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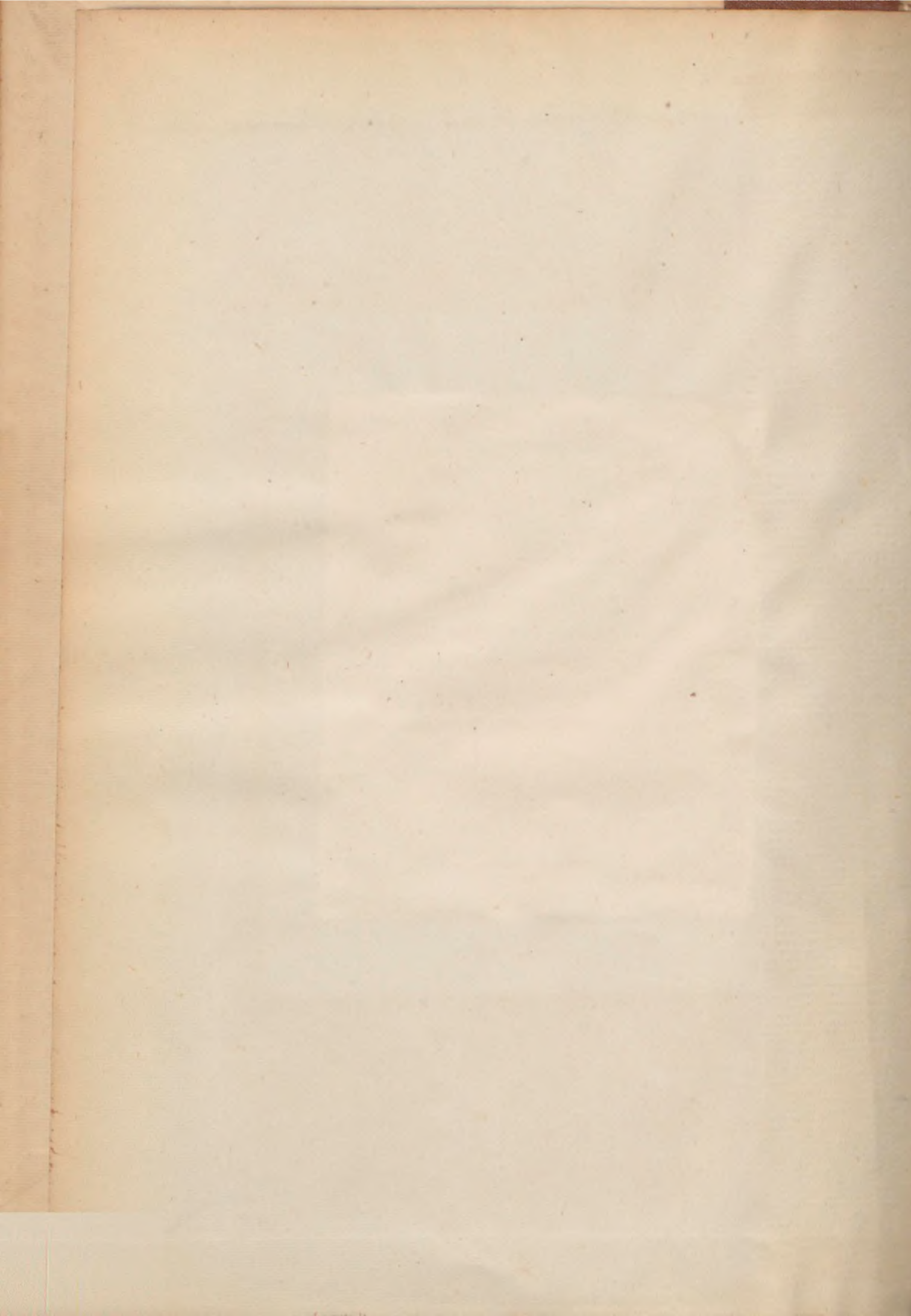
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PALESTINE  
EXPLORATION FUND.

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Patron—THE QUEEN.

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*Quarterly Statement*

FOR 1881.

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THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

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NOTES AND NEWS.

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

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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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



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

---

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

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

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

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

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

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

---

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

---

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



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

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

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

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

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

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## MEETING OF THE PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND.

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

## THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER IN THE CHAIR.

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

The following is the letter received from Canon Tristram :—

DURHAM, 27th November, 1880.

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

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

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

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



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

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

Believe me,

Yours very truly,

H. B. TRISTRAM.

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

MR. GLAISHER. Mr. Chairman, and friends :

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

The DEAN of WESTMINSTER. It is completed.

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

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

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

introduction which two of us had from you, Mr. Chairman, to the Protestant missionary at Nazareth, M. Zeller, our plans were suddenly changed, and under the guidance of that gentleman, we struck eastwards across the Jordan by the Jisr Mejámieh, traversed the Ghor to Pella; thence forded the Yarmuk, and ascended the hot springs of Amatha to Um Keis; rode along the well-wooded slopes of Jebel Ajloon (Gilead) and the fertile plains of Bashan and the Haurán to Mezarib, Derá, and Bozrah of Moab. Near Bozrah, our route lay through the other two subdivisions of the Haurán, the Jebel el Druze, or Arl el Bathanceeyeh, the land of Batanea, and the el Lejah, the Hebrew Argob and Greek Trachonitis, to Damascus. We paid no backsheesh and we had no escort, but trusted to the hospitality of the Arab and Druse Sheikhs, with whom M. Zeller was well acquainted, and all of whom entertained us right royally. Though our journey was a hurried one and only lasted a fortnight, and though it took us through but a small portion of Eastern Palestine, it was quite enough to show us that though not so rich in Biblical associations as Western Palestine, Eastern Palestine was infinitely richer in archaeological remains. For one monument on the western side there are probably a hundred on the eastern; nor have they suffered so much at the hands of man. Neither the Crusaders, the Byzantine Greeks, nor the Arabs have played such havoc in the east as in the west. In the Haurán may still be seen those massive stone buildings, the materials of which, however comparatively modern their arrangement and decoration were, it may be reasonably presumed, chiselled in a far more remote antiquity. It is no uncommon thing to see these houses in a complete state of preservation built of huge blocks of black basalt with slabs of the same for the roof, 12 feet long,  $1\frac{1}{2}$  feet wide, and  $\frac{3}{4}$  foot thick, and entrance doors also of basalt, hung on the ball and socket principle; great solid stones of the same material being used as lintels at the top and bottom. I remember seeing some folding-doors of this kind at Damá, in the centre of that wonderful island of rock, the Lejah, which were 10 or 12 feet high, and 8 or 9 inches thick, and which turned in their sockets with the greatest ease. It may, indeed, be said that inexhaustible possibilities await the explorer here; but time, great philological experience, an intimate acquaintance with Arabic dialects and with Hebrew, a trained and practised eye, and great care, are absolute essentials towards making a proper use of them.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



Colonel WARREN. Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen :—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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



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

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

THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER. After the very interesting speeches we

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

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

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

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

The Resolution was carried unanimously.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

### NEW SURVEY OF EASTERN PALESTINE.

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

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

“4. *Natural Sciences.*—*Botany, Zoology, Meteorology.*—These are at present but very imperfectly known, while the recent investigations of Mr. Tristram, limited as they necessarily were, show that researches are likely to furnish results of no common scientific interest.

“5. *Manners and Customs.*—To do for the Holy Land what Mr. Lane’s ‘*Modern Egyptians*’ has done for Egypt—describe in a systematic and exhaustive order, with clear and exact minuteness, the manners, habits, rites, and language of the present inhabitants, with engravings intended, like his, ‘not to embellish the pages, but to explain the text.’”

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

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

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

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

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

But Eastern Palestine has yet to be surveyed.

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Comparative  
Maps.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Quarterly Statement.

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

By Order of the Committee,

1, ADAM STREET, ADELPHI  
December, 1880.

WALTER BESANT, M.A.,  
Secretary.



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

The distance given between Tzuk and Jerusalem seems to indicate a



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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



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

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



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

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



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

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

### SUPPOSED CLIFF IN THE HARAM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

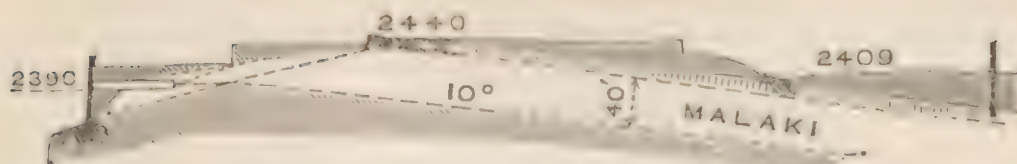
The levels near the *Bâb es Silsileh*, where Mr. Fergusson places *Antonia*, are as given below, on the same construction as the preceding:—

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

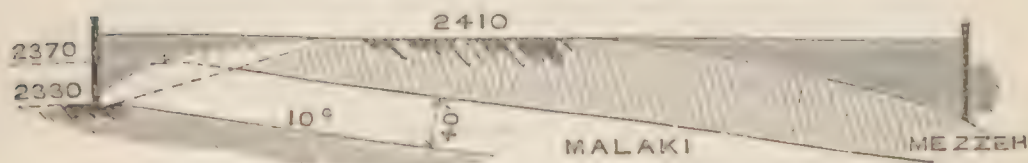
Now, as we know that the action of denudation on the *Malaki* and *Mezzeh* beds produces uniform slopes, and that cliffs are found only where the Dolomite comes to the surface—as observed on Olivet—we might expect a cliff near the base of the Haram Wall, and a gradual slope above it, where the soft chalky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

GEOLOGICAL SECTIONS THROUGH HARAM.

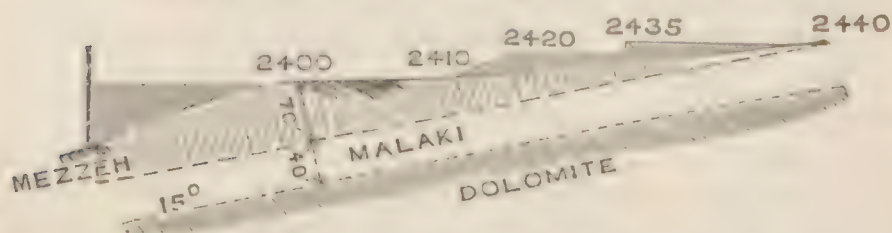
Natural Scale.



Section east and west through Sakhrab.



Section east and west through Prophet's Gate.



Section due south from Sakhrab.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Edinburgh, Oct. 20th, 1880.

C. R. C.

### NOTE ON KADESH BARNEA.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C.R.C.

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





THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

NOTES AND NEWS.

DEPARTURE OF THE NEW EXPEDITION.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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## MEETING IN EDINBURGH.

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

The Rev. Dr. Main, Moderator of the Free Church; Principal Rainy, Bishop Cotterill, Rev. Dr. Teape, Rev. Dr. A. Thomson, Rev. Professor Blaikie, Rev. Dr. R. Macdonald, Rev. Dr. Taylor, Rev. Dr. Robertson, Rev. Professor Duns, Rev. Dr. Goold, Rev. Dr. Cazenove, Rev. Dr. Lindsay Alexander, Rev. Dr. Wylie, Rev. Alex. Whyte, M.A.; Rev. T. B. Johnstone; Rev. W. Turner, Rev. C. G. Scott, Rev. Thomas Brown, Professor MacLagan, Dr. Robert Young, Charles Cowan of Westerlea, John Scott Moncrieff, William Dickson, Surgeon-General Fraser, C.B.; John Rogerson, Merchiston Castle; John McCandlish, John Miller of Leithen, Edward Caird of Finner, James Sime, Craigmount; T. B. Johnston, John Cowan, Beeslack, William Ferguson of Kinmundy, W. F. Burnley, D. G. Thomson, John Drybrough, Colonel Young, R. P. Simpson, and others. There was a good attendance of the public.

Dr. Main having opened the meeting with prayer,

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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## THE INSCRIPTION AT THE POOL OF SILOAM.

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

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

### I.

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

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





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

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

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

*February 7, 1881.*



## II.

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. H. SAYCE.

February 26, 1881.

## EL-HARRAH.

By CYRIL GRAHAM.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By the PRESIDENT OF QUEEN'S COLLEGE, BELFAST.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

## NOTES ON DISPUTED POINTS.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Mr. Trelawney Saunders also follows Robinson in an assumption which



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C. R. C.

## NEW IDENTIFICATIONS.

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

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

C. R. C.

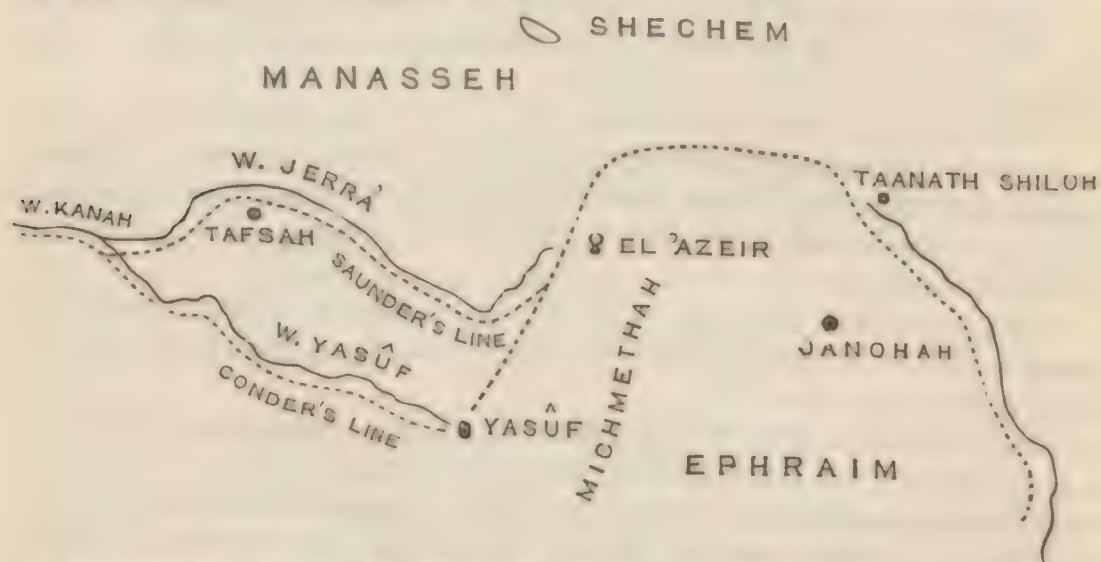


## THE BOUNDARY OF EPHRAIM AND MANASSEH.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

12th November, 1880.

C. R. C.

## MIZPEH.

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



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

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

The following conditions have to be satisfied :—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A few other points may be noticed:—

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

W. F. BIRCH.



## THE CITY AND TOMB OF DAVID.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

W. F. BIRCH.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

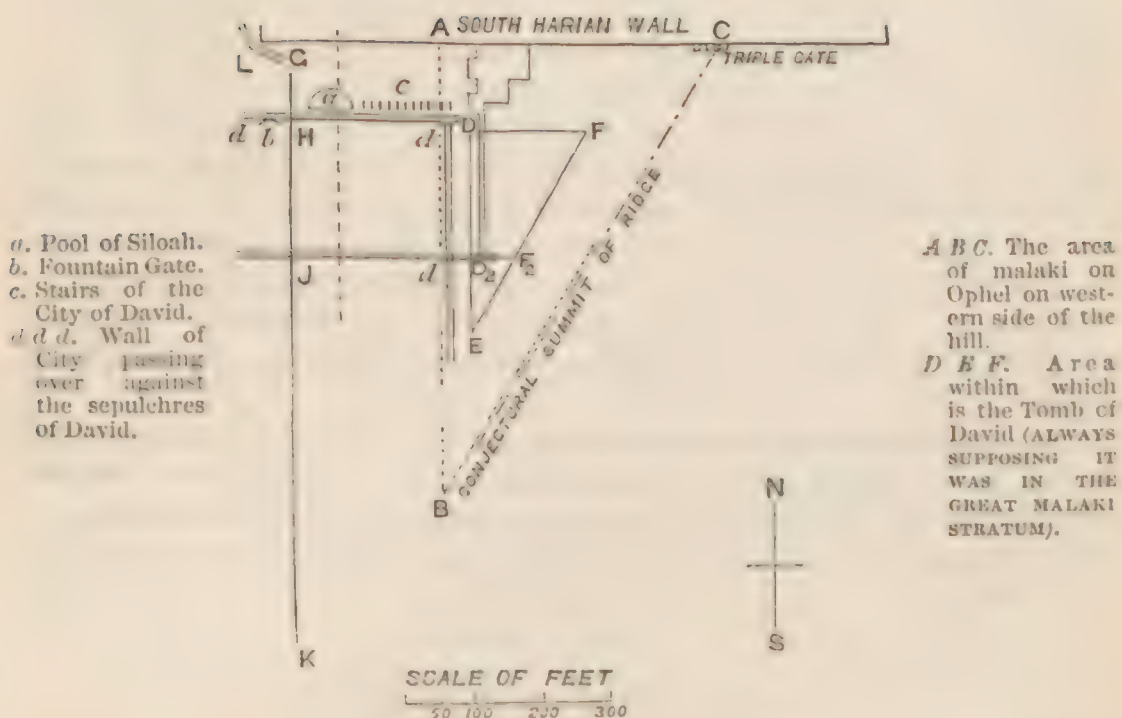
Colonel Wilson (Ordnance Notes) says (31) the upper beds of missæ dip 10° to east, and 15° to south.

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

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







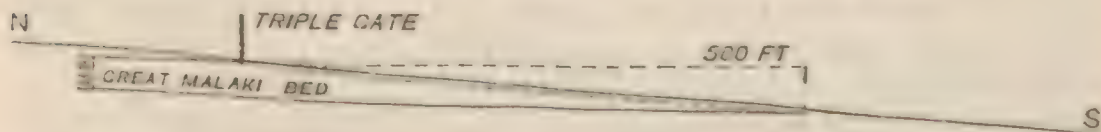
ticable for it to have been. The crossing wall however may have been further south, even as far as J, in which case the area to be searched is reduced possibly even to  $D_2 E F_2$ .

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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

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

W. F. BIRCH.

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### EBEN-EZER.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

W. F. BIRCH.

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



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

W. F. B.

### VALLEY OF HINNOM.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

Strathroy, Ont.,  
Canada.

S. BESWICK.

## NOTES ON THE TOPOGRAPHY OF THE EXODUS.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

The town people naturally consider that they have reached the *no plus ultra* of civilization, and pity the stupid, boorish Fellah. The very name has become a term of reproach, and is used to describe a stupid, uneducated man. The Fellah accepts his position quite good humouredly and acknowledges his want of polish; his naïve excuse for any mistakes or stupid tricks is simply: *Māni fellāh?* Am I not a Fellāh? But the true Bedawi looks down upon both Townsfolk and Fellahin; springing on his noble steed he feels himself one of the lords of creation, and gazing from his tent over the wide-spreading plain, he asserts his superiority over these miserable dwellers in houses.

