destroyed all chance of discovering its ancient name. Yet the abundance of good water (not in the lake, which is brackish, but in the stream, which feeds the latter from the Rās el-'Ain), the concentration of several ancient lines of road across the level neighbourhood, and the large basalt blocks on the island, as if from some pre-Mohammedan fortifications, prove that the site must always have been one of importance. Buhl ("Geog.," 249) has proposed Muzeîrib for the first Ashtaroth of Eusebius ("Onomasticon," Ἀσταρώθ); and it suits so far the data for the latter: six Roman miles from Edre'i, and nine (it is actually eight) from Tell 'Ashtarāh, if this be the other Ashtaroth (Ἀσταρώθ Καρναίμ) of the "Onomasticon." But it does not suit the description of Karnion or Karnaim (presumably one of the Ashtaroths) given in 2 Macc. xii, 21, for it is not "difficult to get at by reason of the narrowness of all the places"; nor does 2 Macc. xii, 21, make any mention in connection with Karnion of the lake—the most prominent feature of Muzeîrib. But 2 Macc. xii, 13, speaks of a lake two stadia broad near Caspis, or Caspin (the Casphor or Casphon of 1 Macc. v, 36: *κασφο* of Jos., "Antt." xii, 8, 3); and till further evidence is found we cannot but identify el-Muzeîrib with this town captured by Judas before he advanced (from the south) upon Karnaim.

IV.—TELL EL-'ASH'ARY.

From Muzeîrib we rode N.N.W. by the main road for el-Merkez and Nawa. About a mile and a half before it reaches the bridge across the Wady el-'Ehreir we struck west from it over fields to Tell el-'Ash'ary, which had been visible for a long time across the plain. The ride from Muzeîrib took rather less than an hour.

Tell el-'Ash'ary is a long mound, running from north-east to south-west upon the edge of the deep gorge of the Wady el-'Ehreir (which is here called the Wady Tell el-'Ash'ary). The east face of the mound rises about 90 feet above the plain; the west sinks precipitously for at least double that depth into the gorge.¹ The summit is broad, for the most part flat, but with an appreciable

¹ Oliphant, "Land of Gilead," 88, says the gorge is 500 feet deep. This is certainly exaggerated. He gives a sketch.

decline from north to south. Schumacher gives the height as 1,551 feet above the sea.¹ The view is magnificent. Looking west and south the foreground is occupied by the precipitous gorge, with the stream brawling down its rocky bed, and dividing round a long islet just below the mound. Beyond are the green orchards and vineyards, the red-tiled offices and arboricultural school of the Jewish colony of Jillin. The summit of Tabor is visible in the extreme south-west over the east hills of Galilee. Jebel 'Ajlûn fills all the south, and Jebel ed-Drûz the south-east, from which the eye is carried northward on the clear line of the Lejâ to the hills south of Damascus. There was a haze in the north, but above it, like the edge of a cloud, lay the long silver line of Hermon's snows. Nearer were the volcanic peaks of northern Hauran and Jaulân. The mound Tell 'Ashtarah stood up from the plain about five miles to the north, and beyond it the government buildings at el-Merkez.

The water supply of Tell el-'Ash'ary is good. Besides the perennial stream at the bottom of the Wady el-'Ehreir, a good spring rises near the south-east corner of the mound. The water flows past the south end on a shallow bed with oleanders, and over a small cascade into the great gorge. There is also here a hollow, said to be a marsh in winter, which is called the Bahret el-'Ash'ary; it is surrounded by ruins.

The most superficial review of the mound reveals the remains of architecture of different styles and ages. To begin with the present inhabitants—Schumacher in 1884 found about 150 inhabitants in about 50 dwellings on the north of the mound.² They were diminished in numbers and had removed to the west slope when he made his second visit.³ We found but two or three poor negro families in huts constructed from the old ruins. The whole of the ancient basalt buildings on the plateau have been abandoned, except the few still used as folds and stables. A good deal of the building dates from Arab times, as is proved from the way in which carved Greek stones stand in it upside down; compare also the Arabic inscription given by Schumacher,⁴ and the native legends (quoted by him) of the former greatness of the place.

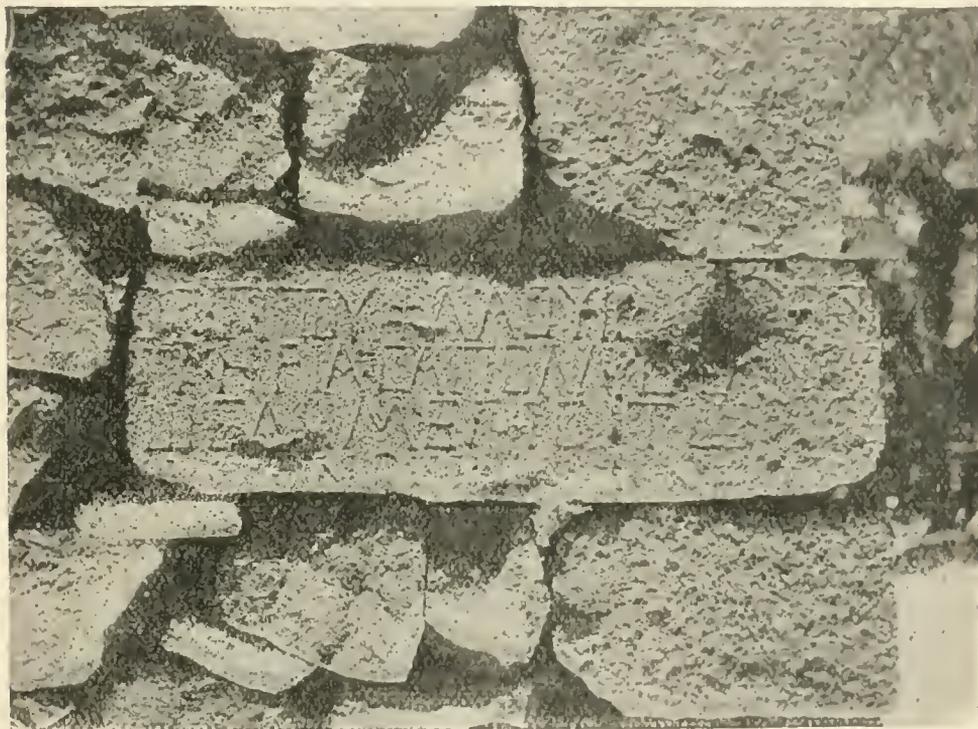
¹ "Across Jordan," p. 208. On the map, "Z. D. P. V.," xxii, p. 179, 472 metres.

² "Across Jordan," p. 203.

³ "Z. D. P. V.," xx, p. 167.

"Across Jordan," p. 206.

Going behind the Arab period we find several fine specimens of the domestic architecture characteristic of Hamran during Roman and Byzantine epochs, and in especial one building composed of the usual parallel arches with cross-beams of stone. We saw the Ionic capital, sketched by Schumacher.¹ But there are many other hewn stones of the same age, and similar to those one meets with in the cities of the Decapolis. I turned over several carved with a broad lip, exactly like those forming the seats of the Amphitheatre in Gadara, and there are two or three



GREEK INSCRIPTION IN WALL AT TELL EL.'ASH'ARY. (In the wall the inscription lies upside down. In this reproduction it has been reversed.)

of the upright stone water-pipes for raising water, with their conical stone stoppers (?). Schumacher mentions no Greek inscriptions. We came upon four, two very fragmentary—

ANNIANAY² and ΕΥΦΑΝΟΥ
ΘΡΑΚΙΔΑ ΝΕΥΝΤΑΙΕΤ

and two larger ones, which we both copied and photographed. Reproductions are here given of the photographs.

¹ "Across Jordan," p. 204.

² The name occurs also in Wadd., 1959.

If we take the first two letters of the first line to be the last of the word **ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣ**, we have an inscription of the reign of Titus, and one of the earliest of Greek inscriptions in Hauran. In 1891 I discovered, a few miles away at Taffas, an inscription from the brief reign of Otho. This one, from the time of Titus, records the erection of an altar (*see* the fragmentary lower line, where we may read τὸν Βωμόν), and the deity is Apollo.

The other inscription, also of a dedication of an altar, is on the altar, which lies on its side in a court of one of the houses on the top of the plateau (p. 354). I copied what was legible of it under the glaring sun, and have made out the rest from the photograph by aid of a glass. The letters are smaller and much ruder than those of the other:—

ΥΠΕΡσωΤΗΡΙαΣΚΑΙΔΙΑΜΟΝΗΣ
 ΤΙΤοΥΑΙΛΙοΥΑΔΡΙΑΝοΥ
 ΔΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝοΥΣΕΒΑΣΤοΥΕΥΣΕ
 ΒοΥΣΚΑΙΤοΥΣΥΝΠΑΝΤοΣΑΥ
 ΤοΥοΙΚοΥ
 ΠΑΜφιλοΣΕΥ?? ΝΙοΥ
 ΒοΥΛοΥΤΗΣΔΕΤΕΧΙΔΗ
 ΚΥΡΙΑΤΟΝΒΩΜΟΝΕΚΤΩΝ
 ΙΔΙΩΝΚΑΤΕΥ? ΗΝΑΝΗΓΕΙ
 ΡΕΝ

Line 1.—The Omega of *σωτηρίας* is defective; *cp.* with first four lines an inscription from the same reign at Hebrân in the *Quarterly Statement* for 1895, p. 353; Waddington, 2286.

Line 4.—*συν*—not *συν-παντος*; *cp.* Waddington, 2212.

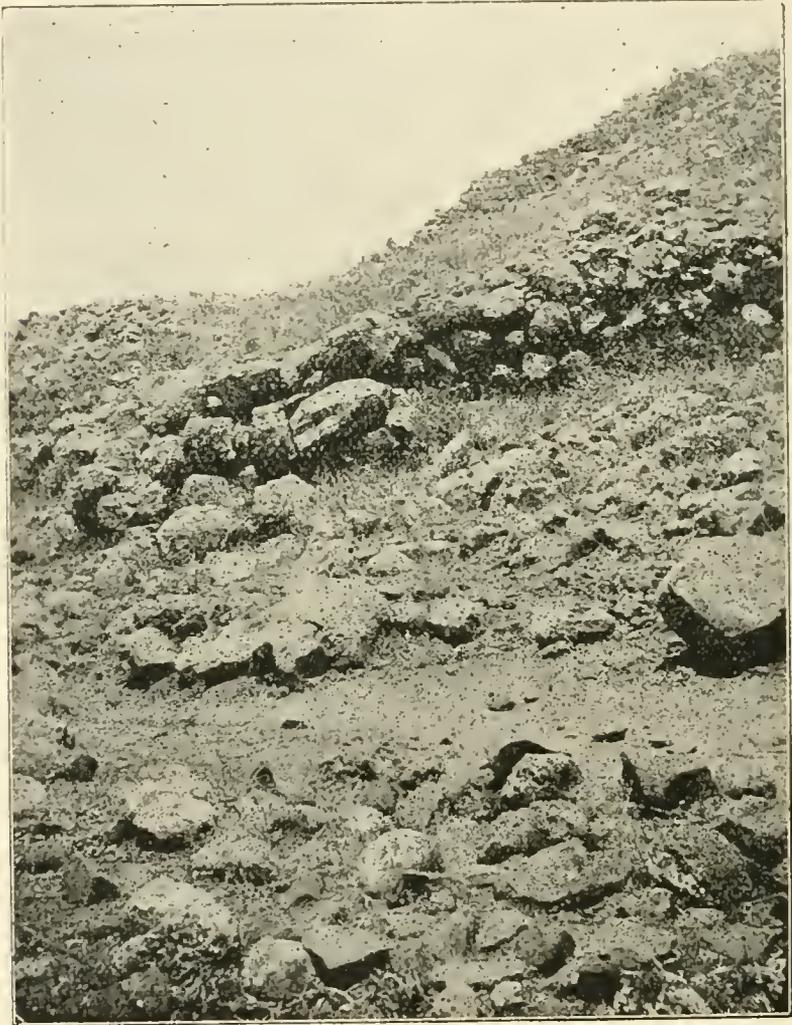
Line 7.—*βουλουτης* (*sic*). ΔΕΤ may be ΑΙΙ. There is a mark after what I read as X. It may be a letter, and with the X may have originally made M.

Line 9.—The χ of *ευχην* is illegible.

Translation—“For the safety and duration
 of Titus Aelius Hadrianus
 Antoninus Augustus Pi-
 us and all hi-
 s house
 Pamphilos (son of) ???
 a councillor in the 4th year
 to the Mistress the altar at his own
 expense, in fulfilment of a vow, erect-
 ed.”

Here, then, from the reign of Antoninus Pius we have another altar, and to a goddess. The last word of the seventh line, which reads **EXIANH** (= viper) as I trace it, may be the name of the town or of the goddess.

These inscriptions prove that in the first and second Christian centuries there was on Tell el-'Ash'ary a town and sanctuary.



REMAINS OF WALLS ON TELL EL-'ASH'ARY. (The latest wall is that on the sky-line.)

The ruins round the pool may be (as Schumacher suggests) those of a Naumachy such as we find in the remains of some of the Decapolis; while from the north of the mound, as far as the bridge over the Wady el-'Ehreir, there runs an ancient (Roman?) causeway. Schumacher also traced the ruins of mills and canals

“nearly as far as el-‘Ajamy, one and a quarter miles away to the south-west.”¹

There are also remains scattered over the plain to the east. All these probably date from a large and prosperous city in the time of the Antonines.

But the human history of Tell el-‘Ash‘ary must have stretched much further back. The eastern face of the mound once carried a great wall of unhewn and very roughly hewn basalt blocks, mostly large, with a kind of tower thrown forward on the slope.



LOWER LINE OF ROUGHLY-HEWN BASALT STONES ON TELL EL-'ASH'ARY.

Above this line, on the south-eastern corner of the mound, a curving wall of hewn stones runs up towards the plateau. We thought also that we detected the traces of a third wall mentioned by Schumacher,² but would limit his statement that all three walls “have the appearance of great antiquity” to the lowest and heaviest line of rough basalt blocks. The second line running up towards the plateau seemed to me of the same age as the bulk

¹ “Across Jordan,” p. 207.

² *Ibid.*, p. 204

of the architecture on the latter. About it and lower down the slope were scattered a great number of stones, similar to what are found in the ruins of the Decapolis, *i.e.*, with a planed face, but behind it rough and diminishing in size.

The lower line, on the other hand, appears older, and, as if it belonged to a ruder civilisation. The stones are larger, and as I have said, unhewn or roughly hewn. They resemble walls found on old Canaanite sites in other parts of Palestine, and sometimes vaguely described as "Amorite." Whether they be really so, it is impossible to determine; but they form an interesting proof (observable elsewhere in Hauran) that while Porter's claim for considering the basalt architecture of Hauran to belong to the earliest times, is unjustified—because this is obviously of the Roman period—the architecture in question is often founded on the remains of older civilisations. Some photographs of the walls on the east and south face of the mound are reproduced on pp. 356, 357.

It remains now to consider whether there are any grounds for the theory of Laurence Oliphant¹ and Schumacher,² that Tell el-'Ash'ary is one of the two Ashtaroths of Eusebius and the 'Ashteroth Karnaim of the Old Testament. The two explorers found their identification (1) on the fact that the place was held sacred in Mohammedan times, and was a Greek sanctuary and fortress; (2) on the name; and (3) on the statement that "the double peak of the southern mount of the hill, formed by the depression running from north to south, would make the appellation of 'Karnaim' or 'double-horned' extremely appropriate, and this feature must have been still more distinct before the depression was filled in by the rubbish and detritus."³ G. F. Moore ("J. B. L.," 1897, 156 ff) also explains Ἀστάρωθ Καρναιμ as the "Astarte of the two-peaked mountain." In a Talmudic discussion as to the constructions for the Feast of Booths, it is said that 'Ashteroth Karnaim was situated between two mountains which gave much shade ("Succa," 2a; cf. Neubauer, "Géog. du Talmud," 246).

To take the third of these reasons first—it is hard to say what shape the southern end of Tell el-'Ash'ary might assume, if it

¹ "Land of Gilead," 88 ff.

² "Across Jordan," p. 207.

³ "*Ibid.*," p. 208.

were thoroughly excavated to its original levels. But at present there is neither proof, nor promise, of the discovery of two such promontories or peaks as would suggest the name two-horned for a town on this site. Indeed, the whole suggestion that the two horns refer to the geographical features of the position of 'Ashteroth Karnaim is very doubtful. Much more probably the title was originally that of the goddess herself, derived not from the horned moon, but from some head-dress which her image wore ("Encycl. Biblica," i, 338). Nor can any ground for identification be found in the name Tell el-'Ash'ary (الاشعري). This has, it is true, three of the letters of the goddess's name, عشتار, but they lie in a different order, and they omit the medial *t*, which is found in all other instances of her name. As to the first reason, that Tell el-'Ash'ary is the site of a Mohammedan sacred place and Greek sanctuary, that is, as we have seen, certain, but it is equally true of countless other sites in Hauran. We may, therefore, conclude that there is nothing to prove that Tell el-'Ash'ary was once 'Ashteroth Karnaim. If the name which I cannot understand on the seventh line of the longest inscription be that of the goddess to whom the altar was raised, it does not at all look like a Greek equivalent of 'Ashtoreth.

We left Tell 'Ash'ary at 2.50, and, by the line of ancient causeway running north-east, reached the bridge over Wady 'Ehreir, here a broad shallow stream, at 3.15. We left the bridge at 3.27. Just beyond it lies the base apparently of a Roman milestone. At 3.43 we were crossing a very shallow and green Wady, with a still and muddy puddle surrounded by rushes. To this our guide (from el-Muzêirîb) gave the name of 'Ain el-mit—"dead spring." At 4.3 we crossed Wady 'Abu Yabis (according to our guide; Schumacher, Wady el-Yabis—"the dry Wady"), a mere trickle of water; and at 4.10, Schumacher's Wady el-Lebwa, or "Wady of Lions" (according to our guide, Wady Umm Tireh, or Imtireh). By 4.35 we were at Tell 'Ashtarrah.

V.—TELL 'ASHTARAH.

This is a lower mound than Tell el-'Ash'ary. It lies on the plain, with a spring on the east end—Rās el-'Ain—and a small stream flowing round the south, not mentioned by Schumacher in

"Across Jordan" (209), nor given on his map ("Zeitsch. des Deutsch. Paläst. Vereins," xxii, 179). A little distance to the west is the larger stream, Moyet en Neby 'Ayyûb. On Tell 'Ashtarâh there is no trace of the Hauran architecture of the Roman and Byzantine epochs. The stones of the ruins are all much worn and resemble those of the older remains on Tell el-'Ash'ary (see above, p. 358). On the top of the Tell they have been gathered to make sheepfolds. But on the southern edge the line of a large square building is still plain above the grass, which covers the plateau, and from which the old stones and some potsherds (grey and bevelled) peep out. There are remains of a surrounding wall not only (as Schumacher points out) "along the southern and south-western foot of the hill," but also on the eastern slope. The stones are large and coarsely hewn.

We have here, then, a site deserted in Roman times, but occupied by a town in earlier ages. The name Tell 'Ashtarâh (عشترة) at once suggests 'Ashtaroth. What else could it have come from? The town need not have been so insignificant as some have supposed.¹ If it was confined to the mound it would still be as large as many famous fortresses of the earliest times. By the Roman times the inhabitants may have removed to Sheikh Sa'd, two miles distant, where undoubtedly Eusebius² and Jerome³ place one of their Ashtaroths. But the name, though repeated there, may easily have clung also to its original position and so continued to the present day.

The balance of the evidence for the site of 'Ashtaroth Ḳarnaim is thus in favour of Tell 'Ashtarâh. Tell el-'Ash'ary is excluded, and if there was a second Ashtaroth, as Eusebius and Jerome say, nine Roman miles from Sheikh Sa'd, it must be sought for about, or in, Tell esh-Shihâb.

We left Tell 'Ashtarâh at 4.55, and reached in half an hour el-Merkez, where the government of Hauran is still located, the purpose of moving it to Sheikh Miskîn (mentioned by Schumacher) having not yet been fulfilled. Leaving this at 5.50 we passed the 'Ain el-Lebwa at 6.20, with a ruin, and pool with reeds. Temperature at sunset 69°. At 7.10 we passed the Wady with a strong stream, on which stands Tell esh-Sheikh Hamad, but it was already too dark to examine the great walls which rise on this

¹ Cf. Wetzstein, "Reisebericht," p. 109.

² Onomasticon.

³ Vita St. Paulæ.

mound. Forty minutes afterwards we rode into our camp at Sheikh Miskîn.

Sheikh Miskîn (pronounced usually 's Miskîn) appears to have grown much since I was here in 1891. There was a good deal of goods traffic—grain going out, timber and cloth coming in at the railway station, which is the station not only for el-Merkez and Sheikh Sa'd, but for most of the villages between the railway and the Lejā. Temperature at 1.30 p.m. 83° in shade.



GREEK INSCRIPTION AT SHEIKH MISKÎN.

I append a photograph of an inscription in the Sheikh's house. It is not given in Waddington's collection. The letters are in relief:—

ΟΥΜΕΧΡΙCΤΡΑΤΙΑ  CΕΩCΑΠΕ
 ΝΙΜΕΝΟΥΛΠΙΑΝΩΤΟΓΕΡΑCΟΒΑCΣ
 ΕΙCΑΛΛΑΤΟΘΑΥΜΑCΤΟΝΟΤΙΟΥΔΕΝ
 ΟΓΟCΗΘΙΑΧΑΡΙCΑΛΛΑΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΩ

In conclusion I desire to express the obligations of travellers in this region to the accurate surveys of Mr. Schumacher. The photographs given above are by two of my students: Messrs. Hartzell and Paterson.

NOTES ON A CROSS JORDAN TRIP MADE OCTOBER
23RD TO NOVEMBER 7TH, 1899.

By the Rev. JAMES B. NIES, Ph.D.

STARTING from Haifa with the Rev. M. Linton Smith, Mr. Robert Hensman, and two mukâris as companions we reached Beisan at the end of the first day. We passed the night at the railroad house, and early next morning, provided by the Mudir of Beisan with a soldier and a letter to the Sheikh of Umm Keis, we rode toward the Yarmuk *viâ* the Jisr el-Mujamia, and reached the hot springs el-Hammeh about noon. A pariah dog who had attached himself to our party, on seeing the crystalline pool, plunged in before we could prevent him. The rapidity with which he emerged from the bath was laughable. He evidently did not enjoy ablutions at 119° Fahr. In spite of this warning, however, we followed his example, and found that, with a little care, we could endure the heat. After luncheon and an inspection of the ruins, which are those of an important bathing establishment of Roman times, we ascended the steep mountain to the south. We arrived at Umm Keis about one hour after leaving the baths. On the way up we had several charming views of the Lake of Galilee, at one point being able to see its whole extent.

As the purpose of this paper is to call attention to a few things which seem to have been overlooked by former travellers, I will not detain the reader with any description of this place, and will only say that the evil appearance of its people caused us to be glad that we had both a soldier and a letter from the Mudir. We were given rice, milk, and some bedding, and, after passing several hours in the vermin-infested den which is called the guest house, we had breakfast and were ready to start at 3 a.m.

As our soldier had taken no barley for his horse, we were delayed by his attempt to awaken the Sheikh. At 3.30 we were on our way to Pella, descending into the Wady el-Arab, and then took our course along the Jordan Valley, which we reached in two hours—two dark and dismal hours, during which we walked, leading our horses through fields and over many rough places.

Nothing could exceed the delightful coolness of the Jordan Valley at the dawn of this day, but these pleasant impressions were soon to be dissipated, for as the sun rose higher and higher the heat eventually became so oppressive that we hailed with uncommon pleasure the turn toward the east, which was to bring us to Fahil or Pella. A view of the ruins, a bath in the delicious waters of the Jirm el-Moz, luncheon, and we were again on our way, for it was our purpose, if possible, to reach Ajlun that day. As the Jordan Valley was intolerably hot, we asked our soldier whether he knew a road over the mountain by which we could reach our destination. He answered, "Yes," and we determined to take that instead of the one recommended by Dr. Schumacher, who had kindly given us the benefit of his experience in the East Jordan country.

We first proceeded westward from the springs at Pella along the Jirm el-Moz about a quarter of a mile. Then we rounded the hill along the side of which we were riding, and, proceeding in a south-east direction, entered a valley from which we could not see Fahil. In a few minutes we came upon a number of rock-hewn tombs, some with stone doors still in place. I am thus particular in order that future explorers may not miss the way which will undoubtedly lead them to the old Roman road from Pella to Jerash. We soon found undoubted proofs of this road. Within the next two hours we passed no less than six Roman milestones, together with considerable patches of ancient pavement. Merrill speaks of this road, but he does not mention having seen the milestones. Guy le Strange was unable to find it, because he went up the wrong Wady. We first travelled north-east then east. Halaweh lay on our right at some distance, and we passed through Ba'ân, reaching Ajlun at 6 p.m., having been $14\frac{1}{2}$ hours under way from Umm Keis.

Next day, October 26th, we made a hasty trip to Kul'at Rabadh, which lies to the west of Ajlun, overlooking the valley. We had hardly left the town when a drenching rain overtook us, and caused us to lose all hope of seeing the sun rise from this commanding point. We pressed on, however, in the hope of finding something at the castle which would repay us, and we were not disappointed in this. Like Kankab el-Hawa and the castle at Salt, this impressive ruin deserves a much more careful examination than it has yet received. We found sculptured on

one of its arches the figures of fighting cocks, and a little beyond this other ornamentation never seen on Arab buildings. In addition to this, the outer face of the rock-hewn moat is greatly weather worn, differing in this respect from the sharp, clean cut stonework of the castle. The moat is undoubtedly much older than the castle.

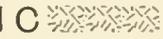
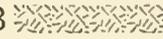
We left Ajlun at 10 under the guidance of one of our mukâris, Mohamed Silwani, who had been over the road before, as we had dismissed the soldier. We were bound for Jerash, and took the road through 'Ain Jenneh. In about an hour and a half we came upon three Roman milestones, two of which were inscribed, but we did not stop to copy them, as this is a frequented road, and we felt certain it had already been done. An hour later we passed through Suf, and, following the valley, we reached Jerash in another hour. The rest of this day and the morning of the following were consumed in looking over the ruins. I would like to call attention to the tier of seats on the right hand near the stage as one faces the auditorium of the large theatre. The seats are all numbered with Greek letters, and a complete copy should be made.

On the afternoon of the 27th we rode along the crest of the mountain in full view of the Jabbok, to pay a visit to Reimun, and settle for ourselves the possibility of finding there the site of Ramoth Gilead. We inquired and examined carefully, but found all the usual signs of the site of a great city, such as ruins, tombs, and pottery, wanting.

Early next morning we took the road over the Jabbok for Salt, where we were hospitably entertained by the Rev. Mr. Wilson, of the C.M.S. On the 30th we set out for Amman, intending to see Yajuz on the way, and in four hours, at 10.40 a.m., reached that place. In the Arab cemetery, under the huge and ancient terebinth trees, we found not only interesting Roman ruins, but modern cromlechs and dolmens, together with altar stones for sacrifices. One of these contained five cup holes connected by channels for the flow of blood. One of the terebinths I measured, and afterwards found that Selah Merrill, in 1875, had measured the same tree. Merrill found it to measure, at a height of 4 feet above the ground, 16 feet 6 inches. My measure at the same place was 16 feet 9 inches. It has thus increased its circumference 3 inches in 25 years. If such measurements may

safely be used for chronological purposes, we could venture to say, without any other evidence, that this place was a ruin in the tenth century, for the tree we both measured has a large hewn block belonging to ruins incorporated in its trunk.

Leaving Yajuz, we took a southerly direction, and in 20 minutes came upon five pieces of Roman milestones with inscriptions. As three of these were in a field some 60 feet from the road partially buried and used as boundary stones by the native farmers, we felt certain they had not been copied. Two of these needed excavation, so that we obtained only one good copy, made by the Rev. M. Linton Smith. I called the attention of the Dominicans to these stones last year, and hope by this time they have been copied.

OIMPCAES8MARC
 AVRELIVS  TONINVS
 PIVS PECI  HICVS A
 BRITANNIC  ONTIF
 MAX TRIB  AP

 COS III Γ
 OF FVRNI

The copies we obtained of the other two in the field were not satisfactory. One of them seems to contain a place-name and may lead to the identification of the Roman name of Yajuz.

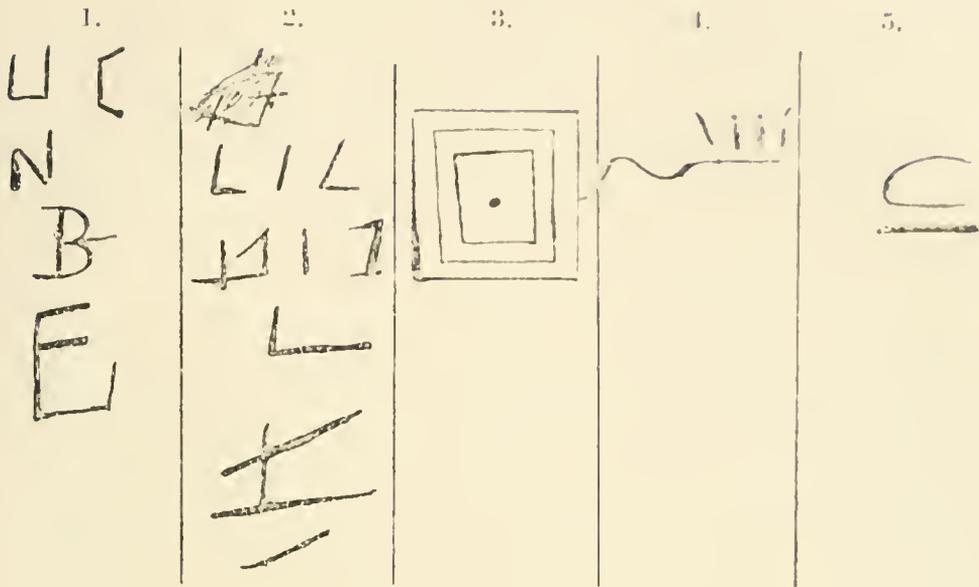
We reached Amman at 2 p.m., and proceeded at once to inspect the citadel and other ruins. In the evening we arranged with an Arab Christian of Fuhes, named Salim Suleiman, for the trip to Medaba *viâ* Mashita. He proved an excellent guide, thoroughly familiar with the country, perfectly honest, and on good terms with the Beni Sakr Arabs.

On October 28th, at 5.30 a.m., we left Amman for Mashita, riding in a southerly direction. At 6.45 we passed a large underground, rock-hewn cavern, with a number of kokim large enough to accommodate sarcophagi. At 7 o'clock we passed Umm el-Kheran. Our guide here told us he knew of a fine ruin four hours to the east, named Wukka. Seven minutes later, on a hill to the right, is a town, the name of which was given to us as Abasiyeh. We were now going S. by E. Here Salim told us of a place named Juadie,¹ where there is a long Hebrew inscription.

¹ Possibly the *el-Yadudeh* of the Palestine Exploration Fund map.

We unfortunately failed to ask him how he knew the characters to be Hebrew, as he had told us no travellers had yet visited the place. At 7.30 our road led us past Kasr es-Sahel, قصر الصهل. At 8 o'clock we rode into a village of Beni Sakr Arabs. Our guide had a talk with the Sheikh Suelmi, and borrowed from him a rifle. He was a small, thin individual, with parched skin and black, bead-like eyes. Uninvited he accompanied us on a very lean mare, which he rode bareback, wearing a single spur attached to one of his naked heels. We had reason to feel thankful for his company, as he and Salim varied the monotony of this part of our journey by an Arab tournament, and by chasing the frequent herds of gazelle. Within two hours we must have seen 200 of these graceful animals, in bunches varying from 10 to 40. Our Arabs had an exciting time, though they did not capture a single prize.

At 8.18 o'clock we passed Kh. Luban on the right, and at 10 the Hajj road, a few minutes later coming to a sudden drop in the plain. Below us in the desert to the south, at a distance of 15 or 20 minutes, lay the ruins of Mashita. Before descending, our guide pointed toward the east, along the elevation on which we were standing, to a small hill. He called it "a Tell," and said that it contained a number of large caves. We determined to see them, and in 15 minutes reached the place, which we found deserted, but with the ruins of former rude dwellings on top. Around the sides were a number of large caves which seemed for the most part natural, though the limestone here is very friable and may have corroded. These caves had been turned into sheepfolds by building round their mouths low, dry walls of stone, many of the blocks of which were hewn and evidently brought from neighbouring ruins. Upon some of these I found the following graffiti:—



No. 3 seems to be a game; 4 and 5 I thought wasm, but both the Sheikh and the guide assured me they are not, and, as they had no hesitancy in telling me later the various tribes to which the many wasm at Mashita belong, I have no doubt they meant what they said. They thought them ancient words or letters. As there has thus far been found absolutely no evidence regarding the mysterious ruin of the desert, I give them in the hope that they may lead to some clue, though I confess I am able to make nothing out of any of them.

As we stood on the summit of the "Te'l" and looked toward the ruins in the plain I remarked to the Sheikh: "Hunak Mashita" ("Yonder is Mashita"). He answered at once: "La, la, hunak mush Mashita, hunak' Khan. Hatha Tell Mashita" ("No, no, yonder is not Mashita, yonder is the Khan. This is Tell Mashita"). I then inquired closely from both the Sheikh and the guide whether this distinction is always made by the Arabs, and was answered in the affirmative.

May we not venture to hope that this gives us a clue to the origin of those puzzling ruins? Especially when we take into consideration that, in addition to the caves, there is at least one very large rock-hewn cistern in "Tell Mas'uta." This hill, full of large caves and cisterns, is close to the Hajj road. It derived its name from the fact that it afforded shelter not only to the Arabs but to the Mecca pilgrims. It was probably at one time a station of the Hajj. Its cistern (the one I saw) is large enough

to supply all the water needed by the pilgrims, and Amman is near enough to have supplied other necessities. What more natural, therefore, than that this place should be selected by one of the Omeiyad or 'Abba-side Khalîfs for a magnificent khan to accommodate the Hajj? We know it was considered a pious duty by the early Khalîfs to accompany the annual pilgrim caravan, and that some of these did much to alleviate the sufferings of the pilgrims.

Leaving the Tell we rode rather rapidly toward the ruins, as I recollect it, in a S.E. by S. direction, and entered the building from the north side. The place has been so thoroughly described by Tristram, who supposes it to be a palace built by Chosroes II, and by Selah Merrill, who claims it is a Byzantine monastery or church, that practically nothing remains to be said of its architecture and wonderful carvings. More recently a writer in "Harper's Magazine" fancifully ascribes it to the love of Ferhad and Shirîn. If, after such masterly discussion, I may venture a suggestion or two which seems to favour a different view, I wish first to say that the basket capitals, the arches, and the carvings seem to be in favour of Byzantine or Persian work, and this would be not only possible but probable, if the place was constructed by the order of one of the early Khalîfs; for it is well known that these depended on Greek and Persian artists. The 20 towers of the ruin seemed to me merely ornamental, and there is nothing to show that the place was intended for a fortress. Neither is there anything to show that it was intended as a monastery. Its ornate and costly architecture precludes the theory that it was erected as a mere hunting lodge. On the other hand its great courtyard, its cisterns, and, above all, its vicinity to the Hajj road seem to favour the explanation of the Beni Sakr Sheikh, that it was built for a khan but never finished, possibly because of the death of the Khalîf who had conceived it.¹

¹ Dr. Nies' notice of Tell Mashita is of much interest, and increases the probability that the celebrated ruins are those of a khân, which I have elsewhere ascribed to the celebrated Seljûk Sultan Melik Sha'h. —C.W.W.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND EPIGRAPHIC NOTES ON
PALESTINE.

By PROFESSOR CLERMONT-GANNEAU, M.A.

8. *Betomarsca-Maioumas*, and "the matter of Peor" (Numbers xxv, 18).—As I have already explained (p. 239), M. Büchler seems to have successfully proved that the locality which appears in the mosaic map of Mâdeba under the puzzling name of Βητομαρσεα ἢ καὶ Μαιουμας represents the site whereon the tradition of the period placed the famous scene of the whoredom of Israel with the daughters of Moab.

We may henceforth take the following facts as certain:—(1) Βητομαρσεα is the exact transcription of בית מרצה, *Beit Marzeah*, "the house of the Marzeah"; (2) the Marzeah was a great popular Syrian festival, of a more or less licentious character: (3) the Talmudic-Midrashic texts use this very expression (*Marzîhim* in the plural) to designate the impure rites of Baal Peor, into which the children of Israel, when encamped at Shittim, allowed themselves to be initiated: (4) finally, the word *Maioumas*, which is given on the map as equivalent (ἢ καὶ) to *Betomarsca*, is nothing more than the Greek term for the orgiastic *Marzeah*, beloved by the Syrians, a term which the *Midrash* and the *Talmud* knew very well in its Greek form (Μιουμας) and used themselves as the proper equivalent of *Marzeah*.

Although the question appears to me to be thus solved, and very ingeniously solved, as touching the main point, there are still some matters which require to be cleared up or completed.

In the first place, to begin with, there is a topographical difficulty, which M. Büchler has perhaps passed over too lightly. He thinks that the position assigned to Betomarsca in the mosaic map agrees well enough with that given to Baal Peor by the current tradition, and especially by Eusebius's *Onomasticon* (opposite to Jericho, 10 miles above Livias).

We may be permitted to hold a different opinion on this point. Even taking into account the liberties, sometimes considerable, which the mosaic map takes with regard to the relative position of various places, one must admit that Betomarsea, on the contrary, does not appear at all in the district in which one would look for it, assuming what it is supposed to stand for. It is undeniable that it is brought, I think purposely, very close to Kerak ([Xαρ]αχ Μωβα), at a comparatively enormous distance from Jericho, and also very far from the region of the map, now destroyed, where Mount Nebo and its environs, including Mâdeba itself, should figure.

How are we to explain such an anomaly as this, which according to the strict rules of criticism might form a grave objection to the conjecture, an excellent one in my opinion, of M. Büchler? I incline to believe that in this matter the maker of the mosaic map merely followed an intentional variant of the local legend of Mâdeba, which was careful to put away, by transporting it to a distance, a memory which was injurious to the good fame of the country, and clashed with the other glorious memories of which it was proud. The country quite simply got rid of this place of ill fame, to the benefit or the detriment of its neighbours further to the south. Folklore usually employs these rough and ready methods, and in the present case we must not forget that the reputation of the town itself was in a manner at stake, where this grandiose map was constructed, intending, perhaps, as I have endeavoured to prove, to illustrate the vision of the Holy Land as seen by Moses from the top of Mount Nebo.

Be this as it may, I shall point out a curious enough fact, although belonging to a relatively late period, in which one may perhaps find some evidence of the topographical variation of the legend. An ancient Jewish writer, who knew Palestine well, having sojourned and travelled there for many years, Esthori ha-Parehi, a contemporary of Abu'l Feda, when describing the land of Moab from north to south, expresses himself thus, after mentioning Dibon, the Arnon, and Rabbat: "From Argob (corr. *Arnon*) you proceed to the *hill point of Pisgañ*, i.e., Moab, called *El Kerak*; two days south from

Pisgah is Mount Seir, called El Shaubek.”¹ Here then we find Pisgah identified with Kerak itself. This is as good evidence as the localisation of Peor by our map in the neighbourhood of that town: one may even say that it is very nearly the same fact stated in different terms.

Here is another observation. The Sifre and the parallel passages quoted by M. Büchler say that at the time of the fornication of Israel the Ammonites and the Moabites set up tents and booths, kept by their loose young women, from Beth ha-Yeshimoth to the *Mountain of Snow*. The *Mountain of Snow* (טור תלגא) is the name ordinarily given by the Talmud and the Targums to Mount Hermon. As M. Büchler justly points out, it is inadmissible² that an agadist in the second century A.D. should have made such a senseless statement as that this kind of fair, with its various attractions, should have extended as far as Mount Hermon. Assuredly he did not mean that mountain. But, in that case, what are we to understand by this? M. Büchler has made no answer to this question, which, nevertheless, has an interest of its own. I am disposed to think that the reading תלגא, *talga*, “snow,” is the result of a copyist’s error, and I wonder whether the original reading may not have been פסגא = פסגה, *Pisgah*; the emendation would be sufficiently in accordance with the rules of palæography (ת = פ, ל = ס [triangular]), and even the great fame of Mount Hermon would have sensibly helped to alter the original word. We thus find ourselves exactly in the place which we want, and, whatever fantastic variations there may be in details, the Talmudic tradition, a different one from that local tradition which grew up in the course of succeeding centuries at Mâdeba from the interested motives which I have conjectured, agrees well with the topographic data which appear in the Bible narrative, and the conclusions at which modern criticism has in general arrived: Beth ha-Yeshimoth = Sûeimeh; Nebo and Pisgah = Neba and Siâgha.

¹ Zurez, in “The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela,” by Asher, vol. ii, p. 405.

² However, M. Neubauer (“Géographie du Talmud,” p. 39) has passed over this difficulty.

As for Peor, one is greatly tempted to follow Colonel Conder in placing it beside 'Ain Minyeh. Anyhow, I see no necessity for separating, as he would do, this place, the scene of the episode of Balaam, from the scene of the impure rites of Peor, by putting the latter at Shittim, that is to say, at the very camp of the Israelites, in the valley of the Jordan¹; it is more natural to suppose that the guilty parties allowed themselves to be enticed² into the sanctuary of Baal Peor itself. If we admit this view of the matter, may we not make something out of the suggestive enough name in this connection of *Tal'at el-Benât*, "the ascent of the girls," which is borne at this day by the conspicuous knoll adjacent to 'Ain el-Minyeh and its ancient monuments of unhewn stone? This spot, at which tradition perhaps fixed the memory of the loose conduct of the girls of Moab, is not more than seven miles from Mâdeba, to the south-west.