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

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

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

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

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



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



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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

\* *Hamule—Hamā'il.*



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

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

(*To be continued*).

## THE ORDERS FOR MUSICAL SERVICES AT HAMATH.

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

\* (*Sirādsch*).

† *Batiye*, pl. *bawāti*.







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

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

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



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

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





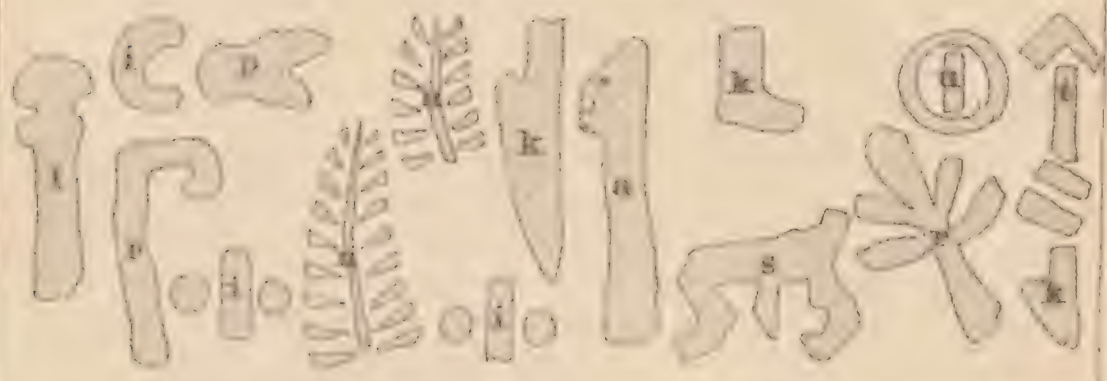
SUGGESTED transliteration & translation.



A-gân-ih  
that ye tū sing

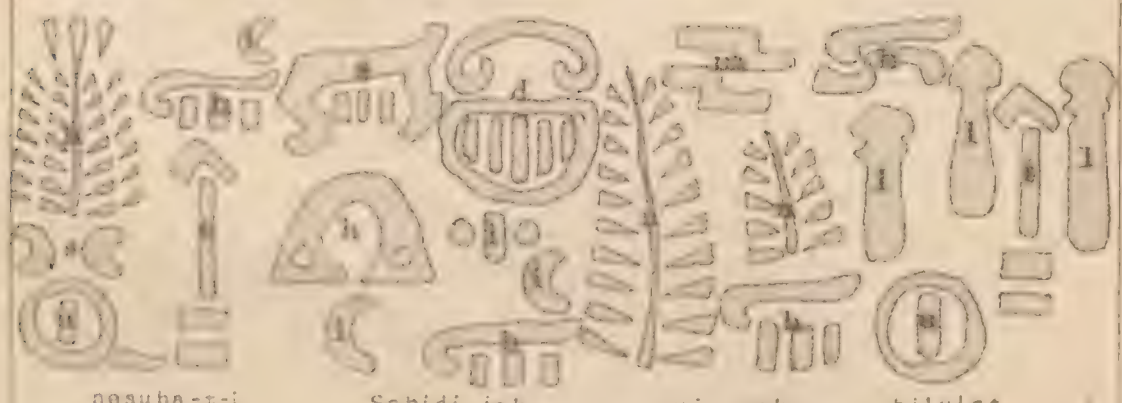
hā-ā-ū-ū  
play ye

ne-ġin-vat-i  
my Harmonies



i  
irpinnik  
that they may cause thee to cure

askura-t-ak  
Thy fea is

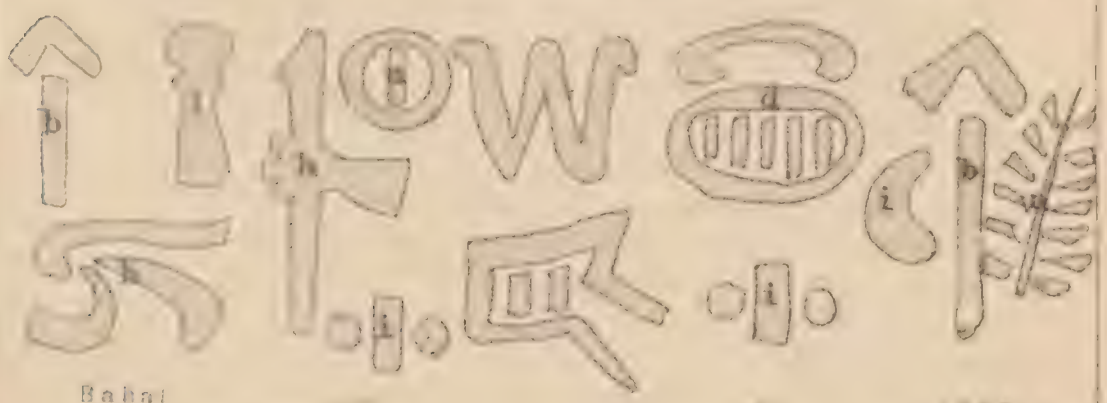


nesuha-t-i  
the gift of me

Sahidi-jah

minneh  
from whence cometh

hilulat  
praise



Bahai

his Gods

(ideograph)

1000  
000

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

DUNBAR I. HEATH.

*Esher, Surrey.*

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#### NOTE.

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

H. D. RAWNSLEY.





THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

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NOTES AND NEWS.

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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## MEETING OF THE GENERAL COMMITTEE.

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

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

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

“MY LORDS AND GENTLEMEN,

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

“II. The Reduced Map.

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

M. de Sauley.

Mr. Edward Miall.

Lord Stratford de Redcliffe. Mr. George Wood.

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





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

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

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

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

This report was adopted unanimously.

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

This was carried unanimously.

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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## MEETING IN MANCHESTER.

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

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

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



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

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

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

### MEETING AT LIVERPOOL.

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

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







1.  $\cdot \text{X} \text{G} \text{A} \text{S} \text{O} \text{S} : =$

2.  $w \text{X} \text{P} \cdot \text{A} \text{J} \text{A} \text{G}$

3.  $\text{A} \text{A} \text{A} \text{S} \cdot \text{X} \text{H} \text{Y} \text{P} \cdot \text{Y}$

4.  $\text{Y} \text{Y} \text{G} \text{A} \text{Y} \cdot \text{Y} \text{G} \text{A} \text{G} \cdot \text{G} \text{X}$

5.  $\text{Y} \text{Y} \cdot \text{A} \text{Y} \text{X} \cdot \text{J} \text{G} \text{X} \cdot \text{A} \text{X} \text{X}$

6.

$\text{D} \text{G} \alpha$



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

## I.

By the Rev. A. H. SAYCE.

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

The channel in question is an ancient conduit which conveys the water of the Virgin's Pool (*Birket Sitti Maryam*) on the eastern side of the city to the so-called Pool of Siloam. It is cut through the rock, and so forms a subterranean passage through the southern spur of the hill on which the Mosque of Omar stands. The Pool of Siloam lies on the eastern side of the ancient valley of Tyropeon, at a considerable depth below the summit of the Temple hill. The passage connecting the two pools has been explored by Robinson, Tobler, Colonel Warren, and others. According to Colonel Warren, its length is 1,708 feet (569½ yards),\* though the distance from the one pool to the other in a direct line is only 368 yards. The passage, however, is not straight; it winds considerably, and there are several *culs de sac* in its course, from which we may infer that the engineering knowledge of its excavators was not sufficient to prevent them from missing their way. As we shall see, the newly found inscription shows that the passage was excavated from both ends, the workmen meeting in the middle, like the excavators of the Mont Cenis Tunnel. The height varies greatly, but the width is pretty uniform. I attempted to walk up it from its lower or Siloam end, along with my companion Mr. J. Slater, but after proceeding some distance the roof became so low that, in order to proceed it would have been necessary to crawl on all fours through a thick deposit of black mud, and this, as we had no suitable dresses, we declined to do. However, I made my way sufficiently far to acquaint myself fully with the mode in which the channel had been constructed.

\* Robinson makes it about 586 yards.

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

The inscription discovered by Mr. Schick is in a niche of this kind, at the lower end of the conduit, and about 19 feet from the place where it opens out into the Pool of Siloam. The conduit is here from 20 inches to 2 feet in breadth, and the niche in which it is engraved is 27 inches long by 26 wide, the niche itself being cut in the rock-wall of the channel in the form of a square tablet, to a depth of an inch and a-half, and made smooth to receive the inscription. It is on the right-hand side of the conduit as one enters it from the Pool, and consequently on the eastern wall of the tunnel. The upper part of the tablet or niche has been left plain, though a *graffito* has been scratched across it, which is probably of late date. The lower part alone is occupied with the inscription, which consists of six lines, and an ornamental finish has been added below the middle of the last line in the shape of two triangles, which rest upon their apices, with a similarly inverted angle between them. On the left side of the tablet the rock is unfortunately fractured, resulting in the loss of several characters in the first four lines. According to the Rev. W. T. Piltner's measurements, the upright lines of the characters in the first line are about half-an-inch in length, those in the second line about  $\frac{2}{3}$ ths of an inch, while in the remaining lines they average  $\frac{1}{2}$ ths of an inch. In the wall immediately opposite the tablet a triangular niche has been cut. Mr. Schick suggests that it was intended to hold the lamp of the workman employed in engraving the inscription. At the time the inscription was found, the greater part of it was below the level of the water which flows from the Pool of the Virgin into the Pool of Siloam. This will explain why it was not seen by former explorers of the conduit. The passage of the water has filled the characters with a deposit of lime which makes it difficult to read them, and in the last line the letters are almost entirely smoothed away by the friction of the water. Before the inscription could be copied it was first necessary that the level of the water should be lowered. This was done at the expense of the Palestine Exploration Fund, the Committee, immediately after hearing (in August) of the discovery, having authorized Dr. Chaplin to draw upon them for the money necessary for the work.\* At the same time Mr. Schick was asked to take a better copy of the inscription than the one which had been sent to

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



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

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

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

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

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

כ, כ	כ
ג	ב
י, י	י
ד	ד
א	ה
ז, ז	ז
ח, ח	ח
ט	ט
י, י	י
ל	ל
מ, ? מ	מ
נ	נ
ס	ס
פ	פ
צ, צ	צ
ק	ק
ר, ר	ר
ש	ש
ת	ת





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

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

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

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



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

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



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

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

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

\* Another seal of Hebrew origin, with the legend לִשְׁמֵיהוּ בֶן עֹרִיהוּ and a figure which has been compared with "the Golden Calf" of Dan, found on the banks of the Euphrates, cannot be cited as evidence, as it may be of the period of the Exile.



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

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

Metrologically the inscription seems to fix the length of the Hebrew cubit, or '*ammâh*, the tunnel which, according to Colonel Warren, is 1.708 feet in length, being said to be a thousand cubits long. In this case the cubic would equal  $20\frac{1}{2}$  inches. But it must be remembered that a thousand is a round number, and should not be pressed too closely.

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

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

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

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

TRANSLITERATION OF THE INSCRIPTION IN THE HEBREW SQUARE  
CHARACTER.

- 1 הן . (ה) נקבה : הוה . היה . (ע) בר . המקבה : בעוד (החצ)  
ב(ם . ה) עלו .  
2 הגרון . איש . אל . רעו . ועוד . שלש . אמה . להפח .  
(? החצבי)ם . [ק?]ת[?]ר . (א)ש  
3 אל . רעו . מר(?)ה . יע[?]ודה . בצר . מה . מן . קמו(ה) . רי)  
חכו . בירה בא  
4 נקב[ה?] . ה(ת)חכו . החצבם . אש . לקרת . רעו . גרון :  
אל . (ג)רון . וילכו  
5 המים . מן . המוציא . אל . הברכה . במאתי . אלף . אמה . מן  
6 תאחה . ה(נ)ק(ו)בה . חצב(ו) . על . ראש . החצב ז(ה)

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



*Translation.*

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

*Commentary.*

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

## II

### POSTSCRIPT.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

A. H. SAYCE.



## III.

## THE DATE OF THE SILOAM INSCRIPTION.

PROFESSOR SAYCE has, I believe, overlooked certain considerations which bear on the date to be assigned to the Siloam inscription.

On p. 145, he gives it as his opinion that it represents an earlier stage of the Semitic alphabet than the Moabite Stone, and he assigns it with some confidence to the time of Solomon. On p. 152, however, with his usual candour, he draws attention to an historical argument of great weight, brought forward by Dr. Neubauer, which would bring the date down to the reign of Ahaz. But the palaeographical evidence, he argues, is "wholly" in favour of the earlier date.

On the other hand, I think that it may be maintained that the palaeographical probabilities, as well as the historical evidence, are in favour of the later date.

The Moabite stone belongs to the beginning of the 9th century B.C. If the Siloam inscription is of the time of Solomon, it would belong to the beginning of the 10th century, if to the time of Ahaz to the middle of the 8th. Here then is a very definite issue. To the practised eye of the palaeographer, there ought to be no great difficulty in deciding whether the inscription is either a century older, or more than a century later than the reign of Mesha.

The sole argument urged by Professor Sayce in favour of the earlier date is that three of the Siloam letters, *tsadhe*, *waw*, and *zayin*, seem to him of more archaic forms than on the Moabite Stone. At the same time he admits that several other letters belong to the more recent type which is used in the legends on the ancient Hebrew seals.

Now even if we admit the assumption as to the antiquity of the forms of the three letters, the conclusion by no means follows. It may be laid down as a palaeographic canon, that the date of an inscription is to be determined by reference to the most recent rather than to the most archaic forms which it contains. The presence of one or two late forms is decisive evidence of the late date of a whole inscription, while the presence of one or two early forms is of no very great significance, as they can be accounted for as local survivals. For example, in Athenian inscriptions of the 5th century, we find the archaic form of the *lambda*, V, whereas the new form A has already made its appearance in the Greek alphabet in the 7th century, as is evidenced by the Abu Simbel inscription. The old form of the *lambda* at Athens is clearly a mere survival, and it would be preposterous on such a ground to argue that an inscription such as the Erechtheum survey must be antedated by three centuries, and assigned to a time earlier than the reign of Psammetichus. But this is in fact what Professor Sayce has done, when he ante-dates his inscription on the sole evidence of two or three letters which seem to exhibit exceptionally early forms.

It must be contended that such a mode of argument is illegitimate, and

that the Siloam inscription, like all other inscriptions, must have its date determined by reference to the age of the most recent of the forms which it exhibits.

Now at least half of the Siloam letters appear in forms which are unmistakably later than those on the Moabite Stone. The curvature to the left of the tails of the tailed letters, viz., *beth*, *kaph*, *mim*, *waw*, and *pe* is more pronounced than on the Moabite Stone. Here we see in operation one of the chief causes which ultimately transformed the old Semitic alphabet. The *cheth* with three bars is also later than the Moabite form with two bars, and so is *q'oph*, whose head is partly opened, while the earlier form is completely closed.

But an argument to which still greater weight must be assigned is derived from the variant forms in which the letters *aleph*, *waw*, *mim*, and *resh* are written. The old Moabite forms of these four letters are used in the Siloam inscription side by side with the later forms, which subsequently supplanted them. These letters establish decisively the fact that the Siloam alphabet is a TRANSITION ALPHABET, belonging to a period intermediate between the Moabite alphabet of the 9th century, and the newer forms by which in the 6th century they were replaced.

Referring to the Siloam alphabet given by Professor Sayce on p. 144, the first *aleph* is the form on the Moabite Stone, while the second is the 6th century form which is found in the Gebál and the Nora inscriptions, and also on the early Hebrew shekels, which are ascribed by de Saulcy and Lenormant to the times of Ezra and Nehemiah. Again, the first form of *resh* approximates to the Moabite form, while the second is later. The same is the case with *waw*. The second form in Professor Sayce's table is Moabite, while the first, instead of being earlier, as Professor Sayce alleges, is decisively later, as is proved by its being used on the early shekels of the time of Ezra.

The two forms of *mim*, however, yield an argument so conclusive that they would by themselves suffice to settle the controversy. We actually have in the Siloam inscription, side by side, the two forms of this letter which are commonly used as the most convenient test to distinguish between the first and second epochs of the Semitic alphabet. The earlier, or zigzag form, is essentially the same as the Moabite form, and occurs twelve times. In the form which it had during the second epoch, with the horizontal bar and the cross stroke, the letter occurs twice, in lines 3 and 5. Now this later form is not found on the Moabite Stone, or in the earlier Phœnician inscriptions, or on the Assyrian Lion weights which belong to the beginning of the 8th century. On the other hand, it is found on the Eshmunazar sarcophagus, in the Gebál inscription, in the second Sidonian, and many other inscriptions from the 6th century downwards. On the Assyrian contract tablets, however, which belong to the 7th century, it is usually found, but occasionally approximates to the earlier form. Now in the Siloam inscription, the Moabite, or 9th century form appears twelve times, and the Sidonian or 6th century form appears twice. In the 7th century, as we learn from



the contract tablets, the old form had nearly disappeared; while at the time when the Siloam inscription was engraved, the new form was just beginning to come in. The evidence furnished by this letter alone might enable us with considerable confidence to assign the Siloam inscription to the middle of the 8th century, the exact date of the reign of Ahaz.

Professor Sayce bases his sole argument for the early date on the assumption that the forms of the three letters, *waw*, *zayin* and *tsadhe* are older than those on the Moabite Stone. Even if this were the case, his conclusion would by no means follow, the later forms of *min* and other letters affording decisive proof that the more archaic forms must be regarded only as survivals.

But I cannot even admit that the forms of these three letters have the antiquity that is claimed for them. Much, no doubt, may be said in favour of the archaism of the forms of *tsadhe* and *zayin*, but with regard to *waw*, the very form which Professor Sayce considers to be so ancient is actually the later Hebrew form, exactly as found on the shekels of the time of Ezra, and manifestly the transition form from which the Asmonean letter was obtained. Both *zayin* and *tsadhe* are letters of comparatively rare occurrence, and the evidence as to their history is therefore scanty. The letter *zayin* does not happen to be met with on any of the early shekels, but the looped form, which Professor Sayce considers to be so early, is found on the coinage of Bar Cochba, which was imitated from the earlier shekels, and has actually been transmitted to the modern Samaritan alphabet.

As to the very peculiar shape of *tsadhe*, it seems impossible that it can have been the parent of the Moabite form, but on the other hand it can be connected without much difficulty with the form on one of the early shekels. On the whole, it may be affirmed that the weight of the evidence tends to show that Professor Sayce's three archaic letters are merely local Hebrew forms, and decidedly posterior to the Moabite letters.