Finally, there is one remaining point which I think that I ought to press. As I have before incidentally noted (*Quarterly Statement*, p. 239, note 4), I had already shown elsewhere that the Phoenician word מרזה, which hitherto had remained uninterpreted, is closely connected with the identical Hebrew word, and in the two Phoenician inscriptions in which it occurs must bear the meaning of "sacred festival," "great religious feast." The appearance of the Moabite *Marzeah* gives this interpretation an unexpected confirmation, at the same time that it receives a certain amount of light from it itself.

The great Punic Tariff of Sacrifices ("Corp. Inscr. Sem.," No. 165, l. 16), after having settled the conditions of offerings made by individuals, begins to speak of those made in common by collective groups which it defines as *curia*, *phratria*, and *marzeah elim*. This last group, I stated, must represent one of those associations, so common in classical antiquity, whose

¹ The dramatic incident of Zimri and the Midianite woman Cozbi, whom he brought into his own tent, and consequently into the camp at Shittim, was an isolated case and an exceptional one, as appears from the context itself. Compare Numbers xxv, 6 to 18.

² Numbers xxv, 2.

members assembled for their religious "agapes" or love feasts, which, when we take into consideration the temperament and the sensual rites of Eastern peoples, might easily degenerate into orgies *ad majorem dei gloriam*. The Punic *Marzeah* was a regular thiasos. Now, it is striking to observe that the Biblical expression בית מרזה (Jeremiah xvi, 5), which is accurately represented by the transcription Βητομαρσεα on the mosaic map, is appositely rendered in the LXX version by θιασος.¹ Probably the Punic *Marzeah* resembled the Moabite *Marzeah* in its least commendable features.

The second example of the Phoenician word *Marzeah* occurs at the beginning of the great Decree of the Phoenician community of Piræus: בים 4 למרזה בשת 15 לעם צדן, "the fourth day of *Marzeah*, in the fifteenth year of the people of Sidon."² It has been generally believed that in this formula of date compared with those which we already know, *Marzeah* could only be the name, hitherto unknown, of one of the months in the Phoenician calendar. I expressed some doubt as to this view, pointing out that in that case the name of the month, if it were really a month, ought to be preceded by the determinative word ירח, "month," a word which is never absent from the ordinary formulæ. On one hand, this omission is significant; on the other, the new meaning which I had been brought to attribute to the word מרזה in the Punic Tariff of Sacrifices led me to the conclusion that the *Marzeah* of the Decree of the Piræus was perhaps not the name of a month, but rather the name of some great Phoenician religious solemnity which lasted for at least four days, and, recurring at fixed periods, might consequently serve as well as the mention of a month to determine a date precisely: "the 4th day of the *Marzeah*," and not "of *Marzeah*."

With regard to this extremely important question of the great periodical festivals, either annual or quadrennial, celebrated by the ancient peoples of Syria, I shall confine myself to referring the reader to my special essay on this

¹ Although from the Hebrew context it seems rather to refer to some funeral ceremony.

² The year 96 B.C.

subject¹ ("Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale," vol. iv, pp. 289–319: "Le droit des pauvres et le cycle pentaétérique chez les Nabatéens"). It will be enough for me here to mention this fact, which connects the Phœnician *Marzeah* yet more closely with the Moabite *Marzeah*, pointing out that they had really the character of a great religious institution of extreme popularity among the Semitic races.

In the special essay just quoted, I think that I have succeeded in proving the existence among the Syrians of a great quadrennial festival, regulated by a pentaeteric cycle (= a period of four years), which, singularly enough, coincides chronologically with the Olympic cycle, year for year. I have endeavoured to give reasons for this coincidence. I may add that the year 15 of the Sidonian era in the Phœnician Decree of Piræus, that is to say, the year 96 B.C., agrees exactly with the first year of the 171st Olympiad, and consequently with one of the festival years of the Syrian pentaeteric cycle. We may infer from this that the Phœnician *Marzeah* was perhaps not an annual feast, but that it too was a quadrennial one. Can this also have been the case with the Moabite *Marzeah*, or at any rate with that alluded to in the Talmudic tradition and the tradition of the mosaic map?

9. *The Hebrew Mosaic of Kefr Kenna*.²—In the course of last year an extremely interesting archaeological discovery was made at Kefr Kenna, an Arab village in Galilee, which an ancient and possibly true, though much disputed, tradition identifies with the famous Cana of the Gospels.³ It consists

¹ See also *ibid.*, pp. 226–237: "Le Phœnicien Theosebios de Sarepta et son voyage à Pouzzoles."

² See the illustration in the *Quarterly Statement*, p. 251.

³ Among the testimonies of a date anterior to the Crusades, that of Antoninus of Placentia alone can be regarded as sufficiently explicit to be able to sway the balance in favour of this identification. He distinctly places the Cana of the Gospels between Diocæsarea (Sephoris) and Nazareth, at a distance of three miles from the former town (Theodosius reckons it five); he states that he saw there two of the water pots wherein was wrought the miracle of the changing the water into wine, and also that he carved his parents' name in the sanctuary. It is a pity that we have not been able to find this commemorative inscription, which would have settled the question. I may remark

of a large mosaic pavement containing a fairly long inscription in ancient square Hebrew characters. It is the first inscription of this kind which has been found up to the present day. There is, indeed, the great mosaic of Naron,¹ in Tunisia, which assuredly once adorned the floor of an ancient Jewish synagogue, as is proved by the characteristic symbols² and inscriptions which it contains³; but all these inscriptions are in Latin, whereas that at Kefr Kenna is in Hebrew.

This mosaic was discovered by the Franciscans in the course of some researches made by them in the interior of a chapel, which they built some years ago at Kefr Kenna, on the ruins of an ancient basilica which is partly covered by their convent. Father Ronzevalle, of Beirût, has been good enough to send me a photograph from which the engraving given above on p. 251 has been made. Although the photograph is good enough in itself, the deciphering of the text is, nevertheless, an arduous task, owing to various circumstances. The letters, which are photographed obliquely, are out of shape because of the perspective.⁴ Moreover, they have been somewhat carelessly executed by the maker of the mosaic, perhaps of Greek extraction, who may not have been very familiar with this sort of writing, and merely reproduced mechanically a model text which he could not read. Finally, the mosaic has suffered much from the injuries of time and the hand of man. In spite of all these difficulties I think that I have, nevertheless,

in this connection that, in 1835, in the ruins of an ancient church of the Panaghia at Elatea, in Phocis, a large slab of grey marble was discovered bearing a Greek inscription in sixth-century lettering, which runs thus:—"This stone comes from Cana of Galilee, where Our Lord Jesus Christ turned the water into wine." This stone must have been brought to Greece from the Holy Land by some pious pilgrim who was more or less contemporary with Antoninus.

¹ At Hammâm Lîf, near Tunis. See "Revue Archéologique," 1883, pp. 157 and 234; 1884, p. 273, Pl. VII-XI.

² Seven-branched candlestick, lulab, &c.

³ "Sancti Sinagoga Naron . . . arcossinagogi," &c.

⁴ One can realise the extent of this distortion of the letters by the angle formed by the lines of the border and of the intercolumnations, which, of course, must be parallel in the original.

made out pretty satisfactorily all that is left of this precious text. In order to clear up the doubts which still remain about certain points it would be necessary to have access to an exact copy of it, but this I have not hitherto been able to obtain.

The inscription originally contained at least two columns, I and II, separated by a vertical line, and set, perhaps, in a large frame with triangular lappets, of which I think I can still discover some traces at the right hand extremity. This is my reading:—

II.		I.	
..... 5		דיבר לטב יוסה בר	1
..... (ש) 6		תנחום בר ביטה ובנוי	2
.. [לה] (ב) 7		ד עבדיו הרה טבלה	3
..... 1 (ל) 8		תהי להון ברבחה	4

In pious remembrance; Yôseh (= Joseph) the son of Tanhûm, the son of Bitah (?), and his sons, who have made (?) this TBLH; which will be for a blessing for them. . . . This T[BLH ?] . . . blessing for¹ (?) [them, or: for ever?].

The writing is the square Hebrew alphabet of the first centuries of our era; the language is the Hebrew with a tendency to the Aramaic, sometimes far from correct, which was also in use amongst the Jews at the same period.

The initial formula is well known; it is applicable to an *ex voto* as well as to an epitaph, and if I am not mistaken we have here to deal with the former. Observe the Aramaicised form דיבר = זכר "remembrance": the *yod* is somewhat of a surprise; perhaps this spelling has been influenced by the vocalisation of the Hebrew form זכרון, and also by the wish to distinguish this word from its double זָכַר = זָכָר "male."

The two first proper names, יוסה and תנחום, are certain, and they are common Jewish names of the period. The identity of the abridged popular form יוסה, Yôseh, with יוסף, Joseph, has long been established beyond the reach of doubt,

¹ Or perhaps better, (ברבחה), "the blessing," as in line 4.

and we find many examples of it in this very district of Galilee.¹

In the group of letters . . . ברבי, which follow the patronymic Tanhûm, one might at first be tempted to see the title of *beribbi*, or *beribi*, which is often borne by the Jewish doctors. I have found many examples of it in the Jewish cemetery at Joppa.² But one would be inclined in that case to expect to find the usual spelling ביריבי. ברבי: moreover, in this case one would not know what to make of the remaining letters. It appears to me, therefore, more natural that one should find in this a third proper name, preceded by the word בר, "son," and continuing the genealogy. This name, ביטה ? בוטה ?³ recalls that of ביטה, *Bituh*, *Bito*, which appears in the ancient Jewish catacomb at Venosa,⁴ and seems to be nothing more than a transcription of the Latin word *Vita* (vulgarly spelt *Bita*),⁵ "life," which is itself the translation of a very common Jewish name חייא,⁶ היים, *Haiya*, *Hiya*, *Hayim*, &c. (same sense), and has also given rise to the barbarous proper names of *Bitus* or *Bittus*. One may be somewhat surprised, it is true, at meeting in the midst of Galilee with a name so deeply impressed with a western stamp. But this fact will seem less surprising after

¹ See Renan's "Mission de Phénicie," pp. 767, 768, 770, 779. S56a, S71b. I am tempted to see a new instance of this name in a fragment of a monumental inscription from an ancient synagogue at El-Koka, copied by L. Oliphant (Pal. Exp. Fund *Quarterly Statement*, 1886, p. 76). Unfortunately, the copy is a very inadequate one. Still, I think that I can read in it, after an initial formula analogous to that of our mosaic, and ending like it with לטב ("in good . . ."), the name of יוסה, "Yôseh," followed by בר, "son of," and of a patronymic name beginning with . . . הל, or perhaps . . . הל (=הלל, Hillel?).

² Clermont-Ganneau, "Proceed. of the Soc. of Bibl. Arch.," March, 1884, and "Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale," vol. iv, p. 141. Compare Βηριβί.

³ The second letter seems a little long for a *yod*, and might possibly pass for a *rav*; but this appearance, perhaps, is owing to an accidental disarrangement of the mosaic cubes which appears to have happened at this place.

⁴ Ascoli, "Iscrizioni di antichi sepolcri giudaici del Napolitano," No. 21; cf. Nos. 15, 18, 19.

⁵ Compare the name of *Bita*, belonging to a woman, perhaps a Jewess, in an inscription at Gallipoli ("Corp. Inscr. Græc.," 2014).

⁶ Compare the name חייא, transliterated *Eias* (pronounce *Ias*) in a bilingual inscription in the Jewish cemetery at Joppa, which I have explained elsewhere ("Recueil d'Arch. Orient.," vol. iv, p. 143).

a few moments' reflection on the uninterrupted connection which existed between the Jewish communities dispersed after the captivity, from one end to the other of the ancient world. It is, after all, quite within the bounds of possibility that our Joseph of Galilee should have had a grandfather born in a Latin-speaking country.

Observe, at the end of line 2, the Aramaicised form, בני = בנודי, "his sons," instead of the classical Hebrew form, בניו.

Line 3 must contain the essential part of the inscription, that is to say, the word, preceded by the feminine demonstrative article, הרה,¹ which defines the actual work performed by the author of the dedication, together with his children. Unfortunately, this word is indistinct: the third letter is the most doubtful one, and its true value depends on the greater or less whiteness of one little cube of mosaic. Here is an important verification which must be made by examination of the original. It seems as though this word, whatever it may be, must be repeated under the same conditions, that is, preceded by the same demonstrative pronoun, הרה, in the second column (at the beginning of line 7). But this repetition does not give us the least assistance, for the word is entirely destroyed after the second letter.

If the reading, טבלה, to which I incline, be admitted, we have yet to decide the meaning of the word. There is, indeed, in Rabbinical Hebrew a substantive identical in form, טבלה, טבלא, which is the transcript of the Latin *tabula*,² all of the meanings of which have been preserved in the Hebrew. The expression "this *tablah*," might therefore possibly mean the mosaic itself, the whole of which formed a sort of *tabula tessellata*. But it is also possible that טבלה is derived from another Semitic root, טבל, "to plunge into the water, to bathe." טבילה, טבילתא, טיבולא, &c., "bath," more especially the

¹ For הרא, with a Hebraicised spelling of the Aramaic form. We find the same approach to the Hebrew form further on, in ברכתה for ברכתא.

² The Hebrew transcript was not made directly from the Latin *tabula*, but indirectly from the Hellenised form *ταβλα*.

lustral bath for cleansing from ritual impurities, and also the actual baptism to which Jewish neophytes were subjected. In this case the expression would refer, not to the mosaic pavement itself but to some building or hall connected with a synagogue, some Jewish baptistery,¹ of which our mosaic possibly adorned the floor. I shall presently revert to this puzzling question, which gives rise to others yet more puzzling.

In line 5, the reading and the translation which I have given depend upon letters which are partly conjectural, and indistinct in the photograph. The formula which I have thus obtained has the advantage of agreeing with that which may be read without a shadow of doubt upon a column of an ancient Galilean synagogue at El Jish (Gischala).² The word ברכתה seems also to reappear in our column II, l. 8, in a new formula which, perhaps, marks the termination of the inscription, provided that it be not continued in one or more other columns which have been altogether destroyed.

Whatever our interpretation of the obscure word TBLH, the key-word of the inscription, may be, the first and most natural idea which occurs to us is assuredly that this mosaic, which anyhow has nothing of a funerary character, belongs to one of those ancient synagogues which have been proved to

¹ Note that, in this respect, naturally on the hypothesis that Kēfr Kenna would be the authentic representative of the Cana of the Gospels, St. John tells us that the six famous "waterpots" or hydriæ of stone were actually used for "the purification of the Jews," *κατὰ καθαρισμόν τῶν Ἰουδαίων* (St. John, ii, 6).

² Renan, *op. cit.*, p. 777 (Pl. LXX, No. 3): תארת לה (or להון?) ברכתה, "may blessing be upon him (or them?)." According to Renan, this inscription alluded to an "ark" (ארן); in spite of his unwillingness to believe it, it may nevertheless be better to read and translate it הארן, "this."

Now that I am dealing with this matter of Hebrew inscriptions in Galilean synagogues, I shall avail myself of the opportunity to say that the much-discussed inscription at Kēfr Bir'im (*op. cit.*, p. 764, Pl. LXX, No. 2) should, perhaps, read simply:—אלעזר בר יודן . . . "Eleazar son of Youdan." The name *Youdan* is well known in the Talmudic Onomastics, and I have found several examples of it, in Hebrew and in Greek, in the Jewish cemetery at Joppa. As for the beginning of the inscription, which is so hard to make out, perhaps we should take the second letter for an *ain*.

With regard to the inscription at Safed (*op. cit.*, p. 782, Pl. LXX, No. 4), it seems to me to begin with the words . . . נ' ב'נר ב'יום, "was buried on the xth day of the month of Elul, in the year . . ." It is only an epitaph, and, I think, of very recent date.

exist in various places in Galilee.¹ Their construction dates from the earliest centuries of our era (probably the second or third). Here one might stop, and perhaps it would be wisest to say no more.

However, on thinking the matter over, I have conceived some doubt on this point, and this doubt arises, in the first place, from the substantive and hitherto unique fact that our Hebrew inscription is executed in *mosaic*. In none of these ancient Galilean synagogues, relatively numerous though they are, has any trace of the existence of mosaic pavements been discovered; all of them are paved with slabs of stone. Sir Charles Wilson, who has made valuable studies of these synagogues, remarks particularly ("Special Papers," p. 296) that "their floors are paved with slabs of white limestone." It appears that this was the general rule.² One may say that in Syria mosaic pavements, with ornaments and inscriptions, are peculiar to Christian architecture of the Byzantine period. *A priori*, therefore, according to the rules of true criticism, we ought to refer our mosaic, with its Hebrew inscription, to this epoch. But then, on the other hand, if we connect it with a Jewish synagogue, we involve ourselves in serious historical difficulties. One can easily understand that under the Roman emperors of the third century, who showed themselves tolerant, and in some cases decidedly favourable towards the Jews,³ who recognised and

¹ At Kefr Bir'im, Kasyûn, Nabartein, el-Jish, Meirôn, Tel Hâm, Kerâzeh, Irbid, Sufsâf, &c. For an account of these synagogues, see Renan, *op. cit.*, p. 761. He inclines to the third century of our era as their general date. See also the important researches of Wilson, Kitchener, Conder, &c., in the Palestine Exploration Fund "Memoirs," in 4to form, and the "Special Papers," pp. 294-305; *Quarterly Statement*, 1878, p. 32 *et seq.*, p. 123 *et seq.*; 1886, p. 75.

² I shall mention in this connection a curious enough passage in the work of the Jewish geographer Esthori ha-Parchi (Asher, "The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela," translated by Zunz, vol. ii, p. 432), who, speaking of the ancient synagogue of Yâkûk, says:—"We also saw there a synagogue with an ancient pavement" It would be interesting to see in the original Hebrew text, which I have not at hand, what were the exact terms used. I shall point out incidentally that our Jewish writer (*op. cit.*, p. 401) also saw at Beisân the ruins of an ancient synagogue which does not seem to have been noticed by modern explorers (unless it be the building with three niches which is cursorily mentioned in the "Memoirs," vol. ii, p. 109).

³ Especially Antonius Pius and Alexander Severus.

confirmed the privileges of the Patriarchate of Tiberias whose spiritual and even temporal power, at least in financial matters, extended over all the Jewish communities of the West—one can understand, I say, that in their days the Jews had perfect liberty to construct, in the chief towns of Galilee, the fine synagogues whose ruins we admire and which were paid for by rich offerings brought from afar by the activity of the *Apostoli*. But as soon as Christianity rose to the dignity of a State religion, as soon as Constantine ascended the throne, things were entirely altered. Then throughout the whole extent of the Holy Land churches and basilicas blossomed forth. All that we know of this epoch and those which succeeded to it proves to us that Christian fanaticism would never have willingly thenceforth suffered the building of new synagogues in Palestine, especially on a site connected with one of the most important events recorded in the Gospels, that is, if Kefr Kenna does indeed represent Cana of Galilee, which witnessed the first miracle performed by Jesus. We are thus led into a most embarrassing dilemma: on the one hand, our mosaic, with its Hebrew inscription, certainly seems to have belonged to a synagogue; on the other, by the very fact of its being a mosaic, it should belong to a period at which it is hard to admit that Jews could have received permission to erect in the Holy Land a public building for the practice of the ceremonies of their religion.

There would be but one way by which we could reconcile these opposites, and that is to suppose that the mosaic of Kefr Kenna may have been executed during the short period of respite from persecution, and even of reaction against Christianity, represented by the reign of Julian. We know how much this emperor favoured the Jews out of hatred to Christianity. If he entertained the plan of allowing them to rebuild the Temple at Jerusalem, much more would he have permitted them to build synagogues at other places in Palestine, and the idea of seeing one erected, by way of an outrage to one of the most cherished of Christian traditions, on the very site of the Cana of the Gospel, could not fail to please him. On this hypothesis it would be easy to explain how a Jewish building came to be constructed

in the taste and according to the prevailing style of the period by adorning it with one of those mosaic pavements which were just then coming into fashion in Syria. But it is less easy to explain how it was that the Christians, who became absolutely masters of the situation after the disappearance of this final and short-lived official adversary of their faith, should not have utterly abolished the very last traces of the Jewish abomination which defiled the ground of one of their chief sanctuaries. No doubt our mosaic has been damaged, but, on the whole, a considerable portion has been preserved, which could not have been the case on this hypothesis.

These considerations, and others which it would be tedious to enumerate, have led me to ask myself whether, in spite of appearances to the contrary, the author of the dedication may not possibly have been a converted Jew, and whether the mosaic may not have belonged to a Christian church. I will not conceal the paradoxical effect which such an hypothesis may have, or the objections of all kinds to which it would give occasion. But, in face of all these difficulties, we are compelled to consider this theory and see whether it is really so incompatible with probability.

St. Epiphanius, who was, as we know, himself of Jewish¹ origin, and who was an eye witness of the official triumph of Christianity on the accession of Constantine, tells² us in detail a story which is curious from every point of view. It is that of a personage who was in two respects his co-religionist, having been, like him, born a Jew and converted to Christianity. This was one Joseph of Tiberias, who at the end of his days fixed his abode at Bethshean-Seythopolis, where St. Epiphanius had personal relations with him. Joseph was considerably older than St. Epiphanius, seeing that he was 70 years of age at the time when the latter knew him, that is, in A.D. 356. Consequently he must have been born about the year 286. The account which St. Epiphanius gives us of him offers, therefore, every guarantee of authenticity and exactitude.

¹ Born about A.D. 310, at a village in the neighbourhood of Eleutheropolis.

² St. Epiphanius, "Adv. hares.," collection: Migne, tome 41, columns 410-427.

This Joseph originally, before his conversion, held a high position at Tiberias under the Jewish patriarch Ellel (Hillel), who resided in that town, which was the real capital of what remained of the Jewish nation. He was one of the *Apostoli*, the assistants of the patriarch. Already secretly inclined towards Christianity in consequence of a train of circumstances too long to enumerate, he was sent to Cilicia by the patriarch Judas, Hillel's successor, to proceed, according to custom, to the collection of offerings from the Jewish communities. In Cilicia his vocation for Christianity was confirmed under the influence of a certain Christian bishop, so much that his co-religionists were scandalised at his public apostasy, and cast him into the Cydnus to drown. He barely escaped with his life from the waters of the river; this escape from drowning was for him a regular baptism. He definitively abjured the faith of his fathers, and embraced that of the Christians. Therein he also served his own interests from a temporal point of view. He was received with open arms by Constantine, who loaded him with honours and favours, and went so far as to bestow upon him the dignity of Count, with all the advantages and powers appertaining to that position. Like all proselytes, our newly-made Count of Tiberias displayed the ardour of a neophyte; he appears to have made it his special business to persecute his former co-religionists. With this object he asked and obtained from the Emperor authority and probably also pecuniary means to build churches in Galilee, in the very midst of this last focus of Judaism. Here it would be well to quote St. Epiphanius literally:—

“He received authority to build a Christian church at Tiberias¹ itself, and also at Diocæsarea, Capernaum, and other towns.” (Col. 410, § iv.)

“He asked nothing (of the Emperor, who was willing to give him whatever he chose) beyond the great favour of being given authority by imperial edict to build churches for Christ in the

¹ St. Epiphanius describes in detail the circumstances which took place during the construction of this church at Tiberias, which was built by Count Joseph on the walls of an unfinished temple, the Adrianeion, in spite of the opposition of the Jews of the town, who wished to make it into a public bath.

Jewish towns and villages, where no one had previously been able to build, none, either Greek, Samaritan, or Christian, being tolerated amongst them. His chief churches were built at Tiberias, Diocæsarea, Sepphoris, Nazareth, and Capernaum, where the Jews used to keep careful watch against any foreigner whatever dwelling among them." (Col. 426, § xi.)

"He also built churches at Diocæsarea and other towns." (Col. 427, § xii.)

From these passages arises a conjecture which temptingly presents itself to mind, though I state it, nevertheless, with the utmost reserve. Among all these churches of Galilee, built by the zeal of Count Joseph, to whom Constantine had given plenary power, may there not have been one at Kefr Kenna? I do not wish to go so far as to say that the Yoseh of our inscription,* whose name is the same as that of our Joseph of Tiberias, is identical with him, although indeed this might be maintained, for we do not know the name of the latter's father. But the example may have been contagious; others of his co-religionists, finding substantial advantages in it, may have imitated the conversion of the Jewish ex-Apostolus, and may have seconded him in his enterprise of multiplying churches throughout the land of Galilee. If the author of the mosaic at Kefr Kenna would be a converted Jew, this would explain well enough the singular fact that a Hebrew inscription should appear on a mosaic which one may call Christian, both by definition and by situation. If we grant the object aimed at by Count Joseph and his possible imitators—direct action against the local Jewish element, possibly with further purpose of making conversions—the use of the Hebrew language, the very language of those against whom this sort of crusade was undertaken in an architectural shape, would be quite justified; nothing could have been more suitable to impress these stubborn champions of the Jewish zealotry in Galilee.

The hypothesis, I admit, is a fragile one. It would be somewhat strengthened if Cana figured in the list of the places where Count Joseph's activity was displayed. This town does not appear therein, but we must remark that St. Epiphanius's

list is not complete, and that Cana may perhaps be potentially comprised in the phrase of which he twice makes use, "and other towns and villages" (*καὶ ταῖς ἄλλαις*). If this were the only objection, one might answer it by calling another witness, whose testimony, although indirect and of much later date, yet is of a kind which nevertheless could fill up the blank left by St. Epiphanius's silence, or rather by his regrettable brevity. This testimony is that of the Byzantine historian Nicephorus Callistus.¹ This fourteenth century compiler, echoing the legend which prevailed in his time, attributes to St. Helena the building of a series of churches whereof certainly many are not the personal work of the mother of Constantine: the Anastasis and the Cranion on the site of the Passion, at Jerusalem; the church of the Nativity, at Bethlehem; that of the Ascension, on the Mount of Olives; that of the Virgin, at Gethsemane; that of the Shepherds; that of Bethany; that of St. John the Baptist on the banks of the Jordan; that of Elijah the Tishbite, on the mount. Further, in Galilee, on the shores of the Lake of Tiberias, it is always St. Helena who was the builder of the church of the Dodekathrôn, on the place where Jesus fed the 4,000 men, and other churches on the principal places in the district of Capernaum which are connected with the Gospel narrative; one at Tiberias itself, another on Mount Tabor, another at Nazareth, and lastly *another at Cana of Galilee.*²

It will be observed that among these churches of Galilee, with the building of which St. Helena is credited, several are identical with those due to the initiative of Count Joseph, whose work was done at precisely the same period and in the same country. The list given by Nicephorus Callistus, when reduced to its real historical meaning, may be regarded as the complement of that given by St. Epiphanius, and if this be true, then the alleged building by St. Helena of the church at Cana ought really to be attributed to Count Joseph and virtually comprised among the "etc., etc.," of St. Epiphanius.

¹ Nicephorus Callistus, Migne's collection, vol. cxlvi, column 113.

² Κατὰ δὲ τῆς Γαλιλαίας, ἔνθα ὁ τοῦ Κανανίτου Σίμωνος γάμος ἐγένετο, καὶ ἐξ ἀδήλου βοτρώων οἶνος ἐπηγάζετο, οἶκον ἱερὸν ἰδεῖν ἔτερον.

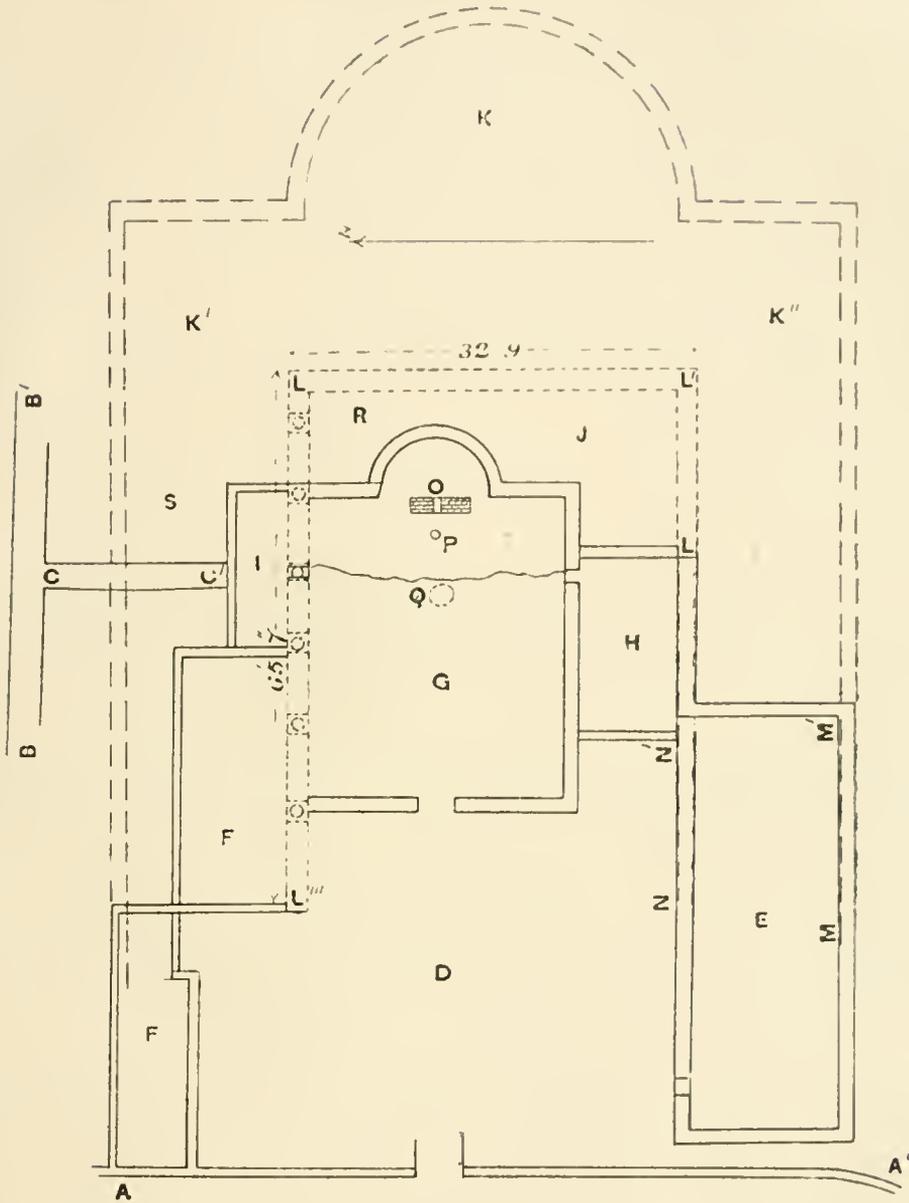
So then we are brought again to the hypothesis, whose strong and weak points I have already discussed. I cannot myself come to any certain decision ; I leave to others the task of weighing the pros and cons. I shall content myself with adding that on the supposition that our mosaic had a Christian origin, it may be worth while, in order to explain the mysterious word TBLH, to bear in mind the existence in Christian Aramaic of a similar if not synonymous word, **טבליתא**, *tablita*, meaning " altar " (strictly the *table* of the altar). The two other interpretations of which I have spoken, either *tabula*, alluding to the mosaic itself, or " baptistery," remain still possible ones ; the latter, indeed, would become exceedingly interesting in case we have to do with a church and not with a synagogue.

To arrive at a satisfactory solution of the problem we need beforehand two pieces of evidence which we have not got. Does Kefr Kenna, or does it not, represent the Cana of the Gospel ? And, are the remains of the ancient building within which the mosaic was found sufficiently distinct to enable us to prove whether they belong to a synagogue or to a church ?

As for the first question, the topographical one, I have nothing to add to the many contradictory essays of which it has formed the subject up to the present time ; it is rather the solution of the problem which we are engaged with which will enable us to settle this question.

As for the second question, the archæological one, I have as yet only insufficient data. They are not, however, entirely valueless, and I think it is useful to set them forth here, while awaiting the result of the more exact investigations which, let us hope, will be eventually made on the spot. I owe them to an obliging communication from Father Paul de S. Aignan, which reached me after I had written the above pages. He has been good enough to send me a sketch of the place (*see* next page), with some interesting explanations which I shall sum up as accurately as possible and comment upon.

A first glance at this sketch seems to show the existence of three churches of different periods, regularly orientated, and, as it were, inscribed one within the other, being formed by successive curtailments of the size of the original building. G is the



A—A', Street. B—B', Alley. C—C', Alley. D, Courtyard of the Franciscan Convent. E, Small convent. F, F', Schools. G, Chapel built by the Franciscans. H, Vestry. I, Back vestry. J, Remains of an older church. K, K', K'', Suggested plan of the original building successively reduced to J and G. L, L', L'', Walls of old church. L—L''', Old colonnade. M—M', Remains of a very thick wall with a side door. N—N', Thick wall with less carefully dressed masonry. O, Original entrance to the crypt under the altar of the existing chapel. P, Lustral basin or font (?). Q, Mosaic, with Hebrew inscription. R, S, Isolated fragments of mosaic pavements.

----- Old church.

— — — — — Original and much larger building, according to Father Paul de St. Aignan.

present chapel, built by the Franciscans, within a church of greater size, J, which, though it bears visible traces of having been remodelled by the Crusaders, seems nevertheless to belong to an earlier date than theirs. This church, again, is enclosed within the original one, whose dimensions were considerably greater, K, K', K''. I desire to state here that the plan of this latter building is to a great extent conjectural,¹ and is based upon the existence of scattered traces as to the meaning of which opinions may differ: the apse, K, especially, is, I imagine, purely conjectural. If its existence, with the normal orientation to the east, should be confirmed, it would strongly sway the balance in favour of the Christian origin of the mosaic.

The presence of fragments of mosaics, which has been proved at the point R, within the circuit of J, and at the point S, beyond its circuit, and consequently within the conjectural circuit of K, is a very important fact, provided that we can ascertain that these fragments of mosaic belong to the same period as the central Hebrew mosaic. Observe also the bases of the ancient range of columns, L—L', which one is tempted to regard as marking one of the (three?) aisles into which the supposed building, K, might have been divided. One of the capitals of these columns has been found; it appears that it is of the Corinthian order, and of good workmanship.

I now come to the discovery of the Hebrew mosaic, which is situated at Q, that is to say, almost in the middle of all this entanglement of buildings, for the modern chapel, G, and the intermediate building, J, seem on the whole to have been placed in what must have been the central aisle of the great conjectural church, K. The excavation which led to this discovery was begun as far up as the present altar, O, at a spot where the remains of an ancient wall had previously been noticed. The remaining courses of this wall were cleared of earth, and at a depth of about 5 feet there was found the threshold of a door which must have led into a sort of crypt extending toward the west. The explorers consequently dug in that direction,

¹ It rests chiefly on the discovery of two fragments of thick walls, parallel to one another, shown at M—M' and N—N'.

and near the spot P they found, in the middle of a kind of chamber, "an urn, or rather a fairly large basin," probably of stone, although the material is not specified. I need not enlarge on the importance of this object as bearing upon the various questions which I have already discussed. At this point the digging had to stop in consequence of certain material difficulties. For the present they contented themselves with sinking a shaft a little further to the west, near the point Q, and it was there that they had the good fortune to come just down upon the Hebrew mosaic which forms the subject of this essay.

Such is the present condition of these explorations from an archaeological point of view. It would be most desirable that they should be renewed at the earliest possible date, and that they should be conducted in a methodical manner.

I may add that during some building operations undertaken some 20 years ago (I imagine in the region marked E) they found a sculptured lintel of a door, with vine leaves and grapes, which has unfortunately disappeared. This subject of decoration might equally well belong to a synagogue as to a church, so that as far as this goes the question still remains undecided. The same applies to the ornamentation of another sculptured lintel, whose existence on the same spot in the seventeenth century is attested by a document which has been pointed out to me by Father Paul de S. Aignan. Father Mariano Morone da Maleo,¹ who, as I have already often had occasion to remark elsewhere,² was so singularly well-informed on the archaeology of the Holy Land, says that he saw sculptured above a door at the entrance to the ancient ruined church of Kebr Kenna three vases in which he wishes to see the waterpots of the marriage of Cana in Galilee.³ It is needless to say that this subject of vases belongs as much to the symbolic decoration of Jewish as of Christian art.

¹ "Terra Santa nuovamente illustrata," i, p. 362.

² For instance, "Archæological Researches in Palestine," vol. i, p. 6.

³ "Come anche nell' intrare notai sopra una porta tre hidrie scolpite nella pietra viva in memoria del miracolo qui operato."

REPORTS AND NOTES BY R. A. S. MACALISTER, ESQ.

I.—ON CERTAIN ANTIQUITIES IN THE NEIGHBOURHOOD OF BEIT
JIBRÎN.

THE moorland hills around Beit Jibrîn are rich in antiquities of certain types, not perhaps in themselves of great interest, though testifying to a much larger population and more extensive cultivation than at present, and therefore of historical value.

The majority of the structures to which this note refers are circular on plan, about 12 feet, more or less, in diameter; they are built without cement, of stones measuring every way about 2 feet. Inside is always a floor of small stone chips and pebbles. The majority are ruined to mere shapeless heaps of stone, or are disintegrated to their lowest course. In the wall of one, part of the sill-stone of a door was found, used as building material.

They recall the *manâtir*, or watch-towers, still erected in vineyards, of which many examples are to be seen near Bethlehem and elsewhere; but I have seen no modern example built of such large stones as are the ancient specimens, nor is the circular form so exclusively selected by the modern builders. There is no trace of terracing or other evidence of cultivation to be detected about the majority of the structures to which attention is here called, and if they be actually vineyard towers they must be very old. They exist in very considerable numbers, and often are found in small groups of six or seven. I trenched across one at Abu Haggên, but found nothing. Like the *manâtir* they were doubtless roofed with boughs. It is possible that these structures may have been dry-stone hovels, like the bee-hive cells of Scotland and Ireland, or the *nawâmîs* of the Sinai peninsula.

I found two or three similar structures rectangular on plan. The proportion of this type to the circular is very small.

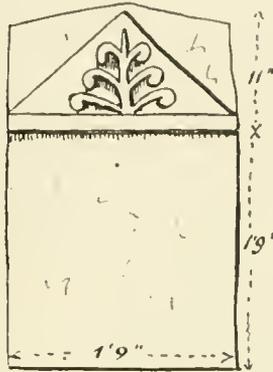
On the top of a conspicuous hill to the south of Tell Sandahannah is the foundation of a building¹ of large dry-stone blocks. It seems to have been a watch-tower of some kind, but there is

¹ Plans of these structures have been drawn, and are deposited in the office of the Fund.

nothing from which we may deduce its exact purpose or its age. There is a similar structure on a hill-top near Tell ej-Judeidch.

Further, the hills in the district mentioned at the head of this note are intersected in all directions by walls which probably mark old boundaries. They consist invariably of rows of large round stones laid side by side. To plan them would be an endless and probably a profitless labour.

There is one wall¹ stretching over a long low hill southwards from Tell Sandahannah. It stops abruptly at each end; and it is difficult to guess the purpose for which it was built. Near the



STONE IN WALL NEAR TELL SANDAHANNAH.

northern end is lying the stone here sketched; it seems to be Roman, and prepared for an inscription which, unfortunately, was never cut on it.

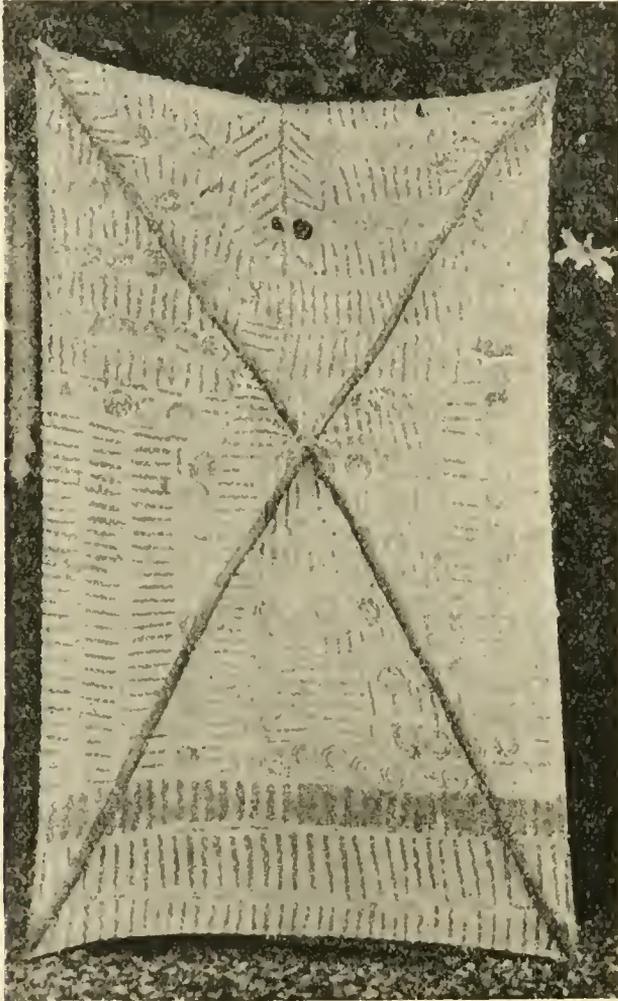
II.—THE BIRAK ESH-SHINANÎR.

As a pendant to the paper on "Sport among the Bedawîn," contributed by Mr. Jennings-Bramley to the *Quarterly Statement* of October, 1900, I present a plate of two photographic views of a sporting implement which I purchased from a native of Zakariya, and which I have not seen described elsewhere.

It consists of a sheet of cloth, about 4 feet 6 inches by 3 feet 9 inches, stretched on two crossed sticks whose ends fit into little pockets formed by sewing over the edges at each corner of the cloth. The centre of the cloth is ingeniously tied to the intersection of the sticks by gathering it round a small pebble and

winding a string round the neck of the pocket enclosing the pebble; the ends of the string are then secured round the sticks.