The conclusion, therefore, is that out of the twenty letters in the Siloam inscription eleven or twelve exhibit forms later than the Moabite Stone, that not one is decisively earlier, and that even if this were the case, it would not affect the argument. Indeed, if it were not for the early forms of *he* and *lamed*, it would not be impossible to bring the inscription down almost to the time of the Captivity. The palæographic probabilities tend, however, very strongly to support the ingenious conjecture of Dr. Neubauer that the conduit was excavated in the reign of Ahaz, that is about the middle of the 8th century.

It may be noted in conclusion that the Siloam inscription throws valuable light on the date and affiliation of the South Semitic alphabets. The peculiar double-looped form of *tsadhe* connects itself with the double-looped forms of this letter, which characterize the South Semitic alphabets, e.g., the Himyaritic  $\text{Ⲡ}$ , the Harra  $\text{Ⲑ}$ , and the Thugga  $\text{Ⲓ}$ . So again the looped *zayin* is connected with the Himyaritic form of the letter  $\text{Ⲙ}$  which is also looped.

ISAAC TAYLOR.

## LIEUTENANT CONDER'S REPORTS.

## I.

BEYROUT, 22nd April, 1881.

HAVING reached Beyrout on the 29th March, and being unable to commence actual operations until the arrival of our men, stores, and instruments, which were not due for a month, we cast about for some useful occupation of the time which must thus of necessity intervene—the month of April being one of the best in the year for field operations. Our projected field of action in the Hauran was for the moment closed, in consequence of difficulties between the Turks and the Druzes; while the time necessary for travelling to the Sea of Galilee, and for making any really useful explorations on its shores, would have been so long as to interfere with our other plans. We therefore determined to devote a fortnight to the investigation of a question which is probably of greater antiquarian interest than any other, of those as yet unsettled in Northern Syria, namely, the recovery and exploration of the sacred southern capital of the Hittites—the famous city of Kadesh on the Orontes.

For this purpose we hired horses and tents, and armed with a circular letter from the Wāly at Damascus, kindly obtained by the Consul (Mr. Jago), we left Beyrout on the 1st of April—the third day after our disembarkation—and journeying across the Lebanon to Zahleh and Baalbek, pushed northwards to the lake and town of Homs, returning by the pass between Lebanon and the Anseiriyeh mountains to Tripoli, where we were caught by the equinoctial gales, and whence, after the delay of two days due to the storm, we returned to Beyrout on the 17th April. The expedition was more successful in its results than we had hoped, and Lieutenant Mantell was not less of opinion than I am myself disposed to be, that the discovery of the true site of Kadesh—a city as old as the time of Moses at least—has been the reward of our investigations.

## BAALBEK.

We were detained for two days at Baalbek awaiting the Wāly's letter; and our studies were, I hope, not without interest. Several inscriptions in the temple-fortress are enumerated by M. Waddington, and others were shown to me in 1873 by Mr. Wright; but one which we lit upon, in a small ruined chamber behind the northern apse of the basilica of Theodosius in the great court, is possibly unknown. It is written in long narrow letters rudely painted in red on white plaster, and has been partly obliterated by the fall of the plaster. The form of the letters seems to indicate Byzantine origin, and the inscription seems probably to be of the date of the erection of this basilica (379 to 395 A.D.). It occupies a space of 1 foot 9 inches by 3 feet 3 inches, but there are traces of other letters to the right. On the left no further letters can have existed, the inscription



being close to the south-west corner of the vault, near the ground. After carefully cleaning the plaster the following letters became clearly visible :

ΠΡΟΧΗ  
 Ν . . . Ρ . . Α . .  
 ΤΟΝΡΥ . . . ΕΝΔΥΑ . .  
 ΡΟCΛΑΜΒΑΝΩΝΦΩCΚΑΙΑΝ  
 Υ . . . ΟΥΠΡΟΦΑΙΘΥ . Ο .

I have not the means at hand for attempting to decipher this text, although several words, including the *προσλαμβανων φως* of the fourth line, are easily legible. It may be noted that the peculiar form of the Ω (which resembles a W), is observable in another inscription at Baalbek, namely, in the round temple which was dedicated in later times by the Christians to St. Barbara. Here, on the stones of the interior, is painted a red cross on a white ground in a yellow circle, with the inscription *τουτωρίκη*, the form of the Ω being that of a W. There are many other crosses cut on this building, and also on the bases of the columns in the Temple of the Sun, or smaller temple. It is curious to observe that the basilica of Theodosius has its apses at the west end, showing that the practice of orientation was not invariably adopted until after the close of the fourth century—a conclusion which agrees with the direction of Constantine's basilica at Jerusalem.

The basilica of Theodosius is built on the same central line with the great temple, of which only the six pillars remain. Lieutenant Mantell took careful azimuth and altitude observations, which determine the bearing of this line as 77° east of true north. The sun rises on this line on April 28th and August 14th (as nearly as can be determined), and sets on February 24th and October 17th.

It may be remarked that the mourning for the sun-god Thammuz occurred in the sixth month of the Jewish year on the fifth day (Ezek, viii, 1-14), or about the middle of August—as nearly as can be reckoned considering the periodical intercalation of the Veadar month. This mourning was succeeded by a joyful feast three days later. Possibly the orientation of the Sun Temple may have some connection with the rising of the sun on this line on the 14th August. It is also noticeable that the Jebel Sunnin appears on the west framed by the pillars of the great temple, the centre line of which passes about 3° to the left of the apparent summit. Whether this be designedly so arranged, or is merely accidental, seems doubtful.

The inscriptions on the bases of the two columns of the portico at Baalbek, attributing the erection of this sanctuary, built in honour "of all the gods of Heliopolis," to Antoninus Pius, and to Julia Donna, wife of Septimus Severus, and daughter of Bassianus, priest of the sun at Emesa (Homs), are well known. In the southern vault, by which the great platform is usually reached, there is, on one of the keystones, a bust of Hercules in high relief, with the inscription *DIVISIO MOSCI*, as recorded by M. Waddington. In the southern parallel vault are inscriptions shown to

me in 1873 by Mr. W. Wright, also on keystones of the arched roof; the first, on the east, DIVISIO CHON; the second near the west, CIRSUS. In the same vault is one keystone ornamented with a female bust in high relief, and another with some floral emblems. These are scarcely visible in the darkness, but the vaults were originally lighted by windows in the arches, which are now filled up with rubbish.

On the north side of the great court are other fragments of inscriptions on pedestals projecting from the walls, doubtless once supporting statues. I do not know whether they have been previously copied, but they are apparently too fragmentary to have any value. The first noticed is:—

. . OHOI . . . NEMI

The second to the left:—

IO . . LANAA.

As the temples of Baalbek were dedicated to all the gods, it becomes of interest to study the symbolism of the niches and other decorated portions. One of the alcoves on the north wall of the great court has five niches with carved roofs, the central one having a head of the sun-god surrounded with rays, like that at Rukhleh on Hermon. On the left is a niche with the figure of a man, and another with an eagle flying among stars. On the right the design represents fishes swimming on a great shell; the fifth design is unfortunately obliterated, but perhaps represented some kind of beast, all creation being thus shown surrounding the sun-god.

Among the busts carved on the roof of the colonnade surrounding the smaller temple may be recognised Diana with her quiver, Ceres with the cornucopia, a winged genius—perhaps Eros or Ganymede, a warrior—possibly Mars, a graceful Dionysius with bunches of grapes, and other figures with attributes less easily interpreted. Dr. Robinson speaks of one as a Leda. Hercules with his lion's skin and club is sculptured, as above noted, in the southern vault. On the west side of the colonnade lies a portion of the fallen roof, with a design representing a female suckling an infant—probably one of the nurse-goddesses of Asia. The size of this block may be imagined by the fact that innumerable names of visitors have been written on a single fold of the drapery.

The frieze which is sculptured on the retaining wall of the raised western cella of the smaller temple has been mutilated by later occupants of the place; but it is sufficiently preserved to show that it originally represented some kind of religious dance. One figure blows a long pipe, a second appears to have some kind of horn, a Pan's pipe lies at the foot of the latter, and to the left the thyrsus is plainly visible in the hand of a long robed figure with floating hair. Beneath this cella is a vault, in which a tomb was discovered, containing human bones and other relics. These would probably belong to the Christian period, when this temple was converted into a church.

The exterior masonry at Baalbek is generally drafted, though not with the regularity of the Temple walls at Jerusalem. A careful examination



shows, however, that the tooling of the stones is entirely different. Those at Jerusalem were worked with a toothed instrument, while at Baalbek a pointed chisel had been employed. The *cris cross* dressing never appears at Baalbek, and seems to be distinctive of the Herodian masonry at Jerusalem. In 1873, Mr. Wright pointed out on the north wall some Greek masons' marks, but I was unable to find these again, perhaps in consequence of the direction of the light.

Magnificent as is the ornamentation of these great temples, the work seems never to have been completed. We were much struck with evidences of unfinished work; capitals sketched in stone, but not cut out; mouldings terminating suddenly, and leaving an unfinished line along the cornice. At the great height at which many of these details are placed, the imperfections are invisible; but in many cases, when closely examined, there can be no doubt that the design has never been completely worked out.

From Baalbek we travelled along the western slopes of the Antilebanon, passing Nahleh, which preserves the Hebrew name Nachal ("a Torrent"), due to the fine stream in the gorge beneath, and where are remains of a temple; Lebweh, the Libo of the Antonine Itinerary, near to which is one of the principal sources of the Orontes; and the village, El 'Ain, which seems not improbably to be the Biblical Ain (Num. xxxiv, 2), south of Riblah; and on the evening of this day (6th), we reached Râs Baalbek, where we found Christian ruins and a tradition of a ruined monastery, with a holy spring, the water of which was said to give milk to any nursing mother who might make a pilgrimage to the spot—a tradition which may be found in other parts of Palestine, as, for instance, at Bethlehem.

From Râs Baalbek we rode north-west to visit the fine blue pool of 'Ain el 'Asy, the largest source of Orontes, situated in a desolate gorge under Lebanon, and thence to the little mediæval hermitage of Mâr Marûn, where the Maronite saint is said to have had his eyes put out by a certain Nicola. The caves are situated in a cliff east of the river, and look down on the rushing stream beneath. A masonry wall, with loopholes, once protected the passage in front of the caves—a narrow ledge of rock; the site was one well fitted for a hermitage, and similar caves occur west of the river, a few miles further north, at a site called Maghâret er Râhib ("Monk's Cave").

#### KAMU'A EL HIRMIL.

About noon we reached the conspicuous monument called Kamû'a el Hirmil, from the village of Hirmil, which is not far from it, on the opposite or western side of the Orontes. The Kamû'a ("Monument") is perhaps the most conspicuous landmark in Syria, standing on the summit of swelling downs of black basalt, with a view extending northwards in the vicinity of Homs, and southwards in fine weather to Hermon. We carefully measured and sketched the details of the monument, but it has

been visited by Robinson and Vandeveld, and the beautiful drawings of detail made by the latter (now in possession of Mr. W. Dickson, in Edinburgh) leave little to be desired. The building appears to have been solid, and is founded on three steps of black basalt. It measures 10 yards side at the base, and consists of two stories each, with flat pilasters and cornice, and a pyramidal superstructure above them. The height, as calculated from the vertical angles taken by Lieutenant Mantell, appears to be as follows (a much higher estimate than that given by Bædieker):—

					ft.	in.
Three basalt steps	....	....	....	....	3	6
First story, including cornice			....	....	28	0
Second „	„	„	....	....	21	0
Pyramid	....	....	....	....	26	0
					<hr/>	
Total	....	....	....	....	78	6

On the lower story are designs in relief. On the east a wild boar hunted by two hounds, flanked by bows and quivers, with spears and other implements represented above. On the north are two stags, one standing, one lying, with horns like the fallow deer—spears and other weapons flank and separate them. On the west are bears, one walking and followed by its young one, the other rising erect. On the south-east the monument, which appears to have suffered from earthquake, has fallen down; and the design on the south side is partly destroyed, the fore-part of a dog pursuing a stag being, however, still visible.

The monument is built of coarse limestone. The walls near its base are covered with the *Wastun*, or “tribe marks,” of the Turkomans, who inhabit the desolate basalt moors which stretch to the north almost to the shores of the Lake of Homs. The details of the cornices and pilasters, some of which we measured carefully, appear to belong to a late period of classic art, and the whole structure seemed most to resemble the work of the second century A.D. in Syria. According to local tradition, the *Kamû'a* is the tomb of a Roman emperor, and there is nothing about the monument which seems to necessitate the idea of any earlier origin. It may be noted that the name *CONNA* occurs in the Antonine Itinerary between Heliopolis (Baalbek) and Laodicea (Tell Neby Mendeh), in just about the proper position for the *Kamû'a*, of which name *CONNA* may be perhaps a corruption.

From the *Kamû'a* we rode north-east to Riblah (Num. xxxiv, 2), a large mud village, with poplars, close to the Orontes on the east bank, and thence to Kuscir, the seat of a Caimakam, or lieutenant-governor, lying some 3 miles south-east of the Lake of Homs. The following day (8th April) we devoted to a thorough examination of the southern and eastern shores of this interesting lake, and on that day we discovered the actual site of the great Hittite city.



## KADESH.

Before detailing our observations on the spot, it will perhaps be best briefly to explain the reasons why special interest attaches to this site. The conquest of the great eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties of Egyptian kings, in the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries before Christ, extended over the greater part of Palestine and Syria, and even as far as Asia Minor. Amongst their most formidable opponents were the Kheta, a light-coloured hairless people, wearing high caps and dresses somewhat similar to those of the Assyrians, but specially distinguished by their pointed and turned up boots, like the modern Turkish slipper. The Kheta are by most antiquarians identified with the Hittites who inhabited Northern Syria (Josh. i, 4), and who had monarchs of their own in the time of Solomon (1 Kings x, 29; 2 Kings vii, 6). Thothmes III encountered these formidable mountaineers in his expedition against Meggido, and one of the pylons at Karnak, discovered by the late Mariette Bey, gives a list of towns, including the names of Kimmesin, Aradus, Aleppo, and other places in Northern Syria conquered by Thothmes III after his subjugation of the plains of Palestine and Galilee.

The most important contest, was, however, that between Rameses II and the Hittites, in the fifth year of the Egyptian monarch's reign, when he marched against the city of Kadesh on Orontes. A formidable league was formed to oppose him. The Wysians, the Teurcians, the Dardanians, the inhabitants of Aradus, Aleppo, and Carchemish, and even the Trojans (Iluna), and the tribes of Mesopotamia (Naharain), are said to have gathered to the Hittite standard, with many other unknown tribes. On the hieroglyphic pictures the Semitic bearded allies are distinguished by dress and arms from the beardless Hittites, who are supposed by some antiquarians to have belonged to a Turanian or Turkoman race from Asia Minor, which had overrun and subjugated the fertile plains of the Orontes, and had even penetrated to the very borders of the Egyptian territory.

According to the ordinary chronology, the expedition of Rameses II occurred while Israel was being oppressed by Jabin, King of Hazar, with his chariots of iron; and, as it is clear from Egyptian records that the Canaanites were allies or tributaries of the Egyptians at this period, it is highly probable that the iron chariots came from Egypt, and belonged to that formidable force of chariots which Rameses brought up to the plains of Kadesh to subdue the Hittites. The route pursued by Rameses was no doubt controlled by the impossibility of crossing rugged mountains with a force of chariots, and the road which we know him to have followed either on his return or on his advance—and probably on both occasions—led along the sea-coast towards Tripoli, passing the Dog River north of Beyrout, where three tablets carved in the rocks by his order still exist.

Thothmes III, who had attacked Kadesh in the thirtieth year of his reign, founded a strong fortress near Aradus (or Rûad) and Zamira (es



Sumra, near the river Eleutherus), at the foot of Lebanon, and it seems probable that Rameses would have advanced from the same fortress—that is to say, from the Western Plain across the pass which separates the Lebanon from the Anseirfyeh mountains, and leads from Tripoli to Homs.

The town of Kadesh on Orontes is generally said to have been on an island in a lake; but the representation in the Ramesseum at Thebes of the great battle between Rameses II and the Hittites appears rather to show a fortress surrounded by a river, and situated not far from the borders of a lake. The name of this river in the hieroglyphs is Arunatha, or Hanruta, and the city is described as lying “on the western bank of Hanruta at the lake of the land of the Amorites.”

The various references to Kadesh on Orontes were kindly collected for me in 1880 by the Rev. H. G. Tomkyns. The portion of the great battle-piece representing the town is to be found copied in Sir G. Wilkinson's “Ancient Egyptians,” vol. i, p. 257. The city is shown with a double moat crossed by bridges; on the left a broad stream flows to the lake, but on the right the piece is obliterated, and it is impossible to see whether the moat ran all round, or whether the town lay between the junction of two streams. Three higher and two smaller towers are shown, and the Hittite army occupies the ground to the left of the river, near the shores of the lake.

Mr. Tomkyns also called my attention to another representation of the town to be found in the Denkmäler of Lepsius (III, plates 158, 159), where the plan is a long oval with a single moat. Three high towers are seen projecting above the rest, and the moat leads downwards on the left, and also away on the right, no bridges being shown.

The lake, near or in which Kadesh stood, has long been identified with the Baheiret Homs, or Baheiret Koteinch, the lake 6 miles long and 2 miles broad, through which the Orontes passes between Riblah and Homs about 8 miles south-west of the latter town. This lake, according to Abu el Feda, the geographer, was called in his times Bahr et Kades; but the title is no longer known, and the actual site of Kadesh was doubtful. It is true that an island exists in this lake, but the Egyptian account of the fight cannot be understood easily on the supposition that this island, three-fourths of a mile distant from the shore, was the place attacked, and I was never able to understand the topography of the battle until, when standing on the true site of Kadesh, it became suddenly all clear.