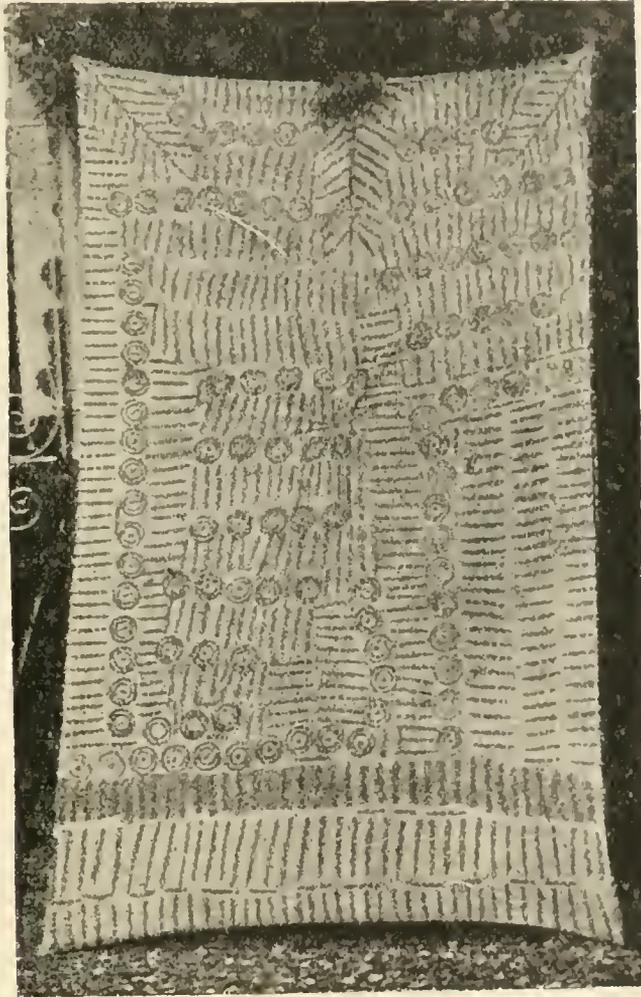
The dried skin of a fox's head is sewn to the top of the cloth, and the surface of the cloth is ornamented with strokes and concentric circles. The latter are printed on in ink by means of a die cut out of soft limestone chunch. The palm leaf is conspicuous among the designs; this is a favourite luck sign, painted



over doors of houses and worked in tatu on women's faces. I cannot, however, discover that the other signs, or the fox-head, have any other special meaning; the manufacturer's statement, that it is simply to make the object eccentric-looking, is as likely as any theoretical explanation to be correct. When the designs are dry on the cloth it is dipped in dirty water in order to stain it and prevent it being too conspicuous.

Finally, special attention must be called to two small holes cut about three-quarters of the way up in the cloth.

The method of employment is as follows:—The sportsman, intent on partridge shooting, crouches behind the widespread cloth, which he shakes up and down slightly. The partridge is alleged to be a bird so inquisitive that it approaches near to find out what this peculiar object is. The sportsman can then watch



the birds with his eye through one hole, while with his gun through the other he fires at them.

The name of the implement is *Biraḳ esh-Shinanir*, that is “standard or flag of the partridges.”¹

¹ The “flag of the partridges” was frequently used by Hassan, who went with me and Mr. Hornstein to Moab in 1899. In my journal for April 5th of that year, I wrote:—“On the way up (the hills east of Jordan) Hassan shot

III.—A NOTE ON WEST PALESTINIAN DOLMENS.

In the *Quarterly Statement* of July, 1901, p. 231, I have spoken of the Beit Jibrîn dolmen as “the first example of a megalithic sepulchral monument discovered in Western Palestine.” I regret that Père Vincent’s excellent paper on the “Rude Stone Monuments of Western Palestine,” published in the April “*Revue Biblique*,” did not reach me till after my note had been printed, as I should not then have claimed for my own discovery the honour of priority, which properly belongs to the finds of the Dominican Fathers of Jerusalem. I was unaware till I read Père Vincent’s paper that the Abu Dis and other dolmens had been noticed so long before the Beit Jibrîn monument was found, and I trust I will be forgiven the implied slight I have unintentionally cast on the discoveries of other investigators.

IV.—ADDENDA TO THE LIST OF RHODIAN STAMPED JAR-HANDLES FROM TELL SANDAHANNAH.

The following handles were found after the list published in the *Quarterly Statement* for January and April, 1901, had been despatched to the Fund office. The plate of alphabets, &c., having been sent with the list, and not being available for reference when the present appendix was drawn up, the paleographical details given in column 8 of the list could not be tabulated, and are therefore here omitted :—

a partridge with the aid of a stalking cloth—a rough representation of a bird of prey, something like a large shield, which he held in front of him as he advanced, and planted upright on the ground when within shot. The effect of the shield was to frighten the bird and keep it cowering on the ground whilst Hassan advanced and finally fired through a hole in the cloth.” When not in use the cloth and two sticks were carried separately.—C. W. W.

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.	Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.
308	Rectangular	— × 1·9	Beginning broken off, surface sealed.	—	—	[]ΝΟΥ [] []
309	"	4·4 × 1·6	Perfect ..	—	—	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΜΑΧΟΥ ΤΑΚΙΝΘΙΟΥ
310	"	4·4 × 1·45	" ..	—	—	ΕΠΙ ΑΝΔΡΟ ΝΙΚΟΥ ΑΡΤΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ
311	"	— × 1·35	End broken off, much worn.	—	—	ΑΣ * Ο[
312	"	4·65 × 1·8	Very badly stamped ..	—	—	ΕΥΤΑ * * * ΟΥ []
313	"	4·1 × 1·6	Perfect ..	Bunch of grapes,	To left ..	ΑΙΝΟΥ
314	"	3·25 × 1·5	Worn ..	—	—	ΑΓΗΣΙΑΔΑ
315	"	— × 1·6	Beginning broken off, end worn.	Square frame	Inside ..	]ΤΗ[]ΜΥ[]ΟΝ[
316	"	3·4 × 1·6	Worn ..	—	—	ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡΟ * * ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΑΜΟΥ
317	Oval	— × —	Half broken away ..	Rose ..	.. Surrounding ..	ΠΥΘΟΔΩΡ[

No.	Shape of Seal.	Size of Seal, in centimetres.	Condition of Seal.	Device.	Position of Inscription relatively to Device.	Inscription.
318	Oval	— × 2·6	Side broken away	Rose ..	Surrounding ..	[Ε]ΠΙ · ΕΥΔΩΡΟΥ Δ[ΑΛΙΟΥ]
319	Rectangular	3·75 × 1·58	Slightly chipped	Caduceus ..	Under ..	ANTIMACHΟΥ
320	Oval	2·25 × 0·95	Perfect ..	—	—	ϸΩϸΥ
321	Rectangular	3·9 × 1·4	Smeared	—	—	ΕΠΙ [Δ?] ΗΜΟ Κ]ΡΑΤ[ΕΥΣ []
322	Oval	— × —	Nearly all broken away	All gone	Surrounding ..	[Ε]ΠΙ Μ[
323	Circular	3·2 diam.	Worn ..	Rose ..	Surrounding, reading outwards.	ΕΠΙ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΡ[ΑΤ?]ΟΥ ΑΡΓΑΜΙΤΙΟΥ
324	Oval	2·5 × —	Smeared, half broken away.	„ ..	Surrounding ..	]ΤΟΧ[Μ?
325	Rectangular	4·1 × 1·55	Slightly smeared	—	—	ΜΟΛΒ[ΡΙΝ?]ΟΣ ΘΕΣΜΟΦΟΡΙΟΥ
326	„	— × 1·6	Badly stamped, beginning broken off.	—	—	[ΕΠΙ Ε]ΕΝΟΦΩΝ [ΤΟΣ]ΟΥ []
327	„	3·2 × —	Top smeared ..	—	—	[] ΦΙΛΑΙΝΙΟΥ
328	„	3·7 × 1·6	Worn ..	Caduceus ..	Above ..	ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΙΑΔΑ

There was also a duplicate of No. 88, which, however, was too worn to enable me to determine the nature of the device. It is curious to find the caduceus in 328 associated with ΔΠΑΚΟΝΤΙΔΑ, which at Sandahannah and elsewhere, so far as I know, has always hitherto been connected with an anchor.

The reviewer of the *Quarterly Statement* in the "Revue Biblique" has reminded me that I have overlooked Guthe's find of jar-handles of this type in my list of previous discoveries in Palestine of antiquities of this class. I regret the oversight. A jar-handle from Tell es-Sâfi must also be included. It was published in the *Quarterly Statement* of October, 1899, as bearing a Samaritan inscription, and really the letters look more like Samaritan than anything else. I have carefully re-examined it in varying lights, and have had to confess myself beaten by it: no doubt it is a Rhodian handle, though the inscription is illegible. It shows a caduceus, the head of which appears in the cut. I have also seen a handle with an illegible stamp, picked up at Abu Shusheh.

V.—THE NICOPHORIEH TOMB.

The following notes are designed to supplement, not to supersede, the valuable account of this monument contributed soon after its discovery by Dr. Schick to the *Quarterly Statement* (1892, pp. 115 *et seq.*):—

I. *Kasr el-Asafîr*.—This small building is not described by Dr. Schick, being, as he says, of no great interest. It is rectangular, standing almost exactly east and west (prismatic compass reading of the long axis 271°). The outcrop of rock on which it is built is about 7 to 8 feet in maximum height above the surrounding ground; it is roughly scarped. The doorway of the building has been in the east side, but it is broken out and is now merely an irregular hole. At the west end is a recess with a well-turned arch over it; the recess is 2 feet 6 inches across and 11½ inches deep. The floor is choked up with grass-grown earth and stones. The cores of the walls are composed of small stones set in mud, and are faced with hammer-dressed roughly-squared stones, set in cement with very wide joints between them. On the stones of the arch just referred to are

marks of comb-dressing, but there is nowhere else any trace of finer dressing in the building. There is nothing to show how the building was roofed; the two long walls, especially that on the south side, are ruined almost to their foundations. The greatest height of wall remaining—at the east end—is 10 feet. The recess in the outside of the west wall is probably accidental.

The dimensions are:—Length, 17 feet 8 inches; breadth, 14 feet 6 inches (internally). Thickness of walls, from 2 feet 5 inches to 3 feet 5 inches.

The building, on the whole, bears considerable resemblance to the small seventh century oratories on the western islands of Ireland and Scotland—that is, in its present ruined state. It seems from Dr. Schick's plan to have been more perfect in 1892, and to have had a rather different appearance. The analogy suggested is, of course, merely intended as an aid to description, and no connexion is drawn between the Kasr and the buildings cited. The specimen of masonry shown in the drawing¹ is from the inside of the west wall.

II.—On a projecting knob of rock, scarped all round, 16 feet east of the Kasr el-Asafir, is a cup-shaped mark $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches deep, $7\frac{1}{2}$ inches across; and across a neighbouring and similar knob is cut a channel. These may be the remains of an ancient cup-mark system destroyed when the rock was prepared for the reception of the building.

III. *The Rock Scarps north of the Kasr el-Asafir* (see plan facing p. 117 of the *Quarterly Statement* for 1892).—Dr. Schick's plan gives an excellent idea of this complicated system of cuttings. In the following points I venture respectfully to differ from him:—

(1) The shading of the rock-scarp south and east of Kasr el-Asafir should be on the other side of the line.

(2) I do not think there is sufficient evidence for the existence of steps at the south end of the isolated rectangular mass of rock.

(3) In the extreme south-east corner of this mass of rock is a shallow trough, apparently a rock-cut olive press, partly hidden by earth.

(4) In the corner of the higher portion of this mass of rock, just north of the north-west corner of the place marked “formerly

¹ This drawing (with a plan of the building) is deposited in the office of the Fund.

steps," is a small cistern, about 10 feet north to south by about 8 feet east to west, with barrel-vaulted roof, lined with cement throughout.

(5) The "water-channel" indicated west of the mass of rock is no longer to be traced with certainty, having become clogged and concealed with fallen stones.

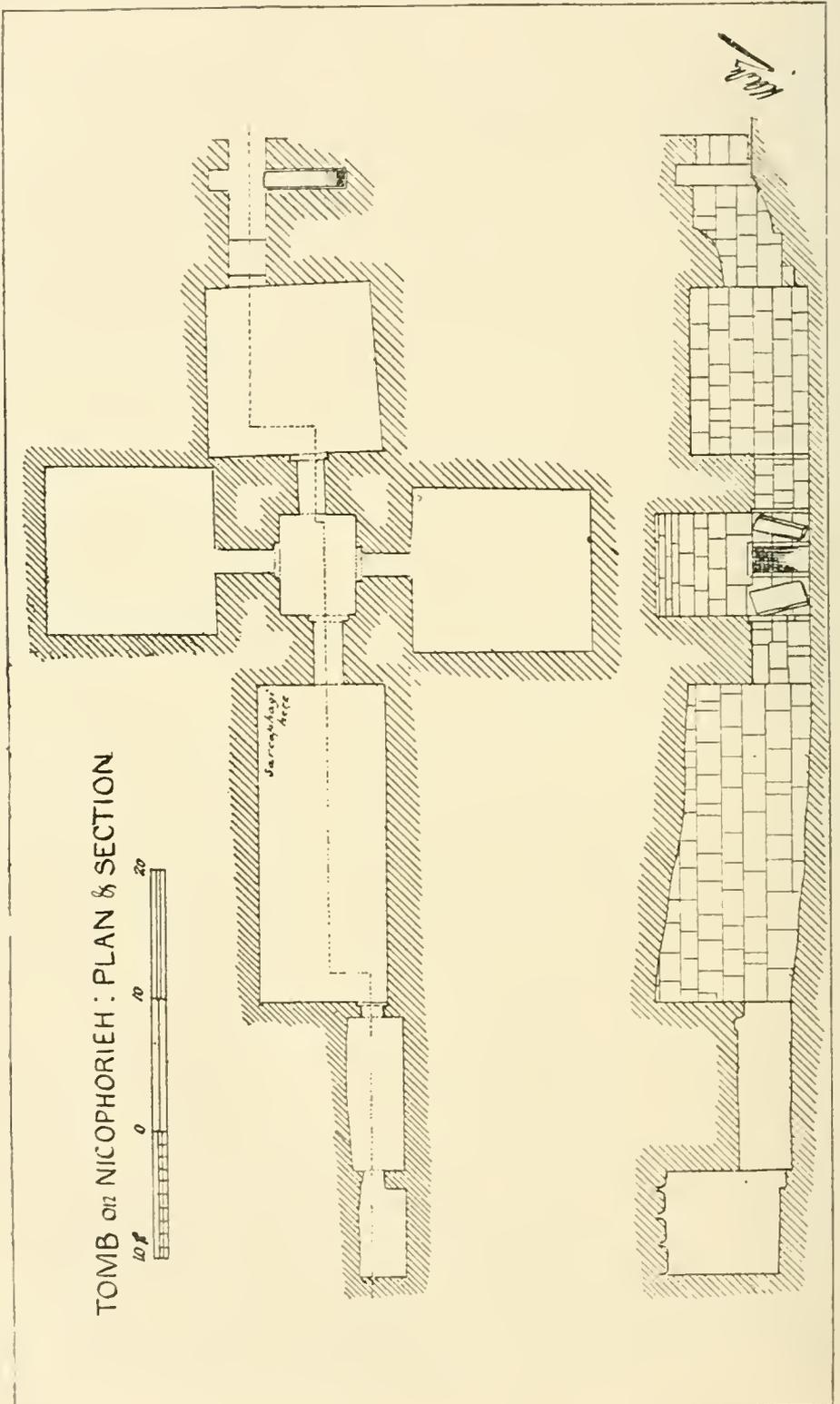
(6) The lines of scarping surrounding the isolated mass of rock are so irregular and lacking in design, that I cannot feel satisfied that they are anything more important than an ancient quarry. The rectangular sinking marked "grave" (6 feet 10 inches long, 2 feet 4 inches across, 3 to 4 feet deep) seems to me merely the hole from which a block or blocks have been removed. The double scarp running westward from it consists of a low southern wall 1 foot high, a horizontal step 2 feet 3 inches wide, and a deep drop, excavated to 7 feet 4 inches, but apparently going deeper.

(7) Beside the scarped rocks indicated in the plan there is an irregular floor of limestone, 45 feet north-west from the north-west angle of Kasr el-Asafîr. This shows traces of having been artificially smoothed, and is terminated eastward by a straight side, 10 feet long, apparently worked. The face of this side is not vertical, but bevelled.

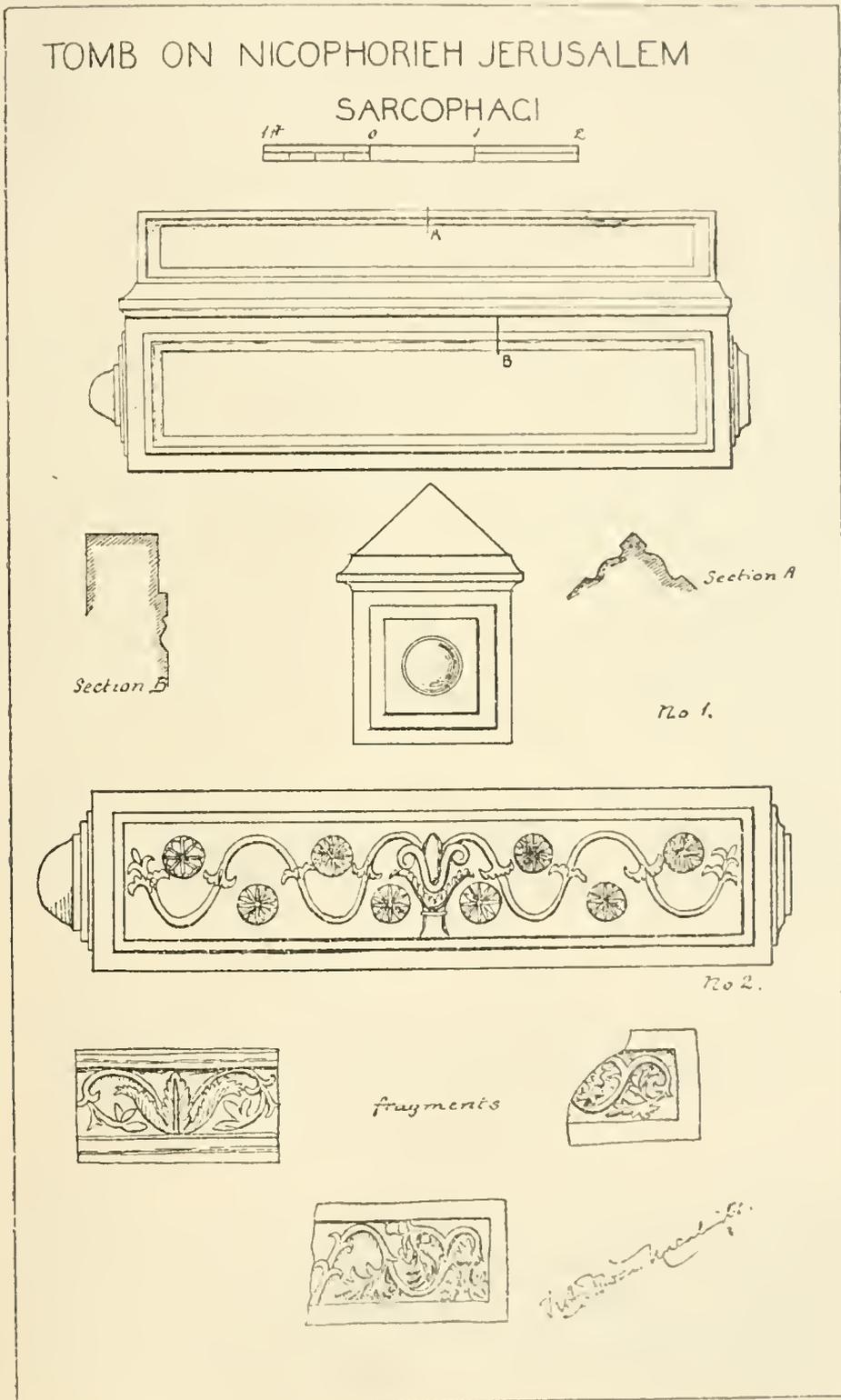
IV. *The Cave under the Isolated Mass of Rock.*—To my eye this appears to be the artificial enlargement of a wide and shallow natural cavern. The eastern portion shows no sign of artificial working; it is 17 paces or about 30 feet wide at the entrance. The inner portion is a roughly rectangular chamber, 7 feet 9 inches in height and 21 feet 4 inches across. The eastern side is quite open, and on the other three sides are rectangular recesses, extending to 1 foot 3 inches of the roof.

V.—The tomb-chambers, to which Dr. Schick seems to have had difficulty in obtaining access, have their long axis practically north and south, the entrance facing north. There is a modern iron gate at the door, which formerly was secured by a large rolling-stone about 6 feet in diameter and 18 inches thick. This still remains in the channel in which it ran. The entrance leads downward by a slope and two steps to a vestibule, 13 feet 3 inches by 13 feet (but not quite rectangular). A doorway 4 feet 1½ inches long leads to a small room, covered with a barrel-vaulted roof. This room is about 7 feet 8 inches by 5 feet 8 inches. There are

two side chambers opening off this room, and another chamber behind it; the latter is the most important tomb-chamber, and in



it stand the handsome sarcophagi represented on the Plate. There are two of these remaining: one is plain, with simple panelling



worked on the sides; the other has a floral scroll and rosettes. The latter has lost its cover, and the loss has been supplied with three fragments of other covers, not apparently intended to be associated with the sarcophagus on which they stand or with each other. The chamber is 24 feet 8 inches long, 9 feet 8½ inches across. Beyond it are two rough chambers, apparently unfinished: the first has a bare rock surface on the walls, supplemented with inserted stones when irregular, and in the jamb of the door. The second was apparently an old entrance (perhaps for workmen), as its roof consists of movable blocks of stone, apparently supporting earth.

The walls in all the principal chambers and passages are lined with marble slabs. The doors were closed by slabs cut to fit the reveals. These slabs are still lying about the tomb.

A sufficient number of the fragments of carved stones lying about outside the tomb have already been published by Dr. Schick. To attempt to fit them into their places in a hypothetical surface structure would, I am convinced, prove a rather more hopeless task than restoration of the Mausoleum of Halicarnassus. They are mostly fragments of egg-and-tongue and other classical ornaments, volutes, acanthus leaves, and various mouldings—nearly all of a very debased or provincial type.

I prefer to abstain from speculation as to the persons for whom this tomb was intended. In the absence of inscriptions all such speculation is mere guesswork, impossible to disprove or to substantiate.

HILL OF "JEREMIAH'S GROTTTO," CALLED BY GENERAL GORDON "SKULL HILL."

By Dr. CONRAD SCHICK.

1. IN 1842, O. Thenius suggested, on various topographical grounds, that this hill was Calvary, where Christ was crucified. In 1883 the late General Gordon came to the same conclusion from quite other reasons. He founded his opinion on the contour line 2,549 feet above the sea (Ordnance Survey of Jerusalem, $\frac{1}{2500}$ plan, 1864-65), which has roughly the form of a skull,

although rather too broad, with the nose-bone turned towards the west.¹ He was confirmed in his opinion by the discovery of a rock-hewn tomb at the western foot of the hill, which he declared was that of Joseph, and in a garden.² The view that "skull" hill was Calvary was adopted by many persons, and more especially by English and Americans. It was also opposed by many other persons, who brought forward good arguments against it. This lessened but did not put an end to the enthusiasm for the hill. In the cliff on the south-west side of the hill there are two holes, running in about 10 feet, which from the shadows thrown by the roof and sides always look dark. These holes were thought to look like the eye-sockets of a skull, and hence this part of the hill was compared with a skull.³ This conclusion requires a great deal of imagination, for the two holes differ greatly in size and form. The western and larger hole is part of an ancient rock-hewn cistern, which became useless when one side was cut away in quarrying stone. It is now a small cave, retaining the size and form of the old cistern. The almost horizontal bottom is about 14 feet wide, the sides converge as they rise, and, near the top, form as it were an arched roof. The other hole, about 20 feet to the east, is on a lower level, as any good photograph will show. Drawings and pictures are "helped" so that the holes may appear more like the eye-sockets of a skull. Any argument based on them is rather useless, as the name "Kranion," Calvary, or skull, was probably derived, not from the form of a hill, but from the discovery of a human skull in the place. Tradition and the early Christian writers say it was the skull of Adam. I suggest that it was Goliath's skull which David brought to Jerusalem (1 Samuel xvii, 54; xxi, 9) and buried somewhere close to and outside the city, as it could not be buried near the Tabernacle at Nob, where he deposited Goliath's sword. It may have been found when Nehemiah rebuilt the walls, and the spot called "the skull"—that is, the place where the remarkable skull was found.

¹ See General Gordon's note in *Quarterly Statement*, 1885, p. 79.

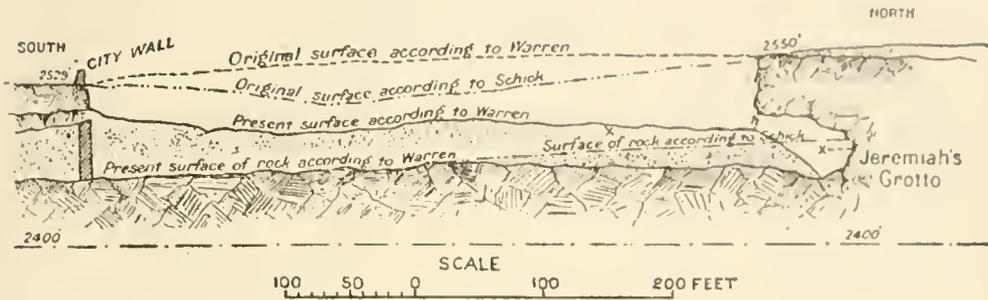
² St. Matt. xxvii, 60; St. John xix, 41. A full report on this tomb by me is given in *Quarterly Statement*, 1892, pp. 120 ff, and 199.

³ This idea was repudiated by General Gordon. In a letter he writes:—" 'Skull with caves for eye-sockets,' that is all one would get if one was foolish enough to write. I say it is the *contour* in a map of 1864."—C. W. W.

2. The tomb at the foot of the north-western part of the hill—a Jewish rock-hewn tomb re-used by Christians—was purchased, with the field (the supposed garden of Joseph), by some English people, who were obliged to enclose the field with a boundary wall. When the wall was erected they were compelled, on the north side, to build it above the scarpd rock in which the tomb is hewn. But on the east side they had to build it in front of the scarp, and to dig down some 10 feet for a foundation. Here, about the centre of the side, the entrance to a passage, about 3 feet wide and 7 feet high, running eastward into the rock, was discovered. It was full of earth, and, as it was not cleared, its object could not be ascertained. Probably it led to a cave, or grotto similar to that to the east, called "Jeremiah's" grotto. The passage could not be cleared at the time for fear of raising difficulties with the Moslems, who closely watched the work. But an opening was left in front of it in the new wall, so that it could be opened and cleared when an opportunity arrived; and its position was indicated by a mark on the wall above ground. On seeing this, and on examining the hill more closely, I came to the conclusion that the rock roof of a large cavern had fallen in and left the rock standing up for from 8 to 10 feet, thus giving the curious outline of a human skull in profile, as seen in the contour line on the Ordnance Survey map. This hypothesis explains the openings by which the various small caves in the upper portion of the rock are entered from the west, and the absence of the artificial entrances which they must have possessed originally. The fracture was most likely caused by an earthquake, perhaps that in the reign of Uzziah (Amos i, 1; Zechariah xiv, 5).

3. It is generally believed, and the appearance of the rock on both sides justifies the belief, that "skull" hill was originally connected with the height (Bezetha) inside the town, and that the broad trench which now separates them is the result of quarrying for stone. Sir C. Warren ("Jerusalem Memoirs," Plate XII) gives the trench an almost level bed of rock, but the many portions of the bed which I have seen, when exposed by excavation, are very uneven and bear the marks of quarrying. In some places, especially near "skull" hill, the rock is much higher than in others. I am therefore convinced that the great trench was not made at one time, but is rather the result of

quarrying operations spread over a long period,¹ including some which have taken place during my own residence in Jerusalem. The accompanying diagram, based on Sir C. Warren's Plate XII,



NOTE.—In some places the rock rises to this height ×.

explains my views. I believe that, as in the case of other ridges near Jerusalem—the ridge of the Mount of Olives, for instance—there was originally a depression between the two heights, and not an elevation, as shown by the dotted line in the diagram. Thus the square cubits of stone removed were far less than they would have been if the rock had risen in accordance with the dotted line, and the bed of the trench had been as low as it is shown in the diagram. These remarks have some bearing on the topographical question. It is to be regretted that there is no proper plan of Jeremiah's grotto. English and German writers generally mention the grotto, and some of them notice its interesting cistern, but none have given a plan.²

JERUSALEM, June 6th, 1901.

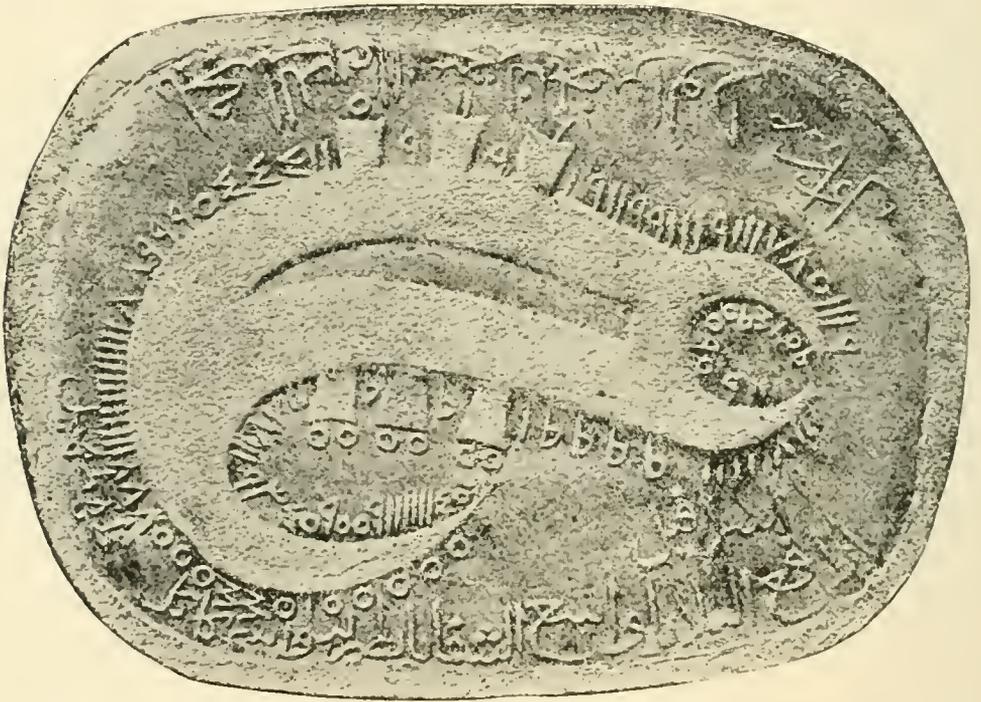
¹ This view, which I have long held, is confirmed by local details that I hope to explain in a forthcoming paper.—C. W. W.

² Dr. Schick has since sent home a plan and description of Jeremiah's grotto, which will be published in the *January Quarterly Statement*.—C. W. W.

A DRUZE TALISMAN.

By the Rev. JOSEPH SEGALL.

THE bronze talisman, of which the following is a photograph, belonged to a Druze. It seems to have been a charm against the sting of a scorpion. The fortunate possessor of such a treasure would, for a "consideration," take an impression of it on a piece of paper with Arabic ink, as is generally done here with ordinary seals. Such an amulet would then be hung round the neck of the



person stung, or possibly the seal itself would be pressed against the wound, which would have the effect of pressing out the poison left by the sting.

The following is a transcription and literal translation of the legend:—

يا رافع البلاء يا واسع الشفا يا بصير الدوا يا معجيب الدما
 استجب لنا يا خير الورا

“O, thou Remover of pain, thou Possessor of cures, thou Discerner of remedies, thou that answerest prayer, hear us favourably, thou best of men.”

Of the four angelic names, *اسرافيل* and *ميكائيل* (probably another form for *ميكائيل*) are well known in Mohammedan theology, while the other two, *طيطيل* and *سمكائل*, will probably be found in the angeology of the Druze religion.

The numerical figures round the scorpion may have some mystical signification, or may possibly be merely ornamental.

DAMASCUS.

THE RUIN AT KHÛRBET BEIT SAWIR.

By GRAY HILL, Esq.

REMAINS like that depicted under this name in the last number of the *Quarterly Statement* are to be found on the east of the Jordan—one large one, and if I remember right a second smaller, in the depressed plain of El Bukeia, lying between Es Salt and Jerash, and several on or near the Haj Road, between Umm Shettah (Mashita) and Er Reuthel. But in all these instances the four walls of the quadrangle stand in a more or less complete state.

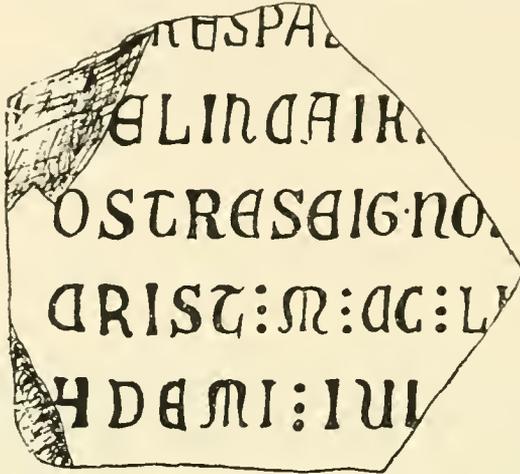
A CRUSADING INSCRIPTION.

By Professor THEODORE F. WRIGHT, Ph.D.

IN the Semitic Museum here my attention has been attracted to a block of marble measuring about one foot each way. It is fragmentary, and appears to have been broken off or cut out from a slab. I can learn nothing as to the history of it, except that it was a part of the collection made some years ago in Palestine by Dr. Selah Merrill. It does not appear that he has anywhere given a description of it. The letters, so far as they are unharmed, are large and clear. There are five lines, of which not one is perfect, but it is not likely that much is broken off, because the meaning, as I apprehend it, does not require more than a letter or two in lines three and four.

The language appears to be old French, but on this and every other point I speak only tentatively, and am seeking information rather than giving it. The fourth line can scarcely be anything but a date approximating A.D. 1250, or at least before 1290. Moreover, the whole appearance is that of an epitaph. Taking this view of it, I would suggest that the first line may have contained the word *respasé*, meaning to pass to the other life, to die. The second line may have been *ciel in carité*, or

something like that, meaning "heaven in the love of." The third line lacks the first letter only of *nostre seignor*, our Lord. In the next line we have *Crist*, spelled without the "h," as in *carité* for *charité*. The last line seems to say *à demi Juli*. In all the lines something is lacking at



the end, and two of them are fractured at the beginning. What is thus lost can be supplied by conjecture only, but possibly the five lines read thus when complete :—

*EST RESPASSE AU
CIEL IN CARITE
OSTRE SEIGNOR
CRIST : M : CC : LI—
A DEMI : JUL—*

There was in this view of it a line above—or several lines—now destroyed, and the meaning was "—passed to heaven in the love of our Lord Christ [in the year] 125—, in the middle of July."

I submit this in the hope that more light can be thrown by others.

CAMBRIDGE, U.S.A.

NOTE BY PROFESSOR CLERMONT-GANNEAU.

This fragment of a mediæval inscription may be thus restored :—

[+ ici gist — — —
— — — — —
quit]respa[sa an l'an]
[d]e l'incarn[acion n-]
ostre Seigno[r ihu]
Crist MCCLI . . .
a demi iui[gnet ?]

Ici gît (Sire ou Madame) . . . qui trépassa en l'an de l'incarnation (de) notre Seigneur Jesus Christ 1251 (ou 1254 ?) à la mi-Juillet (Juignet ?).

It is more than probable that it is the epitaph of some person connected with the Crusades. I should not be surprised if the stone came from St. Jean d'Acre. Paleographically and epigraphically the inscription closely resembles a tombstone from this city which I reported and published in my "Rapport sur une Mission en Palestine et en Phenicie" (1881), planche X, *a*. The date is a little more recent, 1278. The epitaph—that of Sire Gautier Meynebrauf—is also in old French.

NOTE ON DOLMENS.

As regards dolmens in "Western Palestine," it seems to be overlooked that I have described one on Mount Gilboa, and a group west of Baniâs, and that others, such as the *Hajr ed-Dumm*, occur in Upper Galilee. I have given reasons for concluding that those in Moab were not tombs; but I have also pointed out that the modern Arabs erect small trilithons in connection with the circles round their graves, and I believe the nomads west of Jordan do the same. It seems to be necessary to distinguish these monuments, and to make it clear that those recently discovered in the south, and said to be connected with such graves, are not merely quite modern Bedawîn structures, such as would not have been considered worth special notice during the survey.

C. R. CONDER.

THE SITE OF CALVARY.

By COLONEL C. R. CONDER, LL.D., R.E.

CANON MACCOLL is well known as a controversial writer; but in the present case he does not appear able to throw any new light on the question in dispute. He is pleased to suggest that within the last seven years I may have changed my mind, having apparently not read my article on Jerusalem in the new "Dictionary of the Bible" (Messrs. Clarke and Co.). He recommends me to read the Bible, which I had been in the habit of doing before I had the pleasure of making his acquaintance. He describes me as a "convert" to the views of Dr. Robinson, though I am not aware of having ever changed my views on

this question. He considers that my writings lack evidence of research, and that I rely chiefly on Robinson, though he does not quote any evidence with which I have not been acquainted, from the original authors, for many years past. In spite of the strength of assertion which characterises his paper, I consider that it is an imperfect representation of the question in dispute, and that, in many respects, it is misleading. I do not think that much good is done by raising such controversies; but if they are raised it should be in a tone of moderation and respect for the opinion of others. The views which I advocate are held by a large number of persons, who have examined the evidence with care and intelligence, and have reached a conclusion the reverse of that held by Canon MacColl.

I will only refer briefly to points which seem to me likely to mislead. I deny that Canon Williams disposed of the arguments of Dr. Robinson, or that the opinion of a German writer in 1854 has any particular value now. Canon MacColl mixes up two distinct questions: (1) whether the cliff at Jeremiah's Grotto be the true site of Calvary, as I believe; (2) whether the tomb beneath be the true Holy Sepulchre, which I have always denied. He is apparently not aware that the Jews had four different methods of execution, and that they crucified those whom they stoned. The Carthaginians, as well as the Romans, used also to crucify. He should make further study of the Talmud before committing himself to his assertions.

Considering the uncleanness connected with death, I cannot believe that the "place of a skull" could ever have been sacred to Jews, and Origen must have referred to Jewish Christians. St. Paul does not allude to the legend of Adam's skull, nor do I know of any legend in Jewish writings connecting Adam with Golgotha—I consider it most improbable. Pilate delivered over Our Lord to the Jews to crucify, and they may naturally be supposed to have used the ordinary "place of stoning." But whatever Pilate may have thought as to Jewish customs, it is stated that Christ suffered "without the gate" (Heb. xiii, 12).

The Christian authorities quoted by Canon MacColl are all later than the conversion of Constantine, excepting Origen, who does not say that he knew the site of Calvary, and Tertullian, who is only cited. I have been carefully through the works of Justin Martyr, Irenæus, and Tertullian, in the hope of finding

some light on the subject, with the result of being unable to discover a single passage showing that the site was known to them. Nor have I found such a passage quoted by others. Nor is there any contemporary account of the return of the Christians to Jerusalem after 70 A.D. There are certainly no coins in existence which prove that a temple to Venus was erected "over Golgotha and the Holy Sepulchre." There is no contemporary account of Helena's visiting Calvary, and Eusebius (whether an eye-witness or not) does not explain how the conclusion was reached, that the site uncovered was the true one, recovered as he says, "beyond all hope."

Whatever we may think of the fourth century—and such men as Jerome and Chrysostom had a very bad opinion of the state of the Church in their days—it is certain that the views of Eusebius as to Bible sites are as often wrong as they are right, while the earliest pilgrim (from Bordeaux) makes many mistakes, as when he places the scene of the Transfiguration on Olivet. That Eusebius,¹ Jerome, and others were wrong in saying that the New Jerusalem was opposite the old is shown by the extant remains of the second wall. Jerome does not refer to that wall, however, but to the wall built by Hadrian. It is impossible to show that a garden still existed in the time of Cyril or Willibald, especially if we are to believe that a Pagan temple had been built on the sites. Nor do these authors mean us to understand this. I am at a loss to understand how Canon MacColl can suppose this garden "in" the place of Crucifixion ("not near," he insists) to have existed still in the thirteenth century, when the whole space was covered by the Cathedral as now. El Yakût could not describe what could not exist. Like the preceding authorities, he means that the site was believed to have been originally in a garden. There was, moreover, no "second wall" visible in the thirteenth century, and the Cathedral was inside the city.

Canon MacColl seems to think that the Babylonian Mishnah differs from that of Jerusalem (the correct citation is, I believe, T.B. *Baba Kama*, 82a), but anyhow the evidence of a writer about 800 A.D., as to a rose garden "in the time of the prophets," has no value at all.

The statement that the second wall "must cross the Tyropœon"

¹ Eusebius does refer to New Jerusalem. According to the only note I have at hand, the passage is in his "Life of Constantine" (iii, 33).

shows, unfortunately, that Canon MacColl does not understand the topography of Jerusalem.¹ This is exactly the reason why I have always drawn the second wall just where its remains have subsequently been discovered to exist. The passage mentioned by the Canon (2 Chron. xxvi, 9) is one frequently quoted in my published works; but it does not, in my opinion, bear the construction which he gives, nor does it in the least conflict with the line I have always proposed for the wall, nor does the Greek text conflict with the Hebrew. The passage from Tacitus I have also had occasion to quote, but it throws no fresh light on the question. I consider that his description applies well to the walls as I propose to draw them.²

There are many other points which seem to me to show that Canon MacColl has not mastered the literature of his subject, or weighed the arguments on the other side. It is certain, from the rock levels of Jerusalem, that the present traditional site of Calvary was the summit of a rocky knoll rising high above the Tyropœon. The line of wall as he draws it would leave this knoll just outside the wall, in a way which, in my opinion, no one acquainted with ancient fortified sites could for a moment think possible. But the city of Jerusalem, about 30 A.D., extended considerably beyond the second wall on this side. The old difficulty remains, that the position is so central, as regards both the present and the ancient town, that even in the fourth century some explanation was felt to be necessary to account for its not being outside the city. That which Jerome gives, and which most later Christian writers repeat, seems to me to have been apologetic; and it was certainly incorrect, as far as the evidence of Josephus and of the extant remains of the second wall are any indication.