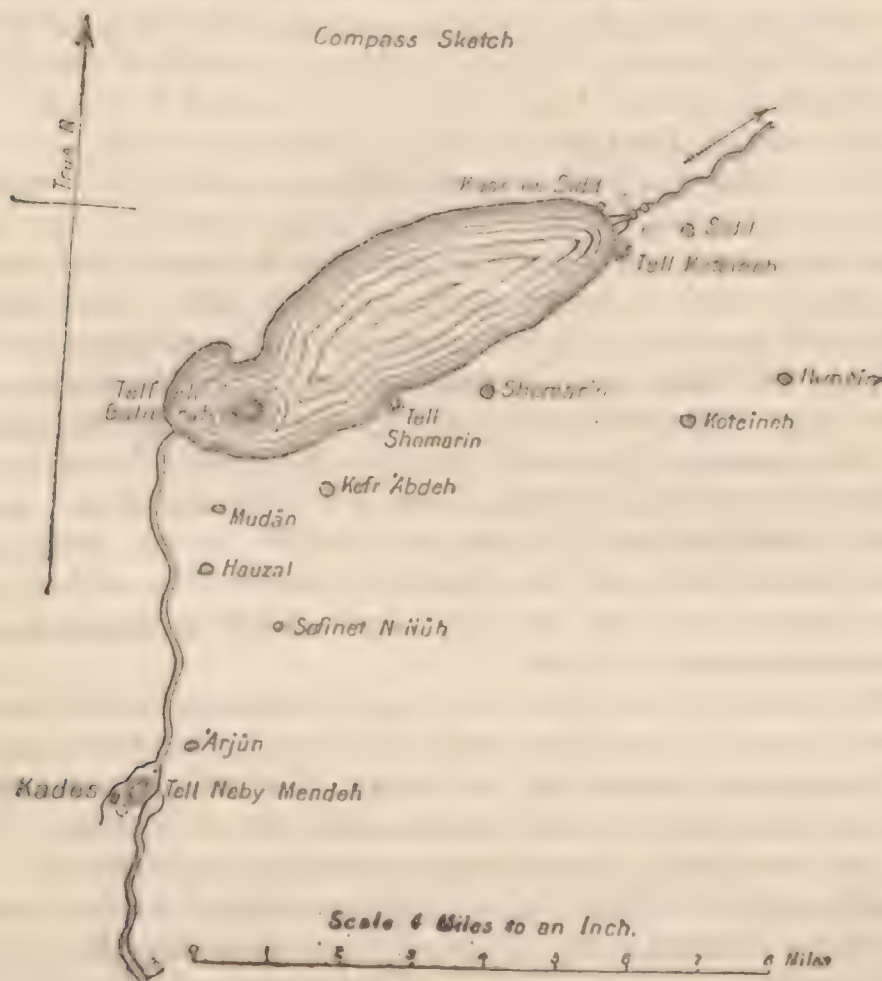
The Egyptian army was arrayed south of the city of Shabatun, with the brigade of Anun behind and the brigade of Ra west of Shabatun. Shasu (or Arab) spies were here brought before the Pharaoh and gave false intelligence to the effect that the King of the Hittites was far away, near Aleppo, whereas he lay really in ambush behind the town of Kadesh. Rameses accordingly began to *descend* towards the region north-west of Kadesh, and there halted to rest. His scouts here informed him of the secret which they extorted from some Hittite prisoners, and the forces near Shabatun were ordered to advance. The King of the Hittites passed over the ditch south of Kadesh and fell upon and routed the brigade of Ra,



which retreated "on the road *upwards* to the place where the king was." Ramesses was thus attacked on his right flank, and his retreat cut off by 2,500 chariots of the allies. He, however, charged the Hittites, and drove them before him to the Orontes, where many of their soldiers and chariots were lost, and where the king of Aleppo was drowned. The battle is said to have been "in the plain of the land of Kadesh." On the following morning, Ramesses attacked the city, which yielded to him, and a peace was made with the Hittite king and written on a plate of silver, the text of which venerable treaty remains to the present day preserved in the official account of this campaign.

Such, then, was the problem to be solved—the discovery of a moated city on Orontes near the lake of Homs, in such a position as to agree with

LAKE OF HOMS



the minute description of the Egyptian scribe. This site we lit upon unexpectedly in the important ancient city generally known as Tell Neby Mendeh, situated on the left bank of Orontes about four English miles south of the lake of Homs: for we discovered that the name Kades was known to all the inhabitants of the vicinity as applying to extensive ruins on the south side of this great Tell, while Neby Mendeh is the name of an important sacred shrine on the highest part of the hill, close to which a

small Arab village has now grown up. Not only is the name of Kadesh thus preserved, but in looking down from the summit of the Tell, we appeared to see the very double moat of the Egyptian picture, for while the stream of Orontes is dammed up so as to form a small lake, some 50 yards across on the south-east of the site, a fresh brook flows on the west and north to join the river, and an outer line of moat is formed by earthen banks, which flank a sort of aqueduct parallel with the main stream. The united waters flow northwards from the Tell, and fall into the lake of Homs. Thus only on the south is Kadesh not naturally protected with a wet ditch, and the moat may very possibly have formerly been completed by cutting a cross channel from Orontes to the northern stream.\*

We spent some considerable time in examining this important site, and in taking compass observations from the Tell. The mound is remarkably conspicuous from all sides, and the view from the top is extensive. On the south the plain of the Buk'a is visible, stretching between the Lebanon and Antilebanon, as far as the ridge or shed on which the Kami'a stands up against the sky-line. To the east is the rich fertile plain which extends from Orontes, some 20 miles, to the foot of the mountains, and the fine peaks above Palmyra, streaked with patches of snow, form the extreme distance. On the north-east the plains of Homs stretch to the horizon, and great Tells, the sites of buried cities, rise from the flat expanse, while a dusty mound, and a few white domes and minarets, with dark gardens to the left, mark the position of Homs itself. On the north the long narrow lake gleams between its shallow marshy shores, and three large Tells, one in the water, two on the eastern shore, are specially conspicuous. The north-west shore is bare and black, the basalt moors rising westwards, to form a long low ridge, and dotted here and there with black Turkoman encampments, while behind these downs is seen the distant chain of the Anseiriyeh mountains, with the great crusading fortress of Krak des Chevaliers (Kal'at el Hosi) in a conspicuous position on the heights.

To the south of these mountains a gap occurs, and on the west and south-west the ridge of Lebanon, with dusky brushwood and rocky spurs, rises to the snow-clad summit of the Cedars. The rich plateau east of the Orontes is scattered with mud villages, with here and there a group of poplars, but the basalt moors are almost entirely uncultivated. In the arable land a race of Fellahin, whose black beards and hooked noses bear a strong family likeness to the feature of the ancient Assyrians, as shown on the bas-reliefs, is settled; but the Turkomans, who may perhaps be considered to be the modern representatives of the Hittites, are encamped on the moors, and are found far west in the pastures below Kal'at el Hosi.

\* Dr. Robinson states that the only traveller who had visited Tell Neby Mendeh in his time was Dr. Thomson, of Beyrout, who in 1846 found a ditch running from Orontes to the stream on the west (which he calls el Mukadiyeh). This ditch we did not see, but it possibly exists still rather further south than the point on which we followed the stream. Dr. Thomson especially notices that the Tell was thus isolated on an island between the two streams.



The scene is perhaps almost unchanged from that on which Rameses looked down as he crossed the western watershed and descended to the south-west shores of the Hittite lake ; and the same mixture of Turanian and Semitic nationalities which students trace on the walls of the Ramesseum is still observable by the traveller in the vicinity of Kadesh.

Dr. Robinson, whose journey only extended as far north as Riblah, identifies the site of Tell Neby Mendeh with the Laodicea of Lebanon (also called Laodicea Scabiosa), mentioned by Ptolemy and Polybius, and shown on the Peutinger Tables. The distance from Homs, and the fact that Polybius mentions a lake and marshes near this Laodicea, serve to confirm this identification, which does not in any way interfere with the supposition that the town was formerly called Kadesh. Laodicea ad Libanum (as it is called by Strabo and Pliny) was one of the six towns named by Seleucus Micator (about 300 B.C.) in honour of his mother Laodice ; and the fact that the site at Neby Mendeh was that of an ancient capital of the district, would naturally have commended it to the Greek monarch, while at the present day we find, as in so many other cases in Palestine, that the ancient Semitic appellation has survived the more modern foreign title, and that Laodicea is once more known as Kadesh.

Tell Neby Mendeh is a great mound without any trace of rock—so far as we could see—extending about 400 yards in a direction about 40° east of true north. The highest part is on the north-east, where is a Moslem graveyard looking down on gardens in the flat tongue between the two streams. The height is here perhaps 100 feet above the water. On the south-west the mound sinks gradually into the plough land. The village is situated about the middle of the Tell, with the shrine of Neby Mendeh—a large square building with a very white dome, at the north-west angle of the group of houses, which are rudely built of basalt chips in mortar, with mud roofs. Large mud ovens are erected east of the village. On the south-west, at the stream of el Mukadiyah, is the Tâhûnet Kades, a modern mill built of older materials, chiefly of basalt, and immediately north of this the brook is crossed by a bridge of one arch, while a second arch crosses the outer channel or aqueduct, these bridges being just in the same position in which they appear on the Egyptian picture, and while on the one hand they are of modern masonry, on the other they lead to roads, the line of which is probably unaltered. The stream is fresh and flows quickly ; we saw a good many fish swimming in it, and fragments of column shafts lay on the ground near the mill and the bridges.

The principal ruins are on the flat ground east of the mill. Here in 1864 Dr. Thomson found the peasants breaking up the stones ; and long trenches have been dug, from which blocks of limestone have been excavated and carried away. The ground is strewn with chips of limestone and basalt, and fragments of pottery all over the ploughland. A piece of wall is still standing, built of small rubble in hard mortar, which is full of pounded pottery and charcoal, while courses of thin well-burnt bricks, like those used by the Romans, are built in between the courses of rubble. Still further east are the foundations of a building called el Kamû'a,

about 50 feet square, with remains of a doorway in the south-east corner. Some broken pillar shafts lie near, and the walls appear to have been ornamented with pilasters in low relief, the details of which, as well as those of a fragment of cornice, resemble the moulding at Kamû'a el Hirmil. These probably are remains of the Laodicea of later times, for even in the early Christian period this city was the see of a bishop.

Recrossing the western bridges we followed the stream of el Mukadtych southwards, and found lying in a field a fragment of sculpture representing a seated figure without head or shoulders. It was of very rude execution, and probably not very ancient. No inscription was visible on the stone.

Crossing to the south of the village we regained the great dam with sluices which is built right across the Orontes, at the foot of the Tell on the east. It occupies the position of the eastern bridge shown in the Egyptian picture, and though the masonry is apparently modern, the foundations may perhaps be ancient. The mill on the dam has several fragments of ancient masonry built into its walls, and the door lintel has a curious design, with an Arab inscription much defaced, and a central circle enclosing what appears to be a sabre or cutlass.

Near the eastern end of the dam—which is some 25 yards or more in length—a Greek tombstone has been built into the causeway, and had apparently been lately excavated. The following letters were very clearly legible on the stone which lies on its side :—

OABI  
 TYMBOCEΠEI ....  
 MACEAAAYAXENATN°  
 AMMAI CHNAΔEΠIA  
 TPIC . . OCYNHC  
 TEPEIAN  
 ETΩN  
 NA

So far as a cursory examination throws light on the text, it would appear to have belonged to a priest of Emesa (*Αμμιαστυ*), and to contain his age at the time of his death (*ΝΔ*). This inscription proves the late period of construction of the upper part of the masonry in the dam.

The inhabitants of the village were quite unaccustomed to seeing Franks, and much alarmed at our appearance accompanied by soldiers. They denied that any inscriptions existed on the spot, and would not allow that they had ever found coins or other antiquities in digging. Nevertheless, I have rarely met with any site which seemed more likely to repay careful examination, and it seems highly probable that, if a mine could be driven through the Tell, Hittite remains might be discovered. It is just such a mound which has lately, at Jerâblûs (the northern Hittite capital of Carchemish on Euphrates), produced the valuable sculptures now in the British Museum. The interest taken by Professor Sayce and other learned authorities in the recovery of monuments similar to the



Hamath stones and the inscriptions of Carchemish and Asia Minor, would, I think, lead them to attach great importance to a complete examination of the ruins at the site of Kadesh, which, it will, I think, be generally admitted we have now at last recovered. The suggestion that the Hamath stones were of Hittite origin, was, I believe, first put forward in 1873 by the Rev. W. Wright, of Damascus, and it is now generally admitted on the authority of Professor Sayce. The Hamath stones were cut in basalt, and the chief material used in the village houses at Tell Neby Mendeh is the same—a hard compact volcanic stone. It is possible that a minute examination of the village buildings, and of the interior of the shrine of Neby Mendeh, might result in the discovery of inscribed stones even above the surface; but we were unable to see or hear of any such during our visit.

Tell Neby Mendeh appears to be a sacred site of great antiquity, and this again is not unnatural when we reflect that the name Kadesh itself indicates a "sacred" city consecrated to the sun-god, or to his consort Astarte. Neby Mendeh is said to have been a son of "Our Lord Jacob," though which of the twelve tribes, is intended—unless the word be a corruption of Manasseh—it is not easy to understand. The spring from which the tributary stream of el Mukadiyeh flows is called et Tannur ("the Oven") a term applied (I believe in the Koran itself) to a certain deep chasm, whence, according to Meslem tradition, the waters of the Deluge first broke forth; and it is evident that a tradition of Noah's flood still exists in connection with the Tell and the lake, for some three miles north of the Tell and east of the river there is a curious site, known as Sefnet Neby Nûh, "the Ark of the Prophet Noah."

It is a great platform of earth, some 300 yards square, with small mounds at the four angles, as if representing the remains of towers. It is surrounded with a ditch about 40 feet deep and wide. No traces of masonry are visible, and the platform is covered with furrows, having been converted into a ploughed field by the peasantry. The direction of the sides is about north-east and south-west. An ancient road runs northwards, a little to the west, and on this, close to 'Arjûn, about half-a-mile from Tell Neby Mendeh, we found a Roman milestone lying fallen—another detail which favours the identification of the Tell with the Laodicea of the Itineraries.

Before quitting the subject of Kadesh on Orontes, a word must be said as to the position of Shabatuna, the place whence Rameses II advanced to attack the Hittite capital. This town or fortress was situated north of the position occupied by the most advanced brigade of the Egyptian army. Rameses, at sunrise, went further upwards, and arrived south of Shabatuna; he then went "further downwards," and came to the vicinity of the lake. The defeated brigade of Rameses retreated "on the road upwards to the place where the king was." The final advance on Kadesh was made in the evening, and the Hittites were driven into the Orontes.

Now all these indications of topographical features are easily explained on the supposition that Rameses was advancing by the pass which leads



from the plains of Tripoli to the lake of Homs. It is evident that in an advance of some 15 or 20 miles from the vicinity of Shabatuna, the Pharaoh crossed a ridge and descended into the plains north-west of Kadesh, near the southern shores of the Hittite lake.

Just such a ridge intervenes between the broad plains of Homs and the small basin called el Bukei'a, which lies west of the watershed, and which is commanded by the castle on the mountain to the north, the great stronghold Kal'at el Hosn. The lake of Homs is some 1,500 or 1,600 feet above the Mediterranean, and the top of the basalt ridge forming the pass is probably about 2,000 feet above the same level. The Bukei'a basin, which is a fertile plain about 5 miles wide, full of springs, which feed the river Eleutherus, dotted with clumps of oak and covered with Turkoman encampments, is surrounded with basalt hills, 400 to 500 feet high. The great Crusading fortress, on its steep limestone ridge, looks down on the whole region. To the west, the Mediterranean is seen beyond the low hills, and the broad seaside plain; to the south, the spurs of Lebanon rise from the Bukei'a basin; to the south-east, the greater part of the lake of Homs is seen, with two black mounds, one being the Tell Neby Mendeh, the other the island in the lake itself.

A narrow pass is seen leading through the basalt ridge from the western basin to the long flat eastern slope which stretches to the borders of the lake. In the Bukei'a basin, south of Kal'at el Hosn, a suitable situation for the great camp of the Egyptian armies might be found. By the eastern pass Ramses would have ascended and again descended in a distance of some 15 miles before reaching the battle-field. On the west an equally easy line of advance would have brought the Egyptian reinforcements from the sea-coast to the Bukei'a basin. The question thus naturally suggests itself whether Kal'at el Hosn may not stand on the site of Shabatuna, and of that fortress at the foot of Lebanon built by Thothmes III., not far from the river Eleutherus.

I find that this identification has already been proposed in 1874 in a paper communicated by M. Blanche, the French Vice-Consul at Tripoli, to the Institut Egyptien, on 7th August, and, through the kindness of this gentleman, I am able to give the arguments in favour of this view, which agree with the discovery of Kadesh at Tell Neby Mendeh.

The last syllable Na, in the name Shabatuna, is probably an Egyptian affix, such as was commonly added to Semitic words. The word to be understood is the Hebrew Shabat, or Sabbath, which, in modern Arabic, would take the form Sebta, "rest" (as in the case of the Ballûtet Sebta at Hebron). Now, immediately north of Kal'at el Hosn is the deep gorge in which the white monastery of St. George, with its red-tiled roof, is seen nestling; and about a mile below the monastery is the wonderful intermittent spring whence rises the Nahr es Sebta, or "River of Rest," the Sabbatic river of the ancients (see "Wars," vii, 5, 1), which still flows on an average once a week from its cavern. Here, then, in the immediate vicinity of Kal'at el Hosn, the name Shabat still exists, and is known from a remote period to have always existed, and there seems, therefore, no



good reason to doubt that the fortress of the Crusaders occupied the site of an older Egyptian stronghold commanding the important pass from the sea-coast to Tripoli.

Our attention, after leaving the site of Kadesh, was devoted to the examination of the lake itself, which is generally allowed to be mainly and perhaps altogether artificial. We visited the shore at the point nearest to the island, which is called Tell el Baheirah, "The Mound of the Lake." The shore is flat and marshy; the island is about three quarters of a mile from the mainland, and perhaps a quarter of a mile in length. We found it to be entirely laid out in gardens, which are cultivated with a mattock. A few huts (el Mezrah) exist on the south-west, the peasantry crossing over on rafts formed of inflated skins, which are, however, only large enough for one man each, and quite unmanageable in a wind. Three of these rafts we saw, on each of which a man stood punting with a long pole, and drifting eastwards to the shore. We were informed that it would take five hours to make a raft, and that with the wind in the west the island could not be reached from that side of the lake - if, indeed, the raft could be used at all. The idea of constructing boats or large rafts to convey animals seems never to have occurred to the natives; but my interest in the island was much lessened by the previous discovery of the site of Kadesh on the mainland. There is no reference in the Egyptian records to any attack on an island situate at so great a distance from the shore - no account of rafts or boats; while the picture of Kadesh shows a double moat with bridges, indicating a river rather than a lake; for the Hittites can scarcely be supposed, even if we consider the scale of the Egyptian picture to be distorted, to have constructed bridges nearly a mile in length, from the island to the shore, as would be necessary if this part of the lake were as wide at that time as it now is.

Leaving the island, therefore, unvisited, we rode along the right bank of the lake, near which there are several mud villages and fine corn-fields and lentil patches. Tell Shomarin is a conspicuous green mound on the edge of the water, and Tell Koteineh a larger one, with a flat top and evidently artificial. Excavations in these Tells, as well as in two others between Kadesh and the lake, might lead to interesting results. On the north-east there are low cliffs of white limestone, but on the north-western shore the basalt appears to come down almost to the water, and the only traces of habitation are a few miserable ruins of basaltic stone, among which the Turkoman encampments are spread out.