I do not, however, suppose that any argument will convince those who have taken another view, and I have no desire to enter further into controversy on the subject.³

ENNIS, *July 12th*, 1901.

¹ I would note that Josephus does not use the word given by Canon MacColl as meaning to "enclose."

² He does not, I think, refer to zigzags, but to the various directions of the walls, which gave flanking fire—on the north, west, and south sides of the city.

³ For detailed argument on the subject, I beg to refer to the last chapters of my "Handbook to the Bible," and to my recent article on Jerusalem in Dr. Hastings's "Dictionary of the Bible."

EXCURSUS ON THE RESURRECTION ON THE HYPOTHESIS THAT IT TOOK PLACE FROM A TOMB SIMILAR IN CONSTRUCTION TO THE TOMBS OF THE KINGS, AND IN THAT VICINITY.

By Canon GELL.

ATTEMPTS to realise the actual conditions under which this, the supreme event of human history, was accomplished have often been confused by want of a clear idea of the particular kind of tomb in which the body of our Lord was laid. The serious difficulty of harmonising the visits to the tomb, recorded by the Evangelists, together with prevailing misconception as to the tomb itself, have combined to produce a vague impression as to what really took place detrimental to a firm belief in its historical veracity.

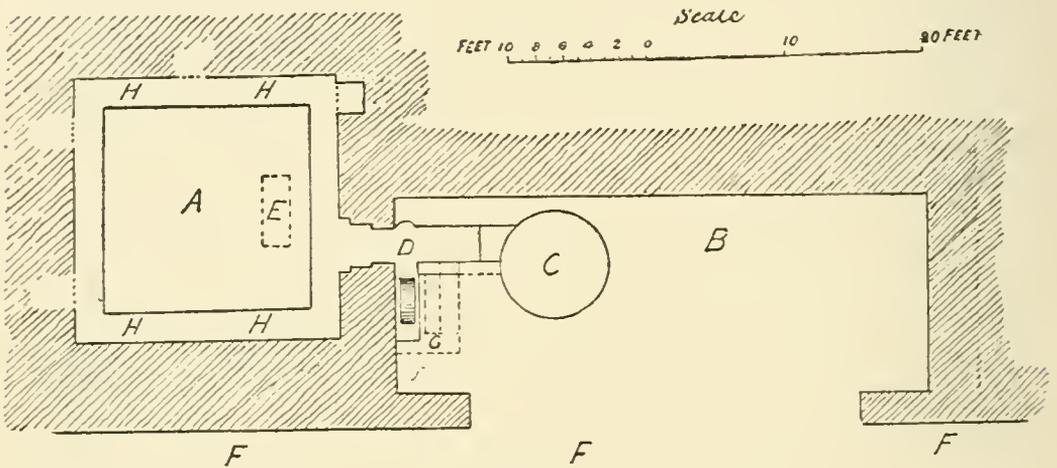
It is easy to deprecate investigation, and to point to strong and even bitter divergencies of opinion, but when the angel, seated upon the stone he had rolled back, said to the affrighted women, "Come see the place where the Lord lay," he gave some sort of sanction to our topographical enquiries, while he struck the only note of localism in religion which remains in this dispensation.

In a former paper I have enumerated thirteen indicating hints, gathered from Holy Scripture, pointing to the locality where we may expect to find the sepulchre, and suggesting the kind of sepulchre for which we should search. To my own mind these are fully sufficient to exclude from consideration both the traditional site within the present city and the recently suggested site just outside of it; but I have carefully guarded myself from assuming that I have proved that the Kubur es-Saladeen was the actual tomb where, as in a mortuary chapel, the sacred body of the Lord lay. Indeed, if I felt as certain as some advocates of other sites profess themselves to be, I should not proclaim it, lest some modern disciples of Eusebius and Constantine should make it a place for pilgrimage. All for which I contend is this--that the indications about the burial in Scripture prove--not that this was the place, but that the place was like this, and in this vicinity, and what I now desire to do is to show how the Resurrection might have taken place, on the supposition that it took place there.

In order to make the matter as plain as possible it is necessary to remind your readers of the peculiar construction of this ancient Jewish burial place, and to refer them to the plan which accompanies this paper. "In the place where He was crucified there was a garden" (there is nothing about a "villa," which has been imported into the narrative without authority); "and in the garden a new sepulchre, wherein was never man

yet laid. There laid they Jesus therefore because of the Jews' preparation day; for the sepulchre was nigh at hand" (St. John xix, 41, 42).

Thus the record runs, and supposing that the three crosses were set up near the side of the great north road, as seems not improbable, and in strict accordance with Roman custom, at a place near the cross roads called Golgotha (possibly as being on the traditional site of the tomb of Adam), the "garden" would be the excavated enclosure 10 or 15 yards from the crosses and about 20 yards from the roadside. In the western scarp of this recessed plot, which is about 30 yards square, the sepulchre was made. It consisted of a distyle portico leading to a vestibule about 38 feet by 16 feet, in the southern end of which is a tank for the water required for lustration of the corpse, and below the level of the floor is



References.

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| <i>A.</i> The embalming chamber. | <i>E.</i> Probable place of stone of unction. |
| <i>B.</i> The vestibule. | <i>F.</i> The garden. |
| <i>C.</i> The tank. | <i>G.</i> The connected passage to back of
the rolling stone. |
| <i>D.</i> The groove for the rolling stone at
entrance. | <i>H.</i> The stone bench. |

the peculiar arrangement for concealing the entrance which distinguishes this tomb from all others now extant at Jerusalem, as the only one in which the disc of stone closing the entrance, remains in place. The architrave above the portico is still to be seen ornamented with the same "ill-understood Roman Doric," as Ferguson calls it, which fixes the date of the tomb, as is allowed by all experts, to the time of Herod, but the pyramids, stelæ, or cippi, mentioned by Josephus, are gone.

Approximate figures of dimension only are given, because we learn from our Masonic friends that in all but one chamber the measure which appears to have been used was the Roman foot of 11·6 inches. In one chamber the Jewish cubit of 25·2 inches seems to have been adopted. The use of these measures is another proof of the date of the excavation, which it is generally supposed was

used in subsequent years by Helena, Queen of Adiabene. Ferguson argues that Herod himself was buried here and not at Herodium. If so he must—on my hypothesis—have got the place from Joseph of Arimathea, the rich and honourable councillor, by whom it had been prepared for his own use. The prophet Isaiah foretold that the Messiah's grave would be made "with the wicked and with the rich in his death," and certainly if our Lord was laid here Joseph was rich enough and Herod wicked enough to fulfil the prophecy. At the time of the crucifixion the tomb had just been "hewn in stone," so there would have been none of the additional chambers and loculi which we find there now. The only chamber required at first was what I may call the embalming chamber, which in this tomb is about 19 feet square, and surrounded by a stone bench. There would probably have been also a stone of unction, or bier, on which the body lay, while the process of embalming was being effected and the loculus dug. Convenience makes it probable that the body was not deposited on the floor of the chamber. Of course, the paving slab, which ultimately was to conceal the entrance, would not have been laid down till the whole process was finished. Thus the women who sat "over against" the sepulchre could see into it, and there seems to have been no restriction to prevent any friends entering the vestibule or even going inside the chamber where the body lay; so whether the women were seated (the Jewish posture of mourning) on the opposite garden wall, as I thought at one time, or had entered the vestibule for closer observation, and sat near the further or northern end of it, would make no difference to the fact that from outside the chamber they could see "how the body was laid." This we read they did before they retired on the eve of the Sabbath. The method by which the entrance was closed has been often described, and I need not explain it, except to observe that the stone disc, the greater part of which is now remaining, is about 3 feet in diameter and 1 foot thick, and sufficiently heavy to justify the fears of the women that without help they could not move it away from the entrance where they had seen it rolled by Joseph's servants on the Friday evening. The concealed passage by which a man could get behind it to roll it with a lever across the entrance is indicated by dotted lines in the plan. After a corpse had been embalmed and the loculus dug it was sealed up, the entrance closed, and then the paving slabs forming the floor of the vestibule would have been laid over all, cemented in the reveal, and the entombment was complete. The only other feature of this remarkable tomb which needs mention is the means of access to the herb garden in which it was constructed. This was by a rock-cut staircase of twenty-five steps leading down from the level of the ground above to the archway, cut through a curtain of rock 7 feet thick, admitting to the garden. In my time the stairs and garden were encumbered with rubbish, which has now been cleared away, and portions of the pillars of the distyle and, as is conjectured, of the pyramids which Josephus

mentions, have been found by the indefatigable Dr. Schick among the *débris*.

Let me now suppose that this was the new tomb of the Jewish Councillor who went to Pilate on that fateful afternoon and begged the body of Jesus, and try to realise the scene. The mysterious darkness had passed away. The westering sun is casting level beams across that wonderful landscape, now comparatively tame and featureless, touching the gilded spikes along the roof of the great Temple, and reddening all the loftier buildings of the city with sunset glow. A few lingering women remain near the crosses, which the Centurion has just left, after handing over to Joseph legal possession of the body of Jesus. Joseph and Nicodemus, with four or five servants and slaves, proceed, as rapidly as possible, with their work of love. Not 10 yards from the cross—if, as I believe, it was a cross—is the recent excavation with its scarce finished tomb. Thither the whole party hurriedly go, lifting their precious burden down the steps, through that archway into the vestibule. At the cistern close to the entrance the lacerated frame is washed quickly and carefully, before being passed through the entrance and laid on the bier or slab near it, watched by the women, as the heavy jar of powdered spice is brought in by the slaves, and sufficient quantity used, by sprinkling it between the folds of the linen cloths and face napkin, to keep the body sweet and fragrant over the Sabbath. No doubt several servants were required to carry the spices, to fetch water for the lustration, and to perform the necessary services which neither Nicodemus nor Joseph could have performed, on such a day, with their own hands. At least five or six persons must have been moving about, in the performance of these offices, within the chamber. But it is clear that whatever was done was only provisional; especially as the unguents required to be used with the powdered myrrh and aloes were not brought till Sunday morning, when the women came to complete the embalmment.

It was now nearly six o'clock. The Sabbath was close at hand. Out they must all come at once, and one of the slaves must roll the heavy disc of stone across the entrance. In that dark subterraneous tomb, in the deep mystery of death, the body lay, till the yet deeper mystery of resurrection was accomplished, unseen by mortal eyes, in the first moments of the third day.

It was Passover time in Jerusalem. The suburb—afterwards called the New Jerusalem—which covered a large part of the plateau north of the city, was crowded with many thousands of sojourners. Probably most of the houses there were small, and the narrow lanes which led through the clustering tenements were dark and tortuous. The Galilean disciples would be lodged there. John and Peter would seem to have occupied a separate lodging. The mother of Jesus had gone, probably to Bethany, or to John's house, to recover from the shock she had sustained. Before the day dawned Mary of Magdala, with her friends, hastened to the sepulchre. If they had not lodged in the suburb, they could not have done so, as the city gates were never opened till daybreak. They seem

to have known nothing of what had happened in the interval. Even the "great earthquake," which must have been limited to the immediate neighbourhood of the tomb, does not seem to have been noticed.

When they reached the entrance they see at once that it had been violated, and fly to tell the rest, but Mary quickly returns, for we find her again, alone, in the vestibule, gazing sadly into the dark chamber. The entrance being below the level of the floor, she had to stoop down, perhaps to kneel, in order to look in. She sees, through her tears, two persons, seated at the head and foot of the slab, where she had seen the body laid. In the early light, 20 feet or more below the level of the ground, it was too dark for her to see that they were angels. Supposing them servants of the owner, she replies to their question: "Why weepest thou?" with her complaint that the body had been removed.

Suddenly she becomes aware that someone was standing in the portico behind her. She turns to speak to him, but his back being to the light, she does not recognise him; and supposing him to be the caretaker, prefers to him the same complaint, offering to take charge of the body, if he would tell her where it was. I need not point out how exactly all this agrees with the construction of the *Kubur es-Saladeen*. Mary of Magdala was a person of good means, and probably feared, lest our Lord, who had died as a criminal, might be cast into the common pit in which criminals were usually buried. This she was most anxious to prevent. His voice pronouncing her name, undeceived her and convinced her that it was not the gardener, but the Master himself.

Then follows the visit to the empty tomb made by John and Peter. How they missed the others on the way to or from the place, can only be explained by supposing there were narrow lanes through the gardens and suburb, as we see in many Oriental cities. One party would go this way, and another that. The asseverations of so reputable a person as Mary seems to have stirred St. John and St. Peter out of their despondency. They ran—probably it was only a very few minutes' run—to the place, eager to test the truth of Mary's story. John first, rushes to the open door, but hesitates to go in. Peter, who never hesitated, enters, then John follows. What they saw is described by St. John without comment. His simple narrative leaves us to fill in the details, and, as in so much recorded by the Evangelists, to draw the necessary inferences. In doing so the most scrupulous care is needed lest we over-run the record. When John reached the vestibule he sees the tomb is open, and, like Mary, he stoops down to look in, and sees the linen clothes, but not the napkin, till Peter enters and he follows. Then they both see what made John believe, not merely that the body was gone—that was obvious—but that it had been removed in some way that had left the linen cloths undisturbed, and the face napkin folded up and laid aside "in a place by itself." In a very interesting attempt to throw some light on the facts by Mr. Latham, the Master of Trinity Hall, Cambridge, the writer is hampered, if I may be permitted to say so, by an erroneous theory of the sort of tomb in which our Lord lay. He

supposes the body laid in one of the arcosolia of a cave on a level with the ground, on which the sun is streaming in through a door 4 feet high, which would not have required a stooping posture to look into it, but would have required a stone of enormous dimension to close it. He thinks the napkin lay on a low step which had acted as a pillow for the head of the corpse, and which, if it was like the representation of it in the illustration, would have dislocated the cervical vertebræ. On this raised step, where the head had lain, Mr. Latham supposes the napkin lay in the form in which it had been bound round the head and face of Jesus. He bases this idea on the word *ἔντετυλιγμένον*, which he interprets to mean "retaining the twisted form which had been given to it when it had been twined round the head of our Lord." One of the first Greek scholars of that University of which Mr. Latham is an ornament,¹ assures me that the word will not bear this meaning; but simply means "folded" or "rolled up." Mr. Latham's object is to show that in the resurrection there was no touch of human hands, with which we entirely agree, but as angelic hands had rolled back the stone, so they doubtless removed the face napkin, rolled it up, and laid it "apart in a place by itself," which surely cannot mean that it was left in the same place and in the same form in which it had been before. And why the napkin should have been left, by Mr. Latham's theory, "standing up a little and retaining its rounded form," when the linen cloths were, as he says, "lying flat," he does not explain. Moreover, he supposes that the whole of the hundred pounds weight of powdered spice was enclosed in the cloths—a supposition both unnecessary and improbable, when we remember that the ointments were not brought till Sunday, and recollect, too, the purely provisional nature of what was hastily done on Friday evening. Improbabilities are not necessary to maintain Mr. Latham's position, that the appearance of the cloths was such as to suggest an evanescence of the body from out of them, rather than a disrobing or hasty casting them aside, which would have indicated removal of the body by human hands. We must stick as closely as we can to the record. The linen cloths were lying "by themselves" (St. Luke xxiv, 12), probably on the slab from which the Lord had risen. The napkin, for some reason not stated, was rolled up "apart in a place by itself," probably this was the stone bench which runs round the chamber, that part of it near the door not being visible by St. John from outside. Gradually, very gradually, the stupendous fact dawned upon the minds of the Apostles as they went pondering and wondering home. The other visits to the tomb, so far as they throw any light upon it, are in accordance with my theory, but I do not attempt the task of marshalling those visits in their order—a task which would be profitless in the present state of our record. No doubt we are not in possession of all the facts, and must wait for the solution of any difficulties in harmonising those we have. We have enough to indicate the quarter where the tomb may be looked for, and the kind

¹ The Master of Corpus.

of tomb it was ; and there is but little excuse for those travesties of the great event we often meet with in pictures and descriptions.

NOTE.

Among the indicia which I gave in a former paper for identifying the probable site of the sepulchre, was the hint, for it is no more, afforded by the curious fact that the Jewish ritual required the burnt sacrifice to be killed "on the side of the altar northward." Eusebius is blamed for not knowing that the type required that the sacrifice should be without the camp, *i.e.*, outside the city—but the indication of locality to which I have drawn attention has escaped all our topographers, except Sir Charles Wilson ; though there seems no reason why one type should be more topographically important than the other. Surely St. Paul applied the one that we might learn how to apply the other.

F. G.

NOTICES OF FOREIGN PUBLICATIONS.

Palästinischer Diwan.¹—Dr. Dalman, who was entrusted by Franz Delitzsch with the final revision of his Hebrew New Testament, has earned the esteem and gratitude of scholars by his "Grammatik des Judisch-Palästinaischen Aramaisch," "Die Worte Jesu," and other learned works. Here he enters a field where, in spite of all that has been written on Palestine, little of importance has hitherto been done. With a view to this undertaking he enjoyed the special tuition of Dr. Albert Socin during the last winter of that scholar's life. The 15 months, from March, 1899, till June, 1900, he spent in the Orient, studying the various aspects of the people's life. The desire to find illustrative material in connection with the recently revived interpretation of the Song of Solomon, led him to make a collection of Arabic folk songs. Their importance for his main purpose is obvious. The life and thought of such peoples are faithfully reflected in their proverbs, their tales, and especially their popular songs, passed on from mouth to mouth. A selection from his gathering is here laid before us, with only such notes as are needful to understand the songs and indicate the localities where they were found. A fuller treatment of these things is reserved for another publication. The book will be eagerly read by all who desire a thorough acquaintance with the life and thought of the Syrian peoples. Bible students will find welcome light on many interesting problems.

The wide field from which the materials are drawn lends this volume a peculiar value. From Jerusalem to Aleppo, from Nebo to Damascus,

¹ *Palästinischer Diwan als Beitrag zur Volkskunde Palästinas, gesammelt und mit Übersetzung und Melodien herausgegeben von Gustaf H. Dalman. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs'sche Buchhandlung, 1901.*

from the sea-shore to the desert, Dr. Dalman found everywhere willing helpers. In the difficult work of interpretation skilful native assistance was happily forthcoming, so that his renderings may be taken as fairly representing the popular sense.

The Arab reckons "true song" (*Shi'r ṣaḥīḥ* or *shi'r maẓbūt*) only such as conform to the 16 models of old Arab poetry. All others he describes as "faulty" (*maḡhlūt*), or "corrupt" (*fūsid*). This condemns nearly all popular songs, and most of the contents of this collection. The people's poet allows himself great freedom in poetic form, the number and measure of syllables, and in manipulating the rhyme. Dr. Dalman gives a clear and careful account of the 18 forms of poetry exemplified in his collection, with notes as to the subjects for which they are suited, and the localities where they are used: e.g., No. 10, *Ḥadi*, is the battle march of the Bedawīn; it is also used at marriages by the peasants in North Palestine. The rhythmic treatment of the songs would be possible only with a thorough linguistic commentary. It was not required by the main purpose of the work. The natives could give no help, being unused to speak their songs, and knowing only the rhythm of the melodies. As to rhythm, the melodies go their own way, so complicating the problem. Its practical solution is to be desired; it will set Old Testament metrics on firmer ground than is now occupied.

An interesting account is given of Arab music, vocal and instrumental, with its peculiar characteristics. Striking features are the narrow compass and brevity of the melodies. One tune-phrase, repeated to every line, serves for a whole song, making for the Oriental a pleasing monotony of which he never tires. Harmony is never attempted. None of Mr. Macalister's melodies (*Quarterly Statement*, April, 1900) appears among Dr. Dalman's, so there is evidently a wide field to be reaped.

Pronunciation varies in different districts. Thus ت and ن are sometimes spoken like ت and ن and sometimes like س and ز. An exact phonetic transcription would therefore be apt to mislead as to the underlying consonants, unless accompanied by the text in Arabic letters. Dr. Dalman adopts, with two exceptions, a uniform system of equivalent signs with notes as to pronunciation in different localities. The mistaken *dsch* used for ج in so many German works is correctly replaced by \bar{g} = French *j*. ق is represented by \bar{k} , \bar{g} , and *dsch*. It is often spoken as a distinct Hamza, but to write ' would confuse ق with ء and ا. ك is represented by *k* and *tsch*. It is well to remember, however, that even in a given locality the pronunciation is not always uniform. In Nazareth, e.g., ق is pronounced both as ق and as ء. On the east of the Jordan ج is sometimes hard \bar{g} as in Egypt. $D\bar{g}$ would be a better equivalent for soft ق than *ds'h*; the *sch* sound is certainly not usual. The \bar{g} pronunciation is indistinguishable from hard ج. For ك, \bar{k} , and *tsch* are often used indifferently by the same speaker, e.g., S. 206, in the

same line (five from foot), we have *ikuttūnitsch* and *wajesūnik*. The vocalisation represents as closely as possible the pronunciation of those to whose dictation the songs were written.

The songs are arranged in groups according to the occasions when they are oftenest sung. A notable contribution is made to our knowledge. We can now hear the very words with which the mother sings her babe to sleep, or cheers the monotony of domestic routine, in which joy is uttered at festive seasons, and grief in the hour of sorrow and death; the songs chanted by women at the well and reapers in the field; that echo through the vineyards at the vintage, that entertain the guest in *m-dāfy* or desert tent; the songs of shepherd, sailor, camel-driver, and pilgrim; the songs of tribesmen moving to battle, and also those with which the drinkers spice their carouse—for Moslem and Christian drinkers there are, despite contrary precept and sentiment.

Patriotic songs, songs in praise of Nature, and travel songs there are none. Love songs serve for many occasions. The bulk of this collection deals with the experiences and humours of lovers, *i.e.*, of young men and maidens; very few directly concern the bride and bridegroom. Songs which describe the physical charms of the loved one deserve consideration because of their affinity with certain songs in the Song of Solomon. These descriptive songs are sung at all times, not only at weddings, and can be referred to the bridal pair only when they are directly indicated. The suggestion is that the Song of Solomon contains love songs, not wedding songs. In this connection Dr. Dalman points out that the Autumn, not the Spring, is the favourite marriage season in Palestine. The harvest produce provides the dowry for the bride, and leisure comes with the end of the threshing.

It is a peculiarity of Arab song to represent the beloved maiden as a male, and poets love to speak at times of "friends" in the plural when only one "female friend" is meant. The Arab holds it seemly thus lightly to veil his love. This peculiarity the reader must bear in mind.

For a work of such nicety and complexity this is singularly free from printer's errors. In the song "Auf dem Wege zum Grab eines Bräutigams" (S. 23), line 4 of the Arabic has fallen out.

It is to be hoped that the reception accorded to this volume will be such as to encourage Dr. Dalman in the prosecution of a task for which he is so admirably equipped.

W. EWING.

Œuvres Complètes de Fl. Josèphe, traduites en Français sous la direction de TH. REINACH—tome i, "Antiquités Judaïques," liv. 1-5, traduction de J. Weill, Paris, 1901.—A notice of this important work will be given in a later *Quarterly Statement*. M. Reinach, whilst retaining the general revision of the work, has entrusted the translation to several young scholars. Four volumes will be devoted to the "Antiquities," two to the "Life" and "Wars," and one to "Against Apion," a general index, and a critical study of the life and work of Josephus. The first volume,

translated by M. Weill, includes the first five books of the "Antiquities," and an introduction by M. Reinach.

Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale, vol. iv, parts 17-21, by M. CLERMONT-GANNEAU, M.L., Paris, 1901.—Translations of two of the articles, "The Land of Promise Mapped in Mosaic at Mâdeba" and "The Cufic Inscription in the Basilica of Constantine, &c.," appeared in the last *Statement*. In other articles M. Ganneau deals with the sepulchral inscription of a prominent member of the Roman colony of Berytus (*Beirût*), found at Nîha, north-east of Zahle, in the Lebanon; the old popular idea, mentioned by classical writers, that stags eat snakes; a Phœnician stele from *Amrît*, Marathus, on the Syrian coast north of Tripoli; and makes several additions to Herr Bauer's list of articles of clothing worn by the Arabs of Palestine. But the most interesting article is that on "Le droit des pauvres chez les Nabatéens." The author shows that before our era the Nabatæans had great quadrennial festivals; certain laws for the benefit of the poor, which came into operation periodically, and were not unlike those of the Sabbatic year of the Jews, were connected with these festivals; the year 85 of the era of Bostra (March 22nd, 189, to March 21st, 190 A.D.) coincided with a Nabatæan festival year; this fixed date enables us to construct the Nabatæan cycle, and this cycle corresponds from end to end with that of the Olympiads. With less certainty it is stated that the Nabatæan *Acta Dusaria* of the Roman epoch were quadrennial festivals under the patronage and name of Dusares, the great national god of the Nabatæans. These festivals apparently coincide with those of the Nabatæan cycle, and were, perhaps, a continuation of them; they characterised years which may be called "Dusarian" years; and these Dusarian years apparently coincided with the years of the Sebasnian festivals of Damascus and the Heraclidean festivals of Tyre, which are expressly qualified as Olympic. The article concludes with some very suggestive remarks and speculations on the origin of quadrennial festivals, whether Olympic or Nabatæan.

Revue Biblique, vol. x, part 3, 1901.—Father Vincent describes a mosaic with a mutilated Greek inscription found at *Beit Sûrik*, 2¼ hours north-west of Jerusalem. The inscription, which was perfect when found, was broken up during a quarrel between the joint owners of the land before any one at Jerusalem was aware of its discovery. There is now only sufficient to show that there was Christian settlement at Beit Sûrik in Byzantine times.

North of Jerusalem, at the foot of the hill on which a colony of Bokhariot Jews is now settled, a large tomb was recently discovered. It contained three kinds of graves, the *kok*, or "oven" grave, the trough grave covered by a horizontal slab, and the bench surmounted by the arcosolium. The façade is decorated in that composite style in which ill-assorted elements of Greek architecture are grouped with conventional foliage and fruit. This interesting tomb has been partially destroyed, so that Father Vincent's plan and sections are of much value.

*A Byzantine Mosaic at Jerusalem,*¹ by Father VINCENT, of the Dominican Convent of St. Stephen, Jerusalem.—On March 30th last a member of the Jewish colony,² settled north-west of the Damascus Gate, discovered a remarkable mosaic pavement whilst digging a trench in the courtyard of his house. Ismail Effendi, el-Husseini, president of the *mo'arref*, when informed of the discovery, at once took steps to preserve the mosaic, and requested the Dominicans of St. Stephen to examine and report upon it. As the mosaic was cleared, a copy of it was made under the direction of Father Lagrange. But at the end of the first day all work was suspended pending the receipt of instructions from Constantinople, which had not arrived on May 20th. Soon afterwards the portion of the mosaic which had been exposed to view was covered with earth, and it has not since been accessible. Fortunately it was possible, from photographs and drawings, to prepare a water-colour drawing on a sufficiently large scale to show every detail. This copy, due to the collaboration of Fathers Delau, Savignac, and Vincent, has not been compared with the mosaic, and thus has not received the last touch.

The mosaic is 235 yards W.N.W. of the Damascus Gate as the crow flies, almost at the bottom of the depression at the head of the Tyropeon Valley. The excavation being incomplete the full dimensions of the pavement could not be accurately determined. The length of the part exposed is 18 feet 8 inches, and the greatest width 10 feet 6 inches. The latter, from the arrangement of the border and the presence of fragments of masonry, is apparently the actual width, but the length may be greater than is stated. From the first the progress of the excavation was hampered by the two alleys that border the court, or by the necessity for leaving means of communication between two blocks of buildings. The room containing the mosaic was built south-west and north-east. The north wall, visible for its whole length, was altered at a recent period during the construction of a cistern; the south wall was only seen at one point; in the east wall, although it is in a very dilapidated condition, one could make out a narrow door, 1 foot 11 inches, which it would be desirable to clear.

In spite of the incompleteness of the investigation, it is possible to take a general view of the subject represented in the mosaic. At the first glance one notices two compartments which, although they form one picture, appear to have nothing in common in their nature and design. The principal scene of the first compartment, 6 feet 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ inches high and 4 feet wide, is set in a frame. Orpheus seated, full-face, and wearing the Phrygian cap, plays on an eleven-stringed lyre which he holds in his hands. Below his feet the god Pan and a centaur, resting on the bottom of the frame, in very expressive postures, listen to the

¹ By permission from the "Revue Biblique"; a photograph from the water-colour drawing was published in the last *Quarterly Statement*.

² It consists of Jewish families from Baghdad and the Caucasus, and is called *Bâté Nisin Bey*.

melody. A hare is squatted under the outstretched arm of Pan in a comical attitude. Round the musician various kinds of animals—a falcon, a bear, a pig, a serpent, a salamander, a partridge, a rat—artistically grouped in natural attitudes, are visibly charmed by the tones of the lyre. A reproduction of the water-colour drawing would give a better idea of the charm of the thousand details and the happy effect of the picture. Pan squeezes under his arm his syrinx, which has become mute, and the centaur puts his hand to his mouth in a gesture of roguish *naïveté*. The rat beneath the lyre raises itself as if it were trying to hear better; the partridge turns its head coquettishly; the salamander, held in by a stout red rope, was engaged in a fight with the snake which the charm of the music has interrupted abruptly. All the tints are bright. The carnations are rose-coloured, shaded in brown, yellow, or red, and sparingly touched up with white lights or green points. The heads of hair are black, mixed with yellow and blue cubes which bring out the curls, and make them look wavy and transparent. Orpheus wears a tunic of azure blue, with an embroidered border. A rose-coloured mantle, fastened over the right shoulder by a precious clasp, is thrown back over the left shoulder, and leaving the right arm, which plays, free, falls in wide flexible folds, marked by bold red lines, over the knees of the musician. The feet are shod with black sandals. The wood of the lyre is yellow, artistically shaded; the keys are black, the strings red. The snake is yellow with blue spots. The pig is dull green, outlined in black; the muscles are white, the eye red. The fur of the bear is yellow ochre and iron grey; the muscles are strongly marked in dark red and ruddy brown, the claws are black. The coat of the salamander, those of the centaur and of Pan have the same tints without the red bands, and with flashes of bronze in addition. The panther's skin which falls from the shoulder of the centaur is pale green with black spots. The pipes of Pan have the tints of wood and metal. The hare is ruddy brown, yellow, and white. The rat is nearly its natural colour. Lastly, the birds have a brilliant yellow plumage, drab wings, and red feet; the falcon wears round its neck a rich necklace with gold locket; two small crests adorn the head of the partridge. Green branches strewn on the white ground of the picture add to its freshness. A garland of lotus flowers,¹ strung on a yellow string, and elegantly designed in four simple colours—blue, yellow, red, and white, on a dull ground—encloses the subject, and this is surrounded by a broad belt of complicated ornament. On a rich black ground large leaves, alternately greenish or red and orange, form a series of medallions in which, treated with much talent in a natural, life-like manner, human heads, domestic and wild animals, plants, and various objects² stand out in many-tinted relief. At the four angles are heads which are probably symbolical: the “river” head at the lower right-hand corner is remarkable, but less

¹ The number of flowers has been doubled, inadvertently, in the water-colour.

² The same *motif* has influenced Byzantine sculptors, *see* the frieze of a *bas-relief* of the fourth century at Salonica, in Bayet (“*l'Art byzantin*,” p. 79).

interesting than that of Mercury (?), placed with a cornucopia in the centre of the lower border, and, like all the others, looking at Orpheus. Unfortunately, two of these heads were only partly seen. Amongst the animals in nine other medallions, all deserve attention, though some are better than others: a wild horse at full gallop, whose brilliant coat and flowing mane throw it into relief, a bull running, a ram leaping, birds at rest—all appear to listen to the melodies of the divine artist. The inanimate objects are not wanting in originality and interest: a pumpkin and a ripened bunch of pomegranates, and a basket overflowing with fruit (?). The warm, deep tones, and the well-sustained design of the border, give a strong relief to the central panel. The heads have very brilliant complexions, and are of five or six colours—rose, red, green, blue, and brown. The colouring of the fruit admits new elements. The quadrupeds are yellow, red, green, and brown. The birds exhaust every shade of yellow, red, and blue. Lastly, other borders, the classical twisted fringe, and scattered red and black flowers on a white ground, complete the width as far as it was seen. It should be noted that the ornament of the outer border is not exactly the same on the two sides.

Below Orpheus, but connected with him by the interlacement of the borders, is the second compartment of the mosaic. It consists of two sections, placed one above the other without much regard to symmetry in the disposition of the panels. There is first a rectangular panel, rather less than 2 feet 3 inches high, and 2 feet 2 inches wide, which contains two women, full length and full face, separated by a sort of column, or, perhaps, candlestick. Their names are written to the right and left of the head, as in the case of legends to miniatures on the reverse of Byzantine coins, or on other mosaics. The names are Greek, but defective in orthography and caligraphy—ΘΕΩΔΟCΙΑ¹ and ΓΕΩΡΓΙΑ. The details of the costume and dress, apparently Byzantine, will be examined no doubt carefully by specialists. The hair, treated like that of Orpheus, is simply dressed and arranged in plaits which encircle the face. Theodosia wears a white crown, some yellow touches set off the hair of Georgia. The complexion is a very delicate rose colour, edged with brown, hardly lighted up by occasional red and green cubes. Long clear yellow earrings fall beside the cheeks. The two women have brilliant ornaments in red, yellow, and green enamel round their necks. Georgia wears a brown, red, and white mantle, fastened across the breast and falling back over the shoulders below the knees. The open front exposes a long robe ornamented with white and yellow embroidery on a black ground, and two bands, embroidered with red and green flowers on a grey, mauve, and lilac tissue, fall like a stole from the girdle. The hands, crossed on the breast, support a green bird edged with black. The mantle of Theodosia is pale blue, furrowed by brown and red folds; her robe is black, embroidered with clear yellow crosses,² with a chestnut dot

¹ Note the form of the γ in Γεωργία—a new name, and the ω in Θεωδοσία.

² Through an error in drawing, the crosses are imperfectly represented in the water-colour.

as centre. The right hand, raised to the breast, holds a lotus flower, red, white, and black; whilst the left, partly lowered, holds an undefined red and green object which is intermingled with the folds of the robe. The shoes are red¹ and yellow, edged with brown. The candlestick between the figures is black, very pale blue, and white; the knot is blue and yellow ochre, and in the upper part there are red, yellow, and green ornaments.

In spite of a certain stiffness of posture, and less elegance of design when compared with the Orpheus panel, one is sensible of an honest attempt to represent nature; at least there is none of the coldness or rigid accuracy of compositions in which conventional types are used. Georgia and Theodosia have lived. The slightly emaciated oval face, and the pallid complexion of the former, her less ornately dressed hair, her bony, badly-shaped hands, and her less supple limbs, give her whole figure a certain appearance of age. In the latter, on the other hand, the fuller face, the warmer flesh tints, the more refined mouth, and the more delicate hands, give the impression of youth. One would take them to be mother and daughter.

The heads have the nimbus, used in ancient art as an attribute of gods, emperors, and mythological persons, which was adopted apparently not earlier than the fourth century² by Christian artists. In the following centuries, when its use began to be general, the signification of the nimbus underwent a change, and it sometimes became, especially in the west, a simple ornamental device.³ These facts must be taken into account when attempting to establish the character and date of the monument. According to Didron, "In the East the nimbus is emblematic of physical energy, as well as moral force, the civil or political power as well as religious authority."⁴ Were Georgia and Theodosia two heroines, two saints, two members of the local aristocracy, possibly of the imperial family, two superiors of monasteries, or two deaconesses? Each of these hypotheses has a certain possibility.

To the right and left, in medallions 3 feet 3 inches long, and 1 foot 10 inches wide, which have borders of varied design, two blocks of stone rise above the pavement. These stones, which are 1 foot 11 inches, and 1 foot 10 inches, by 1 foot 1 inch at the base, are 7½ inches high, and diminish in size as they rise. They offer a riddle which it would be

¹ The fundamental tone is red, and, according to a remark on a sixth century miniature by M. Kondakoff ("Histoire de l'Art byzantin," p. 126), red shoes forming "an integral part of the Imperial costume of Byzantium" at that period, "it was forbidden to wear shoes of that colour": they were then adopted for the virgin, the angels, &c.

² Didron, "Iconographie chrétienne," p. 75; Pératé "l'Archéologie chrétienne," p. 41; Kondakoff, "l'Art byzantin," p. 66.

³ When in Byzantine miniatures of a decadent period, the nimbus ornaments a pagan personage, it is a reminiscence or imitation of classical art (Kondakoff, *op. cit.*, p. 77).

⁴ Didron, *op. cit.*, p. 67.

interesting to solve by raising one of them. In the side wall there is a block a little larger than the stones, and in the same line. It has a small moulding, and its object is obscure. As to the two stones, their shaped tops, the plaster which still in part covers them, and their irregular form, seem to exclude the idea of a support for an altar, table, or arcade. One would preferably suppose them to be ossuaries, or funerary caskets. There would then be two tombs; the figures of the central medallion would be really portraits, and the lotus flower and bird might be regarded as emblems of the resurrection.

Lower down a last compartment is divided into three medallions by a large circular band in colours, shaded off like a rainbow, from deep blue to dark red. In the centre a lion runs from left to right, whilst on one side a leopard springs from right to left, and on the other a dancer, facing left with balance pole in hand, and mantle flying in the wind, goes through his evolutions. The dancer is red and yellow, his shoes are black, and his mantle bright green, olive green, and yellow, with well-drawn folds. The lion is yellow, outlined in black and brown; its mane is red and white, and the branches round him are green, yellow, and black. The leopard is pale green, outlined in black, with black and bright yellow spots. Beneath this compartment the border ends with a band of white against the *débris* of a wall. This is evidently the end of the room.

The general appearance of the lower compartment is much more sober, and its colouring is much less vivid than that of the Orpheus panel. Otherwise there is in both pictures the same accuracy and elegance of form, the same firmness of drawing, the same taste and harmony in the selection of tints, and the same finish in the workmanship.¹ The stone of Palestine, with its rich tints, has supplied all the materials. In the whole mosaic there are only a few glass cubes in places where it was desirable to give the picture more transparency than could be obtained with stone. The fineness of the mosaic work favours the blending of the tints. The state of preservation is almost perfect, but the pavement, either from a blow or from the yielding of the ground under pressure, has given way at two or three points.

The principal subject of the mosaic is pagan and classical; yet it would be difficult to avoid assigning a Christian origin to it. The frequent use of analogous subjects in the decoration of the Roman catacombs shows with what freedom the Christians of the first centuries utilised the ancient myths of which religious symbolism had changed the meaning;² and of all the myths none was so transparent as that of Orpheus charming the animals with the melodious tones of his lyre. The fathers of the Church have frequently been inspired by that graceful

¹ There are, however, several instances of carelessness in this large subject: parts treated in an incomplete or disproportionate manner; a detail omitted or improbable,—the rope of the salamander attached to nothing; Orpheus seated without any visible trace of a seat, &c.

² Pératé, "l'Archéologie chrétienne," pp. 43, 53 ff.

allegory to celebrate the happy influence of Christian doctrine on humanity¹; and the painters of the catacombs have told it many times in their frescoes.² The affinity of type between the fresco of St. Callixtus and the mosaic of Jerusalem is very suggestive. If the presence of Pan and the centaur below the feet of the divine artist in the Jerusalem mosaic is not a part of the symbolism, it must be regarded as a survival of ancient art; and this is not surprising when one remembers how, even as late as the fifth and sixth centuries, the best works of the great Italian artists in mosaic show the deep impression of these survivals.³

The complete absence of Christian emblems in the mosaic does not affect its attribution to a comparatively late period. Perhaps it was expedient not to place very obvious religious symbols in a pavement that was to be trodden upon. Other pavements have been found at Jerusalem in a style quite as profane which could not be earlier than the fourth, and might be later than the seventh century.⁴ It is to that period, fifth to sixth century, that one would like to ascribe the mosaic—the character of the two figures, of the names beside them, and of the ornament agrees with that idea. Byzantine culture was then more flourishing at Jerusalem than at any other time, and the town enjoyed the tranquil prosperity which the production of such a sumptuous work would imply. A comparison with works of that period shows points of contact. Classical training had given to the artists a style which is apparent in all their works from one end of the empire to the other. The mosaics especially form a perfectly harmonious group, for according to Kondakoff (*op. cit.*, p. 24), “the mosaic artist neither invents new types nor new attitudes, nor new arrangement of draperies; the forms which he adopts are, so to speak, immutable.” The mosaic of Jerusalem has affinities with those of Mount Sinai, Ravenna, Tyre, and Madaba, but it is more akin to the celebrated pavements of the Church of Kabr Hiram, near Tyre, and of the Church of the Virgin at Madaba.

After all the new mosaic at Jerusalem is still not fully uncovered, and later researches may disclose unlooked for revelations of the date. It is to be hoped that they will indicate the nature of the building of which the floor was so well decorated. It was probably the burial place of a wealthy man.

C. W. W.

¹ Some patristic remarks on this subject will be found in Martigny, “Dictionnaire des antiquités chrét.” p. 487.

² Marucchi, “Éléments d’archéologie chrét.” p. 269; “Guide des catacombes,” p. 152.

³ Gerspach, “La mosaïque,” p. 46 ff; Pératé, *op. cit.*, p. 203 ff, cf. fig. 135 ff; Kondakoff, “Hist. de l’Art byzantin,” p. 103.

⁴ See especially the Armenian mosaic on the Mount of Olives in Clermont-Ganneau’s “Archæol. Researches,” vol. i, p. 329, and that to the north of the town (“Zeitschrift d. Deut. Pal. Ver.,” xviii, plate 4).

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