Our camp was pitched close to the Sidd, or great dam, which was built across the mouth of the lake, and which banked up the waters to a height of 10 feet above the level of the original river bed. The existence of the lake is mainly, if not altogether, due to the construction of this fine engineering work, and the original "Lake of the Land of the Amorites" would probably only have occupied the southern or upper part of the present basin, where the shores are flattest.

The view from the Sidd in the evening was interesting, though not remarkably picturesque. The flat basaltic slopes on the right, concealed



the pass by which Ramesses approached. On the south-west, the black mounds of Kadesh and of the island were conspicuous, and Lebanon, with its snowy ridge, rose behind them. A strong breeze blew down the lake, which was covered with tiny "white horses," and broke in surf on its shingly shore. Great piles of cumulus towered above the mountains, and a flock of pelicans was soaring over the water, flapping slowly against the wind.

The lake of Homs is mentioned by Talmudic writers under its present name as Yam Hemetz (Tal. Jer. Kilaim, lx, 5; Tal. Bab. Baba Bathra 74 *b*), and the Rabbis state that it was not a natural lake, but a reservoir formed by Diocletian at the junction of several rivers. In the time of Abu el Feda tradition ascribed the building of the dam to the favourite Arab hero, Alexander the Great; but while we have evidence that the construction dates from the early Christian centuries, at latest, we have no sound reason for supposing that the Hittites were the original engineers of the dam. The object of constructing this great work was that of heading up the waters of the Orontes for the purpose of irrigating the plains round Homs. A great aqueduct between earthen banks (after the Egyptian and Chaldean fashion) leads from the east end of the Sidd to the gardens of Homs. Similar channels once existed west of the stream, and other earthen aqueducts occur near Kadesh; and again, further south, running across the cultivated plain from the Orontes, which flows west of it.

We examined the Sidd or dam carefully, but the waves were breaking over it, and the water was rushing through the ruined sluice and through the gaps in the masonry, so that it was impossible so early in the year to walk along it. The total length is about half a mile, and the thickness 25 feet at the top. The dam is built in the shape of a very flat V with the point towards the lake. The difference of level between the lake surface and the stream below the dam is as nearly as possible 10 feet. On the outer or lower side, the thickness is increased by stepping the masonry regularly in each course. On the inside the construction is probably the same. The masonry is a coursed rubble of flat pieces of basalt, undressed, set in hard white mortar full of pounded pottery, with a little charcoal. The rubble was originally faced with small ashlar, also of basalt. There were at the western end buttresses on the lower side at frequent intervals. Near the centre of the dam there appears to be a pillar or vertical pier of masonry. This could not, however, be reached. The general impression obtained, by comparing the masonry with other monuments I have examined in Palestine, is, that the whole structure is Roman work; and the Talmudic story, which attributes the dam to Diocletian, may perhaps be founded on fact.

There were several sluices and passages for the water, and masonry aqueducts leading off at different levels. The various streams now run at will, from all sides, and unite to form the main stream of Orontes at the mills about half a mile below the dam. At the west end of the dam a small mediæval tower has been built on a solid rubble base. It consists of a vaulted chamber with an upper story without roof. The walls are



battlemented; the total height is 28 feet; the exterior measures 28 feet by 25 feet on plan. There are loopholed windows, and on the east a doorway 8 feet from the ground, the lintel of which consists of an inscribed block of basalt, which has been built in sideways, and is evidently not *in situ*; the inscription is boldly cut on a sort of tablet surmounted with a rosette, possibly meant for a cross in a circle, but much worn by the weather. The text is as below, and may possibly have some connection with the history of the dam. Of the tower and the lintel-stone we took careful measurements, plans, and sketches, as well as of the masonry of the dam. The inscription is perfect, and too well preserved to allow of any hesitation in transcribing.

ETOY  
CHAY  
IAA  
AAI  
OCIAAAE  
OYAAAYH  
EXAIPE

It contains a date, and appears to be of early Byzantine origin, from the form of the letters—as compared with the dated inscriptions of the Hauran, collected by Waddington.

A small town once stood on either bank of the Orontes below the Sidd. Tradition says that the village Sidd (which takes its name from the “dam”) was removed from this site to its present position down on the small Survey which accompanied this report. There are five basalt shafts 32 inches in diameter, lying about 300 yards from the little town, which is called Kusr es Sidd, on the left bank of the river. They at present surround a modern tomb made of mud and stones, and covered with rags stuck on little stakes, so as to form streamers. A stone cut into the shape of an arch 3 feet 2 inches diameter, and 1 foot thick (a single block of basalt) has been laid on the south side of the tomb to form a kibleh, and piles of basalt chips are heaped up on the fallen pillar-shafts. The site is thus evidently a sacred shrine, to which pilgrimages are made, and it is called “Jeriyet Aly,” “the slave of Aly.” Probably this modern Wely marks the spot where a small temple was once dedicated, perhaps by the builders of the Sidd.

Such are the main results of our visit to Kadesh on Orontes, including the recovery of the name at a site which fully agrees with the monumental records, and with the topographical notices which are to be found in the great Court Epic of Pentaur; the recovery of traditions showing the site to be an ancient sacred place; the exploration of the lake and dam; and the examination of the site of Shabatuna and of the route of the Egyptian advance. The Survey of the lake is laid down from compass observations taken at various points, and the eastern shore may be looked upon as well fixed, while the western shore is more roughly indicated.

## APPENDIX.

[In connection with the discovery of Kadesh may be read Professor Sayce's learned paper on the "Monuments of the Hittites," published in the Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology (vol. vii, Part II). These remains and inscriptions—the reading of which will probably throw as much light upon the early history of the Bible as the cuneiform inscriptions have already done—are found scattered over a wide area: at Karabel, on the road from Ephesus to Sardes, which shows that they extended as far as the seaboard; in Central Asia Minor, Cilicia, Phrygia, and Lycaonia; at Aleppo, Carchemish, and Hamath, in the earliest times the "children of Heth" were in the south of Palestine. This sacred city on the Orontes has now been found; of Jerusalem itself it is said (Ezek. xvi, 3) that her "father was an Amorite and her mother a Hittite." As regards the characteristics of Hittite art, they are thus described by Professor Sayce:—

"It is modelled upon the bas-relief of Nineveh, or rather the gems of ancient Babylonia, and like them represents human figures and other objects in relief upon stone. But it has a peculiar roundness and thickness; the limbs of the figures are short and thick, and there is little attempt made to delineate the muscles. The feet are shod with boots which have the ends turned up, the head is usually covered with the so-called Phrygian cap, and a spear is often placed in one hand. A modification of the winged solar disk of Assyria is not unusual, and at Eyuk we find a representation of a doubled-headed eagle, which seems the prototype of the Seljukian eagle of later days. At Eyuk also we have two sphinxes, which, though modelled on an Egyptian model, differ profoundly from the Egyptian type, while the mode in which the feet are represented reminds us of the prehistoric statue of Niobe on Mount Sipylus. At Boghaz Keui, the female deities wear mural crowns, from which we may infer the Hittite origin of this decoration of the Ephesian Artemis. The mural crown seems to have been a specially Hittite invention. On the other hand, the general character of the sculptures at Boghaz Keui, where some of the deities, for instance, are represented as standing upon animals, shows its dependence not on Assyrian, but on early Babylonian art."

As regards their history, it is learned from Assyrian and Egyptian monuments that they were the leading people of Western Asia from the seventeenth to the eighteenth centuries B.C. Their city of Kadesh, so curiously found by Lieutenant Conder, disappears from history after the thirteenth century B.C. Their city of Carchemish (now Jubis) was finally captured by Sargon, B.C. 717, when it became the seat of an Assyrian Satrap. Their connection with the Bible narrative is well known.

Professor Sayce is of opinion that the Hittites did not speak a Semitic language: and that they did not belong to the Semitic race. "Their features and physical type are those of a northern people, and their northern origin is confirmed by their use of boots, which is, at least, as old



as the beginning of their writing, since the boot is the commonest of the Hittite hieroglyphics. The boots are always represented with turned up toes, like the boots of the mountaineers of Asia Minor and Greece at the present day."—ED.]

## HOMS.

From the lake we rode to the city of Homs, where we remained for the Sunday. I made such inquiries as were possible respecting the site of the famous Sun Temple at this place, of which the Roman Emperor Heliogabalus was high priest, but no known remains exist, although Homs is full of ancient pillars and stones, with Greek inscriptions. A possible site is the great mound of the fortress south of the town, where a sacred place called Mes-haf 'Othmân still stands. The great mosque contains the remains of the basilica built by Constantine; several of the pillar bases being *in situ*, while capitals of early Byzantine character are scattered about the courtyard. On one of the bases we were shown the following inscription:

KYKΛOTEPHC KOΣMOIO TYPHC BACIAEYC EKO . .  
EΘNEAΠAIP AM XONTACOFAICTP ECINHNIOX . .

## KALAT EL HOSN.

Our return journey from Homs led along Midhat Pasha's new road, north-west of the lake, and we made a long detour to visit the magnificent castle Kalat el Hosn, which has been already described and explored by M. Rey. It is probably the finest specimen of Crusading work in Syria, and almost perfect, the battlements and machicoulis still remaining in place. We made a collection of masons' marks, some of which are unlike any previously collected in other parts of Palestine. Many of these occur on drafted stones, the drafts having (as at Sôba and in other instances) the diagonal dressing distinctive of mediæval work. This is an additional instance of the fact (which has not as yet been generally grasped) that the Crusading masons in Syria, as in Cyprus and other places, made use of the draft in masonry which they themselves hewed. It has often been supposed that such masonry was always more ancient, and was re-used by the Crusaders; but the presence of masons' marks on the drafted stones, and that such stones are often cut in the form of voussoirs for pointed arches, seem conclusively to prove that drafted masonry was actually cut by the twelfth century builders for use in their fortress walls.

There is a finely executed Gothic inscription on the walls of the chapel at Kal'at el Hosn. I find, however, that it has already been deciphered by M. Rey. The text, which has many abbreviations, reads:—

Sit tibi Copia.  
Sit Sapientia  
Formaque detur  
Inquinat Omnia  
Sola Superbia  
Si Comitetur.

## TRIPOLI.

From Kal'at el Hosn, we travelled to Tripoli, where we were detained by the storm, and were most kindly and hospitably received by M. Blanche, the French Vice-Consul. From him I gathered many interesting traditions and other indications connected with the neighbourhood. We also visited the Dancing Derwish Monastery, and were much interested in the details of the symbolism observable in the performance, which, as is generally allowed, had its origin in an astronomical worship, the tradition of which is, however, apparently lost to the performers.

The ancient name of Tripoli is unknown, but the name Kadishah, applying to the river on which it is built, may indicate that here also an ancient Kadesh is to be sought. North of the town is the sacred shrine of el Bedâwa, which M. Blanche assures me was an old church of St. Anthony of Padua, of whose title the Arab is a corruption.

In the courtyard is a basin or tank containing fish, which are held sacred by the Moslems. Vows and offerings are made to them, and in time of war they are said to disappear, and to depart to fight for the Prophet against the infidels, returning to Tripoli on the conclusion of peace. This occurred even during the late war with Russia, and no doubt accounts for the successful defence of Plevna. M. Péretic, at Beyrout, assures me that there is another tank of these sacred fish at Acre, in the great mosque, and when we remember the sacred fish of the lake of Derceto at Ascalon, and the sacred bath of Venus mentioned in the Mishna as existing at Acre, there seems good reason to suppose that in these traditions we have the survival of the Dagon and Derceto worship of the Phœnicians.

Several other curious traditions have been related to me recently and carefully noted, but the only other point of interest for which space can be found in this long report is the curious chapel of Marina, south of Tripoli, to which our attention was drawn by M. Blanche, and which we visited on our way down the coast.

## MARINA.

A ledge of limestone, with a rock-wall facing east, and curving out above so as to form a natural roof, here constitutes a narrow platform with a rock-screen, which has been at one time covered with frescoes painted on a coating of cement. The greater part of the cement has fallen off, but one row of designs with inscriptions is left. A niche in the wall formed a sort of apse, and seems still to be used, for the blackened stone gave evidence that some kind of lamp had recently been burnt before the picture. The place seems to have belonged to a hermitage, and various caves and rock-excavations were visible to the south. A pit, as if for a tomb, is sunk at one end of the platform, and another smaller recess under an arcosolium occurs in the rock-wall.

The frescoes were originally painted in a series of square partitions,



but at a later period a large head has been painted over the older designs, and is flanked with coarse letters nearly double the size of the older inscriptions. The designs are as follow, commencing on the right :

First panel.—A saint visiting another saint represented as in bed, while a third figure, also with a nimbus, stands behind ; the saint raises his hand as though about to heal the invalid. Above, in Gothic characters, carefully painted in white on a blue ground, are the letters PATMRSS.

Second Panel.—A child with a nimbus, brought by a long-robed figure on the right to another saint on the left. The older inscription is nearly illegible, but the Gothic letters remaining of it read thus :

. . . PTSABATS

SPE . .

Over the lower line a larger inscription has been painted in characters and with contractions similar to those found in the thirteenth century inscriptions at Bethlehem.

AH MITPIOC

Third Panel.—A robed saint with nimbus, kneeling to a second on the right, who appears to extend a cloak or some similar article towards him.

The Gothic inscription is mutilated, but the letters remaining are SICUT -- LO -- IT : ANTE ABATE PROTE -- FILIA -- SUAM : beneath which is the remainder of the Greek inscription on panel No. 2, viz. :

ΘΑΠΙΟC

Fourth Panel.—Two long-robed figures, with nimbi, are standing in conversation. The Gothic inscription is almost illegible, the words GEORGII -- NIRIA alone being plainly recoverable.

Fifth Panel.—A large design of the Saviour, seated, with the Virgin to the right (spectator's left), and Joseph to the left. The panel measures 72 inches in length by 30 in height. The original Gothic inscriptions read MATER and AS IOSEPH ABTI, over which the Greek texts appear, much contracted, but reading *Μητρης θεου* and *Ιω* on either side of the four letters IC. XC. (Jesus Christ).

Sixth Panel.—A man in a tree bearing apples ; beneath is a hart or stag ; and some native visitor has added a lion in black ink, and signed his sketch in Arabic.

Seventh Panel.—A nimbus only is left, with an inscription in Gothic letters above, ANUNCIAT : VIRGOMARIA, showing that the design represented the Annunciation. The Greek letters, *ΜΡ...ΘΥ* ("Mother of God") are scrawled across the Latin inscription, and the whole of the fresco is thus converted into a kind of pictorial palimpsest.

Eighth Panel.—A saint, with a hammer, probably Christ as the carpenter. There is no Gothic lettering visible, but the Greek reads thus :

ΗΑΠΜΑΡΙΑ

This, though much confused, is evidently to be rendered *H. Ayia Maria*, and belongs to the design on the seventh panel to the right.

We took a sketch with dimensions of these frescoes, and a rough plan

of the place. In sheet XVIII of the "Memoirs" a similar case will be found (Section B., s. v. Deir el Kelt), where inscriptions of two periods occur above one another. The Latin inscriptions at Marina cannot well be earlier than the twelfth century, and the character of the Greek letters appears to belong to the thirteenth—as determined by M. du Voglié.

Returning from Tripoli by land to Beyrout, we found Messrs. Black and Armstrong awaiting us, and commenced our active preparation for the Eastern Survey. Meantime I may, in conclusion, express my conviction that a most interesting field of operations awaits the archaeologist almost untouched in Northern Syria.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

## II.

JERUSALEM, 24th May, 1881.

In marching down the coast from Beyrout to Jerusalem, we halted for two days at Tyre, for the purpose of investigating more closely the various points which have given rise to discussion in connection with its topography. The most important of these are: 1st, the extent of the ancient city; 2nd, the position of the Egyptian harbour; 3rd, the site of the Temple of Melkarth; 4th, the extent and situation of Palæ Tyrus.

### I.—THE ANCIENT SITE OF TYRE.

It is generally agreed that the original city stood on the islands and reefs which were separated from the shore by a channel, filled up by the mound which Alexander the Great constructed during the course of his famous siege of Tyre. Two islands originally existed, and are traditionally believed to have been connected by a mound, constructed by Hiram, the contemporary of Solomon. A careful inspection seems to lead to the conclusion that very little, if any, subsequent change has occurred since this connecting mound was made, and that the smaller island, which then lay south of the main reef, is represented by the promontory which projects at the sea corner of the present headland, enclosed by the Crusading walls. That the reefs presented in the middle ages the same outline as at present, seems to be clearly indicated by the line of the 12th century fortifications, which rise close to the cliffs from the flat ledges of rock existing everywhere, both on the west and on the south. The promontory, representing the smaller island, rises some 30 or 40 feet above the sea, and is bounded by cliffs of soft sandy limestone above the flat reefs. There are no indications of any artificial alterations on these cliffs, and it seems very improbable that the action of the sea can have materially diminished the area of the island, for on the south, as will be seen immediately, the remains of the Egyptian harbour are clearly



traceable, while all along the west the reefs have been hewn, with great patience and ingenuity, so as to form a series of small harbours, landing-places for boats, and shallow docks, &c., salt-pans, which are probably attributable to the early Phœnician period of Tyrian prosperity. In one place only on the west is the line of reefs broken, by a little round bay with a fine sandy beach measuring some 70 yards in depth, and perhaps 100 yards across north-east and south-west. It is probable that the original channel, dividing the small southern island from the larger one, here ran out on the west. On the south also there is a corresponding bay, but much shallower, measuring about 200 yards east and west, which may define the limits of the smaller island on the east. The area thus limited appears originally to have included about four or five acres. On this islet stood a temple, which the Greeks called that of Jupiter Olympius. A sarcophagus measuring 7 feet by 5 feet 10 inches and 2 feet 5 inches in height (outside dimensions) lies on the smaller island. It is quite plain, and cubical in shape, with a pillow for the head of the corpse cut inside at one end.

The western flat reefs, below the Crusading walls, extending to the north-west end of the larger island, present many points of interest. Fragments of the mediæval fortifications, rubble masonry boarded with pillar shafts of granite and syenite, lie fallen upon them. The rise of the tide (about 18 inches) brings the water, on a calm day, almost on a level with the reefs, and in stormy weather they must be partially covered. In the summer, however, safe landing places, and channels for small boats, occur in every direction, many bearing signs of having been artificially enlarged and altered, while in other parts there are remains of an ancient concrete pavement, full of fragments of pottery, which seems to have been spread over the sharp and uneven ridges, to form an open quay close to shore. In one place there is a basin some 3 feet deep and 40 to 50 yards long, surrounded on all sides by the reef. It has no entrance, but a boat could be easily dragged over the narrow rock-mole on the outside, and the basin would thus form a rude dock for the smaller craft in summer time. North of this, on a somewhat higher level, are the basins called *Burak es Saltb*, "Pools of the Cross"—four large salt-pans divided by cross-walls of rock some 3 feet thick. One of these pools measured 35 feet by 22 feet, the depth being about 3 or 4 feet apparently. These excavations were full of sea water, but are no longer used as salt-pans. Many smaller pans exist close by, and in other places along the reefs, resembling those at Ath lit, which are still known by their proper name, *el Mellâhak*.\*

Near the north-west angle of the reefs there is a heap of fallen pillar shafts, which, though quite black externally, show, when broken, a fine pink granite. They are some 2 feet in diameter, and look at first sight

\* It may be remarked that the existence of these salt-pans and jetties forms an argument—were a new one needed—against the exploded notion of the partial submergence of the site of Tyre in consequence of earthquake shocks—an error which seems to have originated in the account given by Benjamin of Tudela.—C. R. C.

like the remains of a small shrine on the reef, but possibly they may have been collected by the Crusaders for use in the walls, or for the construction of a jetty, like those which they formed at Cesarea, Ascalon, &c., and even at Tyre itself in the Egyptian harbour, and they may thus have been left unused in their present position.

The above observations along the reefs seems to indicate that the Phœnician port included, not only the two main harbours on north and south, but also a series of quays, landing-places, and small harbours, on the west. On the east the accumulation of blown sand on the mound of Alexander has rendered the extent of the original site doubtful; but it seems probable that the line of the Crusading walls on this side, founded as they probably are on rock, would mark approximately the limits of the island. Within this line—which is indicated by the position of the Algerine Tower in the Orange Gardens on the south-east, and by the small mediæval tower on the north-east of the city, which contains a well, and is partly built of rustic masonry, such as the Crusaders used—the ground is everywhere covered with fragments of broken masonry and pillar shafts. The inhabitants use this open space, east of the modern town, as a quarry, digging down to a depth of 10 or 15 feet, and excavating good building stones. Small gems, Coptic and Byzantine coins, and other antiquities are often found, belonging apparently to the early Christian period; and a hoard of gold coins is said to have been lately discovered, but of what epoch I was unable to learn.

The total area which seems thus to have been enclosed, within the insular site formed by joining the two islands, is little short of 200 acres; and considering the small size of all the famous cities of Phœnicia (Sidon, Byblos or Aradus, the latter only occupying 100 acres) this appears amply sufficient for the site of a town, even of the importance of Tyre.

It would not be difficult to sink shafts beneath the superficial excavations now made by the townspeople, and results of interest might probably be expected at a depth of some 30 feet; but, in any further explorations at Tyre, it would seem clear that the only place where excavation would be likely to succeed, is in that part of the site which lies east and south-east of the present town, within the area of the Crusading walls.

As regards the necropolis of ancient Tyre, we made an interesting discovery. The modern graveyard occupies the ground north of the smaller island, and in this part there is a cliff, bounding the little bay already mentioned on the south-west side of the larger island. About 6 feet above the beach is a narrower cleft, which has been, I believe, recently broken through, or enlarged by the *fellahin*. We squeezed into it with difficulty, and found within a grotto, which had been pointed out to us under the name *Maghâret el Majâhed*, "Cave of the Champion." There seems little doubt that it is an ancient tomb, a domed cave about 8 feet by 10 feet, and 11 feet high. A shaft exists above, the roof being covered in with flat slabs of stone, which were all in place. No sarcophagus remains, and, unless the shaft has been at some time or other opened and again closed, no sarcophagus can ever have been placed in the chamber.



There is on the north-east side a flat shelf or step, measuring 5 feet 6 inches by 2 feet 2 inches, on which, perhaps, the sarcophagus or coffin may have rested. No remains of wood or bones were noticed on the floor. The roof of the cavern is probably some 20 feet below the present surface of the ground on the top of the cliff. The discovery of this tomb, with the shaft arrangement which distinguishes the Phœnician from the ancient Jewish tombs, seems to indicate the possible existence of an old Phœnician cemetery, in the cliffs under and near the modern graveyard; and this may account for the puzzling circumstance that the island city had no apparent necropolis. Remains of sunk places in the rocks immediately south of the cave may, perhaps, represent other tombs which have been destroyed in quarrying, but it is possible that some of these are salt-pans. In accordance with the ordinary conservatism of the East, I may, perhaps, suggest that the features of modern Tyre preserve ancient Phœnician localities. That the necropolis is unchanged; that the site of the great temple is indicated by the ruined cathedral; and that the Eurychoros, or "wide-place," may have been identical with the broad Meidân, which is now found inside the line of the Crusading walls, and west of the modern town or village. The necropolis of Tyre was sought by Renan at the important cemetery in the hills east of the plain, a distance of nearly two miles; but it seems probable that, although in later times the rich may have hewn their sepulchres on the mainland, the older tombs, at the time when (according to Pliny) a strait, 700 passus broad, divided the island from the shore, would have been hewn in the cliffs of the reef, and still exist buried some 20 feet beneath the modern graveyard.

## II.—THE EGYPTIAN HARBOUR.

The opinion of Renan and other writers appears to be that the ancient southern harbour of Tyre is no longer traceable;\* and it is stated by Professor Socin that the supposed mole, on the south side of the town, was more probably the boundary of a piece of land artificially reclaimed from the sea. We gave considerable attention to this question during our recent visit. Lieutenant Mantell and I examined the mole and the harbour by swimming across it in various directions, thus ascertaining the depths, and closely inspecting the portions furthest from land; and the conclusion at which we arrived was different from that of the authorities mentioned, being to the effect that the harbour is distinctly recoverable, and that the only changes which have taken place are due to the wilful blocking up of the inlets to the port, and to the filling in with stones of portions of the interior; over which stones the sand has now

\* Lieutenant Conder, writing without books at hand, has here fallen into a slight error. Renan does not think that the Egyptian port is no longer traceable. He supposes that the site generally proposed, and accepted by Lieut. Conder as the Egyptian port, was formerly a part of the island, and that the mole was a retaining wall. He places the Egyptian port farther east, and supposes that it has now been entirely silted up. (*See Renan, "Phœnicie,"* p. 569, and "*Memoirs of the Survey,"* vol. i, sheet 1, § B.)—ED.

drifted, and partially silted up the harbour. Even in the narrowest part there is still, however, an anchorage for small boats, which we found lying close to shore; while the water was far beyond our depth in that part of the port lying nearest to its western entrance.

It should be remembered that the ancient ports along the Syrian coast, including the famous Phœnician harbours, are extremely small. The harbour of Sidon includes 20 acres, the Sidonian or northern port at Tyre only occupies 12 acres. The harbour at Cæsarea, and that inside the reef at Jaffa, are equally unfitted for the requirements of modern navigation; and it seems never to have occurred to the Tyrians to construct works connecting the various rocks in the two great reefs, which run out southwards and northwards beyond the actual harbours; although the existence of these reefs was no doubt the determining cause in fixing the site of the island city, as safe anchorage in the open roadsteads was thus obtained, from whichever direction the wind blew on shore. Strabo (xvi. 2) speaks of the Egyptian harbour as open, referring probably to the reef which runs out southwards, but the space enclosed within the southern mole is nevertheless equal to the area (12 acres) of the Sidonian harbour.

The southern harbour we planned carefully. It is divided in two by a pier which runs out from land, and which, in calm weather, is visible at a depth of 2 or 3 feet below the surface, but is now covered by the silt and by sea-weed. The southern mole runs out westwards from the land, at the extreme south-east angle of the ancient city, as defined by the Crusading wall.

It consists of ancient concrete full of large pieces of pottery, and had two paths paved with concrete, each about 4 feet wide, with a wall some 6 feet thick between them. The length of this mole is about 500 yards, the western and eastern ends are closely defined; and Lieutenant Mantell walked along a good portion which lies under water, between the extremities, and found in one place those fallen columns on the line of the wall.

The pier from the shore divides the harbour into two portions, the western measuring about 400 feet north and south, by 500 feet east and west, while the eastern measures 400 feet at its widest, opposite the shallow bay previously noticed, which is enclosed in the harbour, while on the east the harbour narrows to a point between the cliffs and the mole.

There are two entrances at least to this port, through the mole, one being 50 feet wide. They have been partially filled with great blocks thrown down apparently from the wall on the mole, but we were obliged to swim across each. Other entrances no doubt also occurred in the part now under water, but the main adit was from the west, where is a gap, in the reef which runs between the mole and the shore, of 140 feet. This entrance is skilfully constructed with an inner traverse, formed by a small tongue in the reef, so that the approach is completely defended from the waves outside. The water is here still very deep, but large blocks have been thrown down to close the entry, and the harbour is too small, and too much silted up, to be of any present value.



Having carefully planned this harbour (which is, however, I believe, shown on Gaillardot's "Survey of Tyre"), we were unable to come to any other conclusion than that it represents the Egyptian harbour. The reefs which run out 600 yards or more, in continuation of the rocks through which the western entrance is cut, break the force of the sea so that a calm open roadstead is formed within, in which a small bark was lying at the time of our visit. Without reference to the history of Alexander's siege of Tyre, I am unable to remember what was then done by his ships to the southern harbour. It is possible that the filling in of the port may, however, have been accomplished by the notorious Fakhr ed Dîn, who mined the harbours of Acre and Sidon, and who seems to have had a special aversion to maritime structures: there appears, however, no more reason to doubt that the Egyptian harbour still exists, than to question the identification of the equally small Sidonian harbour north of the present town of Tyre.

### III.—THE TEMPLE OF MELKARTH.

I have suggested above that the Christian church at the south-east angle of the modern town may stand on the site of this famous temple. Melkarth ("the King of the City") was the Tyrian sun-god, identified by the Greeks with Hercules; and it is worthy of notice that from the site of the cathedral (which probably replaced the older basilica said to hold the bones of Origen), a clear view is obtained of the great centre of sun-worship, Mount Hermon. The ruined cathedral stands on the highest part of the larger island, in a position marking as nearly as possible the centre of the ancient city; and the ruined apses are directed towards Hermon. The fact that Christian churches were originally built on the sites of heathen temples (as at Rome, Constantinople, or Jerusalem), is too well ascertained to need more than a passing notice; and in the case of Tyre we find, lying within the Crusading building, various enormous granite shafts, two being double with diameters of 3 feet 6 inches, the length of the blocks being 26 feet. Such monoliths are entirely unlike any work of the Crusaders, and the rude marble bases and capitals lying in the ruins, are too small to have been placed in connection with them. The shafts must have been employed as piers from which the vault ribs sprung, and would have had a clumsy and unsuitable appearance even then in contrast with the small masonry and delicate mouldings of the Gothic structure. The material of these huge shafts is a fine red granite, which must have come from Egypt; and the Crusaders are little likely to have imported such stones, as they were always on bad terms with the Egyptian Saracens. Such monoliths are, however, still to be found at Jebeil (Byblos), and in other Phœnician towns, and it seems far more probable that the Phœnicians, who by religion and commerce were so intimately connected with the Egyptians, would have brought the pillars to adorn their great temple, which no doubt faced the rising sun on a line not far different from that of the orientation of the Christian basilica.

The church has been already described by other explorers. We noted some smaller grey syenite shafts and a pillar base with the Greek cross, flanked by four globes, and having the  $\Lambda$  and  $\Omega$  below, the material being a good white marble. This stands *in situ* on the south side of the central apse. We also found a marble capital of Gothic design, and both of these details were sketched and measured. The ancient font which was visible some years since has been, however, removed. I noticed that the windows of the apses show two periods of construction, the original "dog tooth" moulding, which ran round them inside, having been replaced in the upper part with small stones.

The ashlar is of small size throughout, and the centre of the walls of rubble, as usual in Crusading buildings. The material is a soft sandy limestone from the neighbouring cliffs. Only a few masons' marks are visible.

We copied the inscription which occurs at the foot of the wall, outside the north apse on its north. It is already known, but was seen under a good light.

PONTHN  
ΟΠΟΜΗ  
Ο . . ΟΙ . . Ν  
ΚΡΗΤΗΣ

It is said that during the excavations of Sepp in 1874, a set of sacerdotal robes, a silver cup or chalice, with rings and other treasures were discovered in the cathedral.

I made inquiry as to the festivals of St. Barbara and St. Mekhlar, said by Professor Socin to preserve the cultus of Melkarth, but found no one acquainted with either name. The Maronite church is called after Our Lady, and the Greek after St. Thomas. St. Catherine is also worshipped in the town. These churches with their little belfrys, and the minaret of the single mosque, break the sky line in the long row of badly built cottages which constitute modern Tyre. There are also one or two better houses with red tiled roofs. The little Sidonian harbour was full of small craft; the walls of the buildings along its mole, with heavier masonry below and smaller above, are decidedly attributable to the 12th century, as the upper storeys of the towers present round arches, such as are never used by the modern native builders.

Various antiquities were presented to us, and I purchased a small yellow glass coin or medal, of which two were offered. It represents the sun-god with his whip standing in his chariot drawn by four horses, and was said to have been found in an excavation near the cathedral.

#### IV.—PALÆ TYRUS.

In describing Tyre, Pliny ("Hist. Nat.," v, 17), gives it a circumference of 19 miles including Palæ Tyrus, the place itself extending 22 stadia.

The latter estimate would agree fairly with the area above described as



probably occupied by the island city, but if the 19 miles were distributed along the plain between the Nahr el Kâsimîyeh (which Abu el Feda identifies with the Leontes) and the springs of Râs el 'Ain—as has been proposed I believe by M. Renan, we should have to suppose a city almost one quarter as large as London, and quite without parallel in any other town of Syria. Strabo, on the other hand, mentions Palæ Tyrus as existing 20 stadia south of Tyre, and having a stream flowing through its midst, without in any way indicating a large suburb extending over the plain.

A careful examination of the ground between the Kâsimîyeh River, the hills east of Neby M'ashûk, and the springs of Râs el 'Ain on the south, seems to me to point clearly to the conclusion that no such extensive suburb ever existed, and that there is only one site within the area where an ancient town of any extent can have stood. Such ancient sites are clearly indicated in Palestine by various sure signs, such as the grey soil, the numerous thistles, the growth of the yellow marigold, the remains of pottery, cement, and glass, which mark the crumbling mounds long after the original buildings have disappeared. At the great mound of Tell Habîsh, near Râs el 'Ain, these indications of an old site are found. At Neby M'ashûk there are no remains which seem to indicate that there was more than a single building on the hill. The rest of the plain consists of red virgin soil or of sand dunes, with here and there traces of a single building.\* The existence of a great open unprotected suburb extending over a flat plain without water, is entirely contrary to the ordinary Oriental method of growth in the more important ancient cities, where the houses appear generally to have crowded round the central fortress or sanctuary, and to have nestled close outside the walls when they could no longer find space within their circuit.

There are no indications in the way of wells, cisterns, mounds of ruins or other remains in the plain which would lead to the conclusion that a great defenceless open suburb ever existed, and the theory appears to depend only on the loose expression of Pliny, which may, perhaps, be otherwise explained, either as referring to the district of which Tyre was the capital, or else as being merely a blunder of the Italian writer, who had probably not visited the city.

The more definite description given by Strabo is easily reconciled with existing remains; and these, including the sites of Neby M'ashûk, Khubet el Lawâtîn, Wady et Tin, Tell el Habîsh, and Râs el 'Ain, may in conclusion be briefly described.

A curious mound of rock rises in the plain due east of Tyre. The summit is about 100 ft. above the sea and 40 above the plain. On all sides

\* At a point about half-way between Tyre and Neby M'ashûk and south of the ancient aqueduct, some boys digging in the sand dunes have found remains recently of a little shrine or chapel. Fragments of marble, of glass mosaic, of a small twisted pillar shaft, and the shoulder of a small statue in high relief, remains of a marble cornice with feebly executed mouldings, and some curious pieces of dark pottery, seem to indicate that a small Byzantine or Crusading chapel stood here among the dunes.

the bare rock is visible, and on the east is a perpendicular cliff. Close to this cliff, on the south-east extremity of the hill, stands the shrine of Neby M'ashûk, with two domes and a courtyard containing a palm. A few hovels exist north of the building. The rock is quarried on the west; and on the top of the hill there are indications of old foundations. On the north are rude rock steps, perhaps leading up to the ancient building on the summit, perhaps only made in quarrying. On the north-west are some rock-cut tombs of Tyrian character. The great aqueduct to Tyre runs close to the foot of the hill on the south, and once supplied a small mill, but its course seems to be controlled rather by the fall of the ground than by any intention of carrying water to Neby M'ashûk, as no cisterns to receive the supply appear to exist at this point. Parts of the hill were covered at the time of our visit with corn, and this may have concealed ruins, but a large part of the site shows only bare rock, and there is nothing to indicate that Neby M'ashûk was ever the centre or the acropolis of a city or suburb, while the excavations made by M. Renan brought to light only the remains of a small and comparatively modern shrine.

Although Neby M'ashûk does not, therefore, appear likely to have been the acropolis of the theoretical Pale Tyrus, there is no doubt that it must have been a sacred shrine of antiquity and importance. It has been proposed to identify it with a temple of Astarte, but the name M'ashûk ("beloved") is in a masculine form (the passive participle of 'Ashaka), and the Neby is said to have been a man who was so fascinating that every woman who saw him fell in love with him. Probably, therefore, we have here the more ancient temple of the sun-god, pointed out by the Tyrian islanders to Alexander—the shrine of an Adonis, or youthful solar hero. A curious story is told in connection with the place. A cave is said to exist beneath it and to contain a treasure; the cave is also said to be full of bees, and we were shown a narrow cleft in the eastern cliff supposed to be the entrance and from which honey is said occasionally to exude. We saw, however, neither bees nor honey, and although our guide's story was confirmed by other witnesses on the spot, it seemed improbable that the narrow fissure in the strata should really be the mouth of a cavern. The natives say that if the cave were opened the building above would fall in ruins. The sacred cave (as has been remarked in a recent paper in the *Quarterly Statement P. E. Fund*) is usually an adjunct of a sun-worship centre; while bees and honey are also intimately connected with the sun-god; and bees form the string of the Indian Cupid's bow (Kama Deva). In this tradition we have, therefore, possibly an echo of the old cultus of the heathen divinity now known as the "beloved prophet."

East of Neby M'ashûk lies the great cemetery called Khûrbet el Lawâtin. Careful inquiry proved that the spelling Awâtîn given by some authorities is incorrect. The word is the plural of *Lattân*, the well known name for a "lime kiln" in Syria, and the character of the site agrees, as will be seen immediately, with this translation of the title. To anyone who has read M. Renan's account of this place, the impression



made by a visit to the spot is very disappointing. There are no excavations at all equal to those at Beit Jebrîn, and the character of the cemetery, in spite of its being an extensive site, is very rude, and quite beneath comparison with many other collections of rock-cut tombs in Palestine. The caves which M. Renan describes as "immense hypogées, of which the roofs have fallen in," appear to me to be nothing else than quarries whence the soft chalk (*Hauêrah*) used for burning into lime, has been obtained. Such excavations are common in all parts of the country where the very soft chalk appears, and the name Khûrbet el Lawâtîn "ruin of the kilns," is no doubt an indirection of the origin of these caverns. The niches which have been observed in the walls of these caves appear to be the remains of loculi, occurring at different levels, showing that here, as at *Beit Jebrîn*, an ancient cemetery has been destroyed in quarrying—the original excavators finding it easier to commence operations by breaking up the walls of the tombs, than by cutting into the face of a solid cliff. Similar destruction of ancient cemeteries may be noted wherever modern quarrying has been undertaken in almost any part of Syria. There are no remains visible of the supposed roofs of the caverns, and they do not seem on inspection ever to have been covered in, except in such parts as still are roofed, where the excavations have been pushed deep into the cliff. These caves are now used as goat folds, but they are not of a size or execution in any way comparable to the great caverns of Southern Palestine.

North of the chalk quarries, the hill-side is covered with tombs. We took plans of several of these, all belonging to one type—a square chamber reached by a shaft some 6 to 10 feet deep, and having rude *Kokim* on the four walls. These tombs which, on account of their rude execution, might be thought very ancient, differ only from the Jewish *Kokim* tombs in the existence of the shaft, which takes the place of the small door entered from the face of a low cliff, in the ordinary type of Jewish sepulchre. The Jew hewed a chamber inwards from the face of the hill, while the Phœnician sunk downwards from the flat surface of the hill-top; but the chamber within was in both cases identical in its general arrangement.

The cemetery in question is certainly very extensive, and may contain unopened tombs. It seems, however, by no means clear that it is the ancient necropolis of Tyre, which, as already suggested, is more probably to be sought on the island itself. The existence of the temple at M'ashûk may perhaps account for the cemetery, the Phœnicians being eager to find sepulture near the sacred place, just as the Jew or the Moslem at Jerusalem, and in any sacred city, still desires to be buried close to the sanctuary; but the hill towns or even distant cities may have had their share in this great graveyard, as well as the island town of Tyre, which is distant some two miles from these hills.

Following the hills southwards, we visited the flat valley between Burj esh Shemâly and Burj el Kibly, which is sometimes called *Wâdy et Tin* from the fig trees which occur on the slopes. On both sides of the valley there are tombs, and we obtained plans of some of these, which are simply

*loculi* in the rock : remains of wine presses also occur, and on the south side of the valley, near *'Ain el Judeideh* ("the rock-cut spring") is the curious bas-relief visited by Renan and Guérin. It measures 18 inches by 23 inches, and is surrounded by a rude frame projecting 3 inches. The design (of which a sketch accompanies this report) represents a single male figure in long robes, the head purposely defaced. On the right, at his feet, is an animal most resembling a dog, and on either side an arabesque of grape-bunches and leaves (much defaced) runs vertically—the vine on the left springing apparently from a pot, as is generally the case where this design occurs (see *'Abûd es Semâ'a, Shefa Amr, &c.*, in the "Memoirs"). I am aware that M. Guérin has described these defaced details as representing the heads of sheep surrounded by *nimbi*; but careful examination shows that the curving stem of the vine is continuous throughout. Nor is it clear that the human figure represents the "good shepherd," as the lamb or sheep which he would carry is not distinguishable. The existence of the vine, a symbol of the sun-god; and of the dog (if dog it be), may indicate that the sun-deity, Hercules, is represented, whose dog is recorded first at Tyre to have discovered the Murex or purple fish, which he brought from the sea in his mouth. It seems clear, moreover, that there is a tomb beneath the block of rock on which the bas-relief is cut, although the entrance is now so completely blocked that excavation would require considerable time.

Hitherto we have found no site which can really be considered to represent Palæ Tyrus. A visit to the fountains of Râs el 'Ain, however, made us acquainted with the importance of the ruin called er Rusheidîyeh, the old name of which is *Tell el Habîsh*, "Mound of the Abyssinian." There is here a great hillock measuring about 400 yards north and south, and including some 25 to 30 acres. It rises about 60 feet above the sea, and has a modern farm-house on the flat summit. The hill was covered with corn, but remains of ancient masonry were visible all over its plateau. On the north-east are two fine springs which have been enclosed with walls like those at Râs el 'Ain, the work, however, in parts looks like Crusading masonry. On the north-west is a small mill originally fed from these springs, but the water now runs in a stream to the sea. It appears, therefore, that at this site the description given by Strabo of Palæ Tyrus, as having a stream running through its midst, as well as the distance of twenty stadia from Tyre, is realized in a satisfactory manner. A small jungle of brambles, canes, and wild figs grows on the edge of the Tell to the north, following the stream to the beach, and at Tell Habîsh we have every requirement for an ancient town, a fine water supply, a lofty and spacious mound, and a small landing place on the beach itself.

Râs el 'Ain, about half a mile south of this great mound, may possibly have formed part of the site of Palæ Tyrus, which would have covered the intervening space if it was indeed a town of any size. We visited the great reservoirs and aqueducts of Râs el 'Ain, and made a plan of the three principal tanks. There appear to have been originally two springs, of which one is enclosed in the great octagonal reservoir called Birket



'Isrâwy, while the other rises in a quadrangular cistern called Birket Sufsâfeh, which is situated 370 feet east of the former, and is connected by a short channel, with a smaller rudely octagonal reservoir situate at the south-western angle of the Birket Sufsâfeh.

The level of the water in these two springs is the same, about 80 feet above the sea. The two groups of reservoirs were connected by an aqueduct, of which only a few traces remain. The walls of the pools are 20 feet thick, faced with fine ashlar of stones, sometimes 5 feet long, and built inside with concrete, formed by alternate layers of pebbles in hard cement, and of flat pieces of stone or pottery. Birket 'Isrâwy has the appearance of having been originally domed over, the walls curving over above the water some 3 feet beyond the perpendicular of the inner surface. This Birkeh is now surrounded with small houses. Its sides are of irregular length, and were carefully planned by Lieutenant Mantell. On the north and on the east bifurcated channels lead from the surface of the pool to two pairs of vertical shafts of circular form, each 3 feet in diameter. These shafts are lined with good masonry, the stones having their faces cut to the form of the circle. They feed two modern mills, but are evidently part of the original structure of the reservoir.

On the west side of this tank a modern pool has been built; it is now covered with trees and canes, but was distinctly visible from the top of Birket 'Isrâwy. It is called Birket el Mâlti, and said to have been built by the Egyptian Emîr Bishîr el Mâlti, apparently about the time of Ibrahim Pasha; while the Birket 'Isrâwy is locally, though no doubt wrongly, attributed to Alexander the Great.

Birket Sufsâfeh ("the willow-pool") measures 51 feet by 48 feet inside, with walls 10 feet thick. It is built on a hill side, so that on the south the path reaches almost to the level of the top of its walls, whereas the walls of the second octagonal tank are some 15 feet high on the west side, and over 20 feet in thickness.

No ancient aqueduct leads from the quadrangular tank, but alterations have been made in its walls, and a modern aqueduct on arches, some of which are pointed, and others round, runs south-west for a short distance from the east side of the tank. Probably these alterations may be attributed to the Crusaders of the 12th and 13th centuries.

From the octagonal tank contiguous to the Birket Sufsâfeh, the original aqueduct to Tyre still runs about 2 miles, to the vicinity of Tell M'ashûk on the north, where it turns round westwards, and disappears in the sand dunes; the water which is carried to the town and rather beyond it, escaping to form a marsh behind the dunes. This aqueduct has the appearance of Roman work, and is lined with concrete. It has a channel, increasing from 2 feet 9 inches near the pool to 5 feet in width, and 6 feet in depth near Neby M'ashûk, where the arch is still intact, the voussoirs surmounted by a series of long slabs laid horizontally as a top covering to the structure. The fall, from Râs el 'Ain to Neby M'ashûk, is at the rate of about 10 feet per mile, which would give a level of about 40 feet above the sea at Tyre, were it continued uniformly.

In crossing low ground the aqueduct is carried on large round arches with strong piers, and a string course is added above these as an ornament. The arches are generally formed by voussoirs of even proportions, but Lieutenant Mantell noticed near Tell Habish a row of arches, not truly structural, but formed by cutting the stones of the succession courses into the shape of a round arch, each course being corbelled out so as to form together a complete semicircle in elevation. This unusual construction may, perhaps, be a sign of the early date of the aqueduct, and the arches thus formed are dependent for strength, not on structure, but solely on the hardness of the cement used in building. The masons were, however, evidently not ignorant of the theory of the arch, as voussoirs are used in other parts of the aqueduct.

In addition to the three ancient reservoirs, and the later Birket el Malti, there is a fifth pool of quite distinct character situated north-west of Birket 'Isrâwy. An aqueduct with masonry of late character leads to this tank, which is some 12 feet square inside. The arches of its aqueduct were originally round, but near the tank an outer facing of masonry not bonded in, has been added with pointed arches on the north side of the piers. The tank is called Birket es Seiyideh, "Our Lady's Pool," and is a sacred place, pilgrimage being undertaken to visit the spot, and vows offered to the local divinity. The tank was probably filled at one time through its aqueduct from the more ancient aqueduct from Birket es Sufsâfeh, or rather from the contiguous octagonal reservoir. It should be noted in connection with the last-named octagonal tank, that like Birket 'Isrâwy it contains a pair of cylindrical shoots of good ancient masonry, which convey the water to a modern mill.

It seems clear that the original constructors of these fine old water-towers had in view rather the utilization of the springs for mill-work than the supply of the distant city of Tyre by an aqueduct.

The conclusions which suggest themselves after a visit to the spot are, that the three older tanks were originally built for local purposes, that an aqueduct to Tyre (seemingly Roman work) was afterwards made from the smaller octagonal reservoir. That the Crusaders subsequently built the Birket es Seiyideh and its aqueduct, as well as the broken aqueduct leading south-west from Birket Sufsâfeh, and that the Birket el Malti is the latest addition to the group of five tanks at present existing. The arrangement will, however, be rendered clearer by a glance at the plan of the older reservoirs.

The general results of our three days of exploration at Tyre may be briefly summarised in conclusion. They include:—

First, the discovery of a tomb (Mûghâret el Mujâhed), which seems to indicate the situation of the ancient Tyrian necropolis.

Secondly, the examination of the existing remains of the southern or Egyptian harbour, and of the reef west of the island city of Tyre.

Thirdly, a suggestion as to the position of the Temple of Melkarth, rendered probable by the conspicuous and central position of a site which has long been consecrated by a Christian basilica pointing towards Hermon.



Fourthly, the examination of the hill of Neby M'ashûk, its traditions and the neighbouring Tyrian cemetery.

Fifthly, the examination of the important mound of Tell Habîsh and the neighbouring springs of Râs el 'Ain, the possible site of Pale Tyrus.

Excavations at Tyre might still produce results of interest and importance. They should be confined to the area within the Crusading walls, or to the sites of el Lawâtîn and Tell Habîsh, where alone promising indications occur. The old necropolis of Tyre may, perhaps, exist untouched beneath the accumulated rubbish heaps of Greek, Byzantine, Crusading, and Arab times, but the vicinity of the modern graveyard would make the exploration a very delicate matter.

It should, however, be remembered that the remains as yet found have been of a very rude and uninteresting description, and that the Phœnician inscriptions discovered by M. Renan in this district were of very late date. Perhaps the most interesting piece of work which could be suggested would be a complete excavation of the cathedral by shaft sunk to rock, or to such a depth as should enable the explorer to determine whether any relics of the famous temple of Melkarth still exist on the spot.

Modern Tyre has been described as a rising place, and there is no doubt that since the Metâwileh settled here, it has grown into a town from a condition of complete ruin. Its trade is, however, quite insignificant, its harbours far too small to be of any value, and its inland communications too difficult to allow of its competing with Acre, Tripoli, or Alexandretta, as a point of strategical or commercial importance.

The fisher spreads his net on the reefs and ruined walls, as the prophet of old proclaimed in one of the most poetic chapters of the Old Testament, (Ezek. xxvii), and the little town is scarcely more than a fishing village with a small coasting trade in cereals, fruits and silk. Our knowledge of other ancient cities leads us, moreover, to conclude that even when the hardy Phœnician mariners were planting colonies in Africa, in Spain, or in France, and were the first of Orientals to discover our own stormy islands, the ports of the mother city, to which the merchants of Asia and the Mediterranean gathered from every quarter, were scarcely larger than the capacity of a fishing harbour in England, while the metropolis itself only covered an area about equal to that of Hyde Park.

The conclusions of archæologists, which a short though careful examination of the site led me to regard as requiring reconsideration, are as already detailed. First, that the Egyptian harbour has disappeared; considering the existence of a well defined port as large as the northern or Sidonian harbour. Secondly, that the Palæ Tyrus was a great suburb covering the plains east and south-east of Tyre; since no indications of such a suburb exist, while the idea is quite contrary to all we know of the size and arrangement of ancient eastern cities. Third, that the necropolis of Tyre lay at Khûrbet el Lawâtîn; since we were able to discover at least one Tyrian tomb on the island, the natural position in which the cemetery might be expected to exist. Fourthly, that the somewhat exaggerated

description which has been given of the caves at the site of el Lawâtin, should be modified by a comparison with similar excavations in other parts of Palestine. And lastly in general, the expectation of finding at Tyre an immense city equal in size to Rome or Athens, should be controlled by the experience which we derive from the examination of the other sacred or commercial cities of ancient Syria, which, like the modern towns of the country, seem to have been crowded into areas quite insignificant in comparison with those occupied by European metropolises, and strangely contrasting to the world-wide fame which such little cities as Tyre, Sidon, Joppa, or Jerusalem have obtained in later ages.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

### III.

#### FROM BEYROUT TO JERUSALEM.

JERUSALEM, 28th May, 1881.

THE disturbances in the Hauran rendered it prudent to relinquish our original plan of commencing the Eastern Survey on the north; and, as many of our heavy stores were in Jerusalem, it appeared necessary to shift our base of operations to the Holy City, whence we hope to proceed to Gilead and Moab. Leaving Beyrout on 7th May, we journeyed down the coast by Sidon, Tyre, Acre, and Nablus, reaching the capital on Saturday, 21st. We remained two days in Tyre, and one day in Nablus when we revisited the top of Elad, and rebuilt the cairn created in the summer of 1872, as the point will probably be conspicuous east of Jordan. From Elad we beheld the great plateau broken only by the valley of the Jabbok, which is the scene of our expected labours. Many things, however, required to be settled on a satisfactory basis before we could hope successfully to attack our work, and the time spent in thoroughly organizing the expedition will probably be saved later in the increased working power of the party. Meantime a few scattered notes, on the points which were observed along the road, will probably be thought of interest.

Our camps were pitched at Neby Yûnis (where we rested for Sunday, 28th), Sidon, Tyre (where two days were spent), Nakûrah, el Bahjeh, (near Acre (where the second Sunday was passed), Shoikh Ibreik, Jenin, Nâblus, 'Ain el Haramiyeh, and Jerusalem; the result of our explorations at Tyre are given in another report.

#### THE ROAD.

It has been suggested that the main coast road dates from Arab times, but it has all the appearance of Roman origin, not only because Roman milestones have fallen beside it at intervals, but because the broad central rib or backbone of cut stones is visible in places, with side-walls of rough blocks, both of these features being peculiar to Roman roads in Syria. In many places where the road runs along the beach, concrete



was used instead of stone to form the roadway, and the remains of this, set in hard white or pink cement, are still to be found in parts.

The remains of Roman bridges with round arches are also observable both at the River Kâsimiyeh and also at the Nahr Abu el Aswad when the arch is still perfect.

#### KHURBET UMM EL' AMUD.\*

This important site south of Tyre (the old name of which seems to have been Laodicea) was visited by Renan, who found here some late Phœnician inscriptions. There is a temple in a conspicuous position on a rugged hillside, and many other ruins, but they are so overgrown with copse that a long time would be necessary for their exploration. The plan of the temple is very difficult to make out, but it appears to have had three aisles, and to have measured about 180 feet E. and W. (true bearing 30°), with an outer colonnade 25 feet wide having two rows of pillars. The capitals are Ionic, and the mouldings have a simple and pure character which marks the temple as being earlier than the Byzantine period. Some curious stones which have the form of segments of spheres about 18 inches in diameter (looking like slices from a Swiss cheese) have sockets in the spherical surface. They may, perhaps, have formed parts of some ornamental erections over the cornices, either as bases from which a small needle was raised or perhaps as representations of shallow vases on a base fitted into the socket.

We measured various curious details, including a sarcophagus with a projecting pilaster at one end, and a stone 5 feet square, 3½ feet high, with two square shallow troughs, 1 foot side sunk in the upper part, and rude sculptures on the sides, one of which resembled a headless sphinx or lion apparently with wings.

There is a second block 2 feet 8 inches square, 3 feet high, with a trough 1 foot square and a few inches deep. Possibly these may have been altars, as there seems no other good explanation of the shallow sunk places in which a fire might have been kindled. A double tomb, rock-cut, exists further north, of which we made a plan; but our visit was too short to enable us to obtain a good idea of the site. There is a large amount of broken tessellated pavement on the hillsides below the temple.

#### NAKURAH.

I made special inquiries as to the meaning which the natives attach to this word applied to the pass generally identified with the ancient *Scala Tyriorum*. Professor Palmer renders the word "trumpet" and suggests that as *Sâr* in Arabic may also mean "trumpet," the natives may have misunderstood *Sur* (Tyre) to mean a trumpet, and not as in Hebrew "a rock," and that in process of time they may have substituted the word *Nâkûrah*, applying it to the promontory originally called *Sâr*.

\* See "Memoirs," vol. i, p. 182.

The word *Nákûrah* comes, however (as Professor Palmer tells me), from a root meaning "to pick," or excavate by picking out. It occurs more than once in the survey nomenclature, as in 'Ain en *Nákûrah*, 'Ain en *Nukr*, and the village *Nákûrah* near *Nâblus*, places which have no connection with *Tyre*. I find that the meaning attached by the natives to the term is that of excavation or scarping, which is exactly the Talmudic use of the word, where it is applied to caves excavated artificially. The name, in fact, of *Râs en Nakûrah*, is derived apparently from the rock-cutting through which the road passes. This has been destroyed in making the new road, which is on a higher level than the old, but the vertical cutting of the rock is still visible in more than one place on both sides of the road. I may, perhaps, venture here to remark that I do not know a single instance in which the *Fellahîn* have substituted one word for another in the manner that Professor Palmer supposes. They adhere, it is true, often to the Hebrew name of a place, long after the meaning has been lost (as is the case also in our own country), sometimes modifying the sound slightly to give it a modern—and often erroneous—meaning.

In the case of *Sûr*, however, it should be noted that the word is still used by the peasantry to mean a rock, and it is not known, as far as I have ascertained, to mean a trumpet.

#### MESELIEH.

In 1876 I proposed to identify the village of *Meseliéh*, or *Mithilia*, south of *Jenin*, with the *Bethulia* of the *Book of Judith*, supposing the substitution of *M* for *B*, of which there are occasional instances in *Syrian nomenclature*. The indications of the site given in the *Apo-crypha* are tolerably distinct. *Bethulia* stood on a hill, but not apparently on the top, which is mentioned separately (*Judith vi, 12*). There were springs or wells beneath the town (verse 11), and the houses were above these (verse 13). The city stood in the hill country not far from the plain (verse 11), and apparently near *Dothan* (*Judith iv, 6*). The army of *Holofernes* was visible when encamped near *Dothan* (*Judith vii, 3-4*), by the spring in the valley near *Bethulia* (verses 3-7).

The site usually supposed to represent *Bethulia*—namely, the strong village of *Sânûr*, does not fulfil these various requisites, but the topography of the *Book of Judith*, as a whole, is so consistent and easily understood, that it seems probable that *Bethulia* was an actual site. Visiting *Mithilia* on our way to *Shechem* (see *Sheet XI of the Survey*), we found a small ruinous village on the slope of the hill. Beneath it are ancient wells, and above it a rounded hill top, commanding a tolerably extensive view. The north-east part of the great plain, *Gilboa*, *Tabor*, and *Nazareth*, are clearly seen. West of these a neighbouring hill hides *Jenin* and *Wâdy Bela'meh* (the *Belmain* probably of the narrative), but further west *Carmel* appears behind the ridge of *Sheikh Iskander*, and part of the plain of 'Arrâbeh, close to *Dothan*, is seen. A broad corn vale, called "The King's Valley," extends north-west from *Meseliéh* towards *Dothan*, a distance of only three miles. There is a low shed formed by rising ground between two



hills, separating this valley from the Dothian plain; and at the latter site is the spring beside which probably the Assyrian army is supposed by the old Jewish novelist to have encamped. In imagination one might see the stately Judith walking through the down trodden corn-fields, and shady olive groves, while on the rugged hill-side above the men of the city "looked after her until she was gone down the mountain, and till she had passed the valley, and could see her no more" (Judith x, 10).

#### JACOB'S WELL.

In 1876 some misconceptions appeared to exist as to the condition of this famous site. The well itself has never been choked. It is 75 feet deep, and still at times contains water. Over the shaft, however, is built a Crusading vault (as described in the "Memoirs"), and this is entered from the present surface through a hole in the roof. The floor is covered with stones, which have fallen from above, and which, until lately, quite concealed the well-mouth. During the present travelling season the vault has been partly cleared by an English traveller, and the mouth of the well is now visible with the shaft as far down as there is light enough to see it. A stone,  $2\frac{1}{2}$  feet by  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet, covers the well, and in it is a circular hole, 18 inches in diameter, with a raised square moulding round it. The dressing somewhat resembles Crusading work. The masonry of the shaft beneath is apparently well finished. There are remains of mosaic pavement round the stone forming the well-mouth, and, as has been already noticed in "Tent-Work," two pillars of the ancient church are still in site in a vault north-west of the well. They are of grey syenite, and it is probable that the other shafts of similar character lying near the enclosure (70 paces square) in which Jacob's Well now stands also belonged, not as some have thought, to the Temple on Gerizim, but rather to the ancient Cruciform Basilica, which was so built as to have the well in the centre of the cross. Excavations would probably result in the tracing of this church under the present surface, but any interference with the place is looked on with extreme suspicion by the peasantry, who imagine that the Franks wish to take the well away to Europe.

#### EN TAPPUAH.

' According to the views of recent writers, this place is to be sought south of Nâblus, and west of the plain of el Mukhna. There are several good springs in the direction, and it seemed possible that en Tappuah, the "apple spring," might still exist under the Arabian form *Ain et Tuffâh* (or *Tuffâh*) somewhere either near 'Ain Abûs, or further south. We accordingly went along the route in question, as far south at Yâsûf, and enquired, both at 'Ain Abûs and afterwards, for the situation of 'Ain et Tuffâh. In spite of this leading question, no one professed to know the site, and the goat-herds (who are the best authority on such questions) denied that any such place existed. They enumerated many other springs which are marked on the map, and curiously enough

suggested that we meant 'Ain Yásuf, which (according to the view advocated in the "Handbook to the Bible") is just where en Tappuah should be sought. Although it is thus only a negative result which we have obtained, it is so far satisfactory that careful enquiry, both in 1881 and 1877, failed to recover the name. So that there is no need to suspect that an important name has been omitted from the Survey in this case.

#### JUFNA.

A curious instance of the way in which small objects may be overlooked occurred in this instance. The village had been visited in 1872 by the Survey party, and subsequently by Lieutenant Kitchener. Colonel Wilson has also been there, and Dr. Clapton has visited the place, yet no one seems to have noticed the sarcophagus side built into the courtyard of the Greek Church of St. George, which stands south of the village in the valley. The design represents three wreaths supported by a winged genii, and three Medusa heads occur in medallions above the wreaths. The side has been broken off and built into the north wall of the courtyard, the door of which bears a modern Greek inscription, with the dates 1858 and 1860.

Inside the courtyard, in a corner, is a fine old Crusading font of the usual pattern, cylindrical, with a square basin and four semi-circular seats forming a quartrefoil within the circle (as at Tekoa and in many other places south of Jerusalem). There is also a rude Byzantine capital outside the Church, and the other portions of the sarcophagus lie near. Thus, in the little shrine of St. George, we have remains of every period from the Roman epoch downwards, and the site with its fine trees and pomegranate bushes is probably an ancient shrine.

#### ER RAM.

At the shrine which is so conspicuous near this village are remains of a former chapel. The lintel stone (as it would seem) with a bas-relief of rosettes, has been found by Dr. Chaplin within the building, and a very curious stone mask is in his possession, obtained from the village. It represents a human face without hair or beard, the nose well-cut, the eyes and mouth very feebly designed.

The mask is hollowed out behind, and has two deep holes at the back as if to fix it to a wall. It is over a foot in longer diameter, and curiously resembles some of the faces of the Moabite collection of Mr. Shapira. There cannot well be any question of its genuine character, and nothing like it has been found so far as I know in Palestine.

#### JETT.

Two Roman lamps with double wicks were shown to me at Náb-lus, one is in the form of a bull, the forefeet extended in front to form the spouts for the wicks. These were found in 1874 at *Jett*, and I had often heard of the bull as an ancient idol. The place in question is



situate near the plain of Sharon (Sheet XI), and is an ancient site of importance, probably the Gath of the Egyptian records, and the *Gitta* of which Simon Magus is said to have been a native.

JERUSALEM.

It is almost exactly six years since I last visited the Holy City, and during this time the growth of the place has been very rapid. A Jewish village, not marked on the Survey, has grown up along the Jaffa road, and the Jewish population is now estimated at 1,500 souls out of some 2,503 inhabitants. The number of Germans has also largely increased, and similar changes are said to have occurred at Bethlehem and Hebron. There is always something new to find in the city, and Dr. Chaplin pointed out to me several interesting details. The under-mentioned inscription is not to be found, so far as I am aware, in previous papers, and was unknown to Dr. Chaplin, nor is it among those collected for the Society in 1873, by M. Ganneau. It was kindly pointed out to me by Mr. S. Bergheim. It occurs on the north wall of the tower in which Herod's Gate (*Bâb ez Zahreh*) is built, and is placed on a sort of tablet, measuring 3 feet by 1 foot with triangular wings. The stone is built into the wall upside down, and the existence of the tablet, the form of the letters, and the words in the 2nd and 3rd lines, *Της Αγίας τῆς*, seem to show that it is of Christian and Byzantine origin.

ΓεΡ . . . . . ΔωΝ  
 ΤΑΙΝωΝΥΟΙ . . . . . ΤΗΟ  
 ΑΠΙΑΤΗΟ . . . . . ΟΙω  
 ΑΝΝΟΥ . . . Ο . . ΙΝΗΘ . ΑΝΤΙωΝ

I have omitted various doubtful letters, as the inscription does not appear valuable. The stone is too rough and crooked to allow of a satisfactory squeeze being taken. It is some 15 feet from the ground, and I copied it standing on a ladder. It was probably taken from one of the early Christian Churches in the city.

In passing through the bazaars and the *Via Dolorosa*, Dr. Chaplin pointed out to us various remains of Crusading Jerusalem. The bazaar was known in the twelfth century as *Malcoisimat*, and the groined vaulting of the roof seems to belong to this period, while on one of the corbels supporting the arches is cut in mediæval characters the inscription

$\frac{n}{sca}$   
 anna

Probably there was property belonging to the Church of St. Anne at this spot. There are many other little Crusading relics at Jerusalem of which I have made notes at different periods, and which serve to illustrate the curious mediæval account contained in the "*Citez de Jherusalem.*"

SILOAM.

The excavations now conducted on the Ophel ridge by Dr. Guthe for the German Exploration Society are of great interest. Through

his kindness we were enabled to visit them all, but I should ill repay his courtesy by forestalling his own account of his work. It is sufficient to say that he is engaged in investigating a corner of the city where, perhaps, more than anywhere else, success may be expected to attend the employer, and where, moreover, we are most in want of information. He has shown, moreover, that the Ophel spur was once covered with buildings down almost to the very edge of the pool. It is difficult to give a date for such buildings, but with some exceptions they seem at least not later than the time of Hadrian, and I was disposed to think that the continuation of Colonel Warren's Ophel wall has really been found by Dr. Guthe running southwards. Some remains seem, however, clearly (as Dr. Guthe also thinks) to belong to the Byzantine period, and the excavations require to be extended considerably before any final conclusions can safely be reached.

Dr. Guthe also kindly gave us the opportunity of visiting the now famous inscription in the great rock-cut channel. Far from wondering that it was never seen before, the marvel appears to me to be that it was ever found at all. Two youths of Jewish birth endeavoured to walk along the passage to the north end, but failed to do so—yet stumbled on the inscription, but the water was then running almost on the level of the highest line of the text. It has now been carried off so as to show the whole height of the tablet, which is about 2 feet square, with a face carefully polished and slightly convex. The letters are remarkably distinct, but the flaws in the rock render the text very difficult to follow. The letters are filled with a deposit of lime formed by the water action, and it is consequently impossible to take a squeeze which will give any really valuable idea of the text.

Dr. Guthe has taken several paper squeezes and one gypsum cast, but none of these give a good idea of the letters. With the aid of these, however, and by sketching from the letters themselves, he has produced a copy which will probably supersede all others. This has taken him several weeks of work, and I thought it impossible to rival it in the time at our command. The inscription is on the right hand on entering the passage from the Siloam end, and some 12 paces from the entrance.

It is thought in Jerusalem that Professor Sayce's copy and translation may prove too hasty to be of any value. Mr. Shapira gives a different interpretation to the text, explaining it as referring to the cutting of the tunnel from the two opposite ends. This we know was really how the excavation was effected, and Mr. Shapira's intimate acquaintance with the Hebrew idiom (as a Talmudist of 20 years' education) seems to render his opinion worthy of consideration.

It might appear strange that the visitor who scratched his name in the upper part of the tablet did not see the text, but there was an old water-mark above the inscription when first discovered, and the letters were no doubt hidden. Dr. Guthe has found part of the ancient pool to which the channel ran, and the impression which I obtained on the spot, when carefully observing the scurps on either side of the valley, was, that



the ancient pool of Siloam, the "ditch" which Hezekiah made for the water of the Old Pool (Isaiah xxii, 9, 11) may have been a large sheet of water forming a defence where the wall was lowest, and closing a weak point at the outlet of the Tyropœon valley.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.E.

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IV.

NABLUS. JERUSALEM. THE MOUNTAIN OF THE SCAPE GOAT.

JERUSALEM, 7th June, 1881.

It appears [now unavoidable that some delay should occur in commencing the Eastern Survey, in consequence of the difficulties raised by the Turkish authorities which cannot be overcome without patience. Meantime much interesting work remains to be done, in collecting the various discoveries made by residents, and noting the results of excavations and alterations which have occurred during the last five years. During 1872 it was impossible to enter the mosques at Nâblus, but during my recent visit I was able, by the kind assistance of M. Falsher, to visit every monument of interest within the walls of the town, and to collect several new traditions.

In the middle of Nâblus is a quadrangular building with whitewashed walls, containing the tomb of Sheikh Badrân or Sheikh Bedr er Rafia'. The walls are whitewashed, and the roof is supported by four pillars having early Byzantine capitals and grey granite shafts. This is evidently an early basilica which has as yet, so far as I am aware, escaped notice. Sheikh Badrân is said to have been the father of Sheikh 'Amâd ed Din, whose sacred place is on Ebal. This also indicates the Christian origin of the tradition, for the companion shrine on Ebal was originally also a church, and the Greeks and Latins alike in Nâblus, regard it as the place where the head of John the Baptist was buried; his body, according to an early but erroneous tradition, being buried at Samaria. 'Amâd ed Din ("monument of the faith") appears (according to the description given by Marino Sanuto) to be the place which the Crusaders called Dan, and where they supposed the calf to have been set up by Jeroboam,—the Bethel of the narrative being, according to their explanation, the Samaritan site of Luz on Gerizim.

In addition to the great mosque, the Mosque of Hezu Ya'kûb ("the wailing of Jacob"), and the Leper's Mosque (the old crusading hospital in the north-east angle of the city), I visited the sacred place called Oulâd Y'akûb, "the sons of Jacob," a sight which Robinson sought in vain, and which seems to have an antiquity not inferior to Jacob's well or Joseph's tomb. It is recognized by Jew, Samaritan, and Moslem alike, and is mentioned by St. Jerome in his account of Sta. Paula's journey. It is in the north-east angle of the town, north of the Leper's Mosque, and close

to the "Raisin Mart" (Khân Ezbib). A door on the north leads to a little paved court, with a division of stone, some 6 inches high, beyond which ones boots must be removed. In this court are two small marble pillar shafts, one of which has an Arab inscription, with the name of *Malik 'Amr* and the date 622 A.H. (13th century). In other respects the building seems quite modern. On the south side is a double chamber, the southern half entered from the east, while in the northern half is a large cenotaph of the ordinary kind, covered with green cloths, and having a high pilla with sculptured turban at either end. This, according to the Sheikh, was the tomb of three of the sons of Jacob, to whom he gave the names Reiyâlûn, Sahyûn (apparently Sion), and Bushera (perhaps Asher).

I have also paid a visit to the Samaritan High Priest Y'akûb, for the purpose of enquiring as to various Samaritan traditions. We found him in the little synagogue, where a representative congregation, robed in white, were reading the law in high nasal key much like that of a Jewish service. The Samaritans appear to be prospering, as their numbers have increased from 135 to 160 souls; and I was much impressed with the fine physique and handsome countenances of the men, which seem to contradict the idea that the race is dying out, as does also the fact that the number of males is considerably in excess of that of the females (98 to 62).

I was, however, disappointed by the results of our conversation with respect to the character of Samaritan traditions, not only because I found that the present High Priest has forgotten many things known to Amrân, his uncle and predecessor, and has only a confused remembrance of many important points, but also because in many cases the traditions which he related, as commonly received, are of very recent origin, and traceable to the Crusaders. Thus, for instance, he believed that Dothan was not to be placed at Tell Dothân, the site recognized by Jerome and by modern writers, but at Khân Jubb Yusuf, where it is placed by the Crusading historians, north of the Sea of Galilee. He stated that this was to be proved from ancient Samaritan books, and was quite unaware of the unsatisfactory nature of the identification.

The Samaritans have a tradition that the twelve sons of Jacob were buried each within the bounds of his own tribe. The sites which they point out are not, however, in accordance with this view. As regards Joshua's tomb, both the modern Samaritans and the mediæval Samaritan writers are divided into two parties, the one saying that he lies with Eliazar and Phinehas at 'Awertah, the others that he is buried with Nun and Caleb at Kefr Hâris.

I found that Caleb is known among them as Kifl, which renders the identification of the three sites at Kefr Hâris complete; Neby Nun being Nun, Neby Kifl Caleb, and Neby Lusha' Joshua, in accordance with the account of R. Jacob of Paris, and other Jewish travellers of the middle ages.

The tombs of the twelve sons of Jacob, as believed in by the Samaritans,



are all now in the hands of the Moslems, excepting perhaps that of Joseph, to which Jews and Samaritans have access, and where they burn oil and incense on two altars, one at the head, the other at the foot of the cenotaph. Judah lies at Neby Hûdah in el Yehudiyeh (Jehud), north of Jaffa. Dan, at Neby Dan, in the village of Neby Daniân, a little further east. Asher is said to be Neby Tota (the good prophet), in Tûbâs, north-east of Nâblus. Simeon is Neby Shem'ôn, near Kefr Sâta, north of Jaffa. Reuben is Neby Rûbin, a sacred place east of Yebnah, to which for at least 300 years pilgrimages have been made (far, however, from the lot of the tribe of Reuben). Levi is Neby Lawîn, who has a conspicuous shrine near Sileh, north-west of Nâblus. Benjamin, Gad, and Naphtali were unknown to the High Priest, who thought they might be the three buried at the Oulâd Ya'kub as above noticed. I believe, however, that Neby Yemîn near Neby Sham'ôn probably belongs to this group, and represents Benjamin.

Issachar, according to the High Priest, is now called Neby Hazkîl (Hazkîl or Ezekiel) by the Moslems, and lies in the village of Rameh. It is very remarkable that Rameh is a border town (Remeth) of Issachar, and that the name Hazkîn occurs again in the same connection in Jebel Hazkîn, which exists on the border of the same tribe near the south-east angle. In this case, therefore, the tradition has some *prima facie* appearance of being genuine. Finally the High Priest had heard that Zebulon was buried somewhere near Sidon. I presume that he referred to Neby Sebelân in the hills above Tyre. He also stated that other children (probably descendants) of Jacob were buried at *el Asiret el Hatab* and at *el Bizâneh*; all these places lie in the districts where in former times the Samaritans were numerous, and none are within the borders of Judæa. I give these traditions for what they are worth as a contribution to the folk-lore of Palestine.

#### JERUSALEM.

I find that the identification of the hill above Jeremiah's Grotto with the probable site of Calvary, which depends mainly on the fact that, according to Jewish tradition, this was the ancient place of public execution, has found favour with a large number of intelligent readers. I have already explained that we are indebted to Dr. Chaplin for discovering the tradition; but there are several facts in connection with this most interesting question which I have only recently ascertained.

The modern Arab name of the place is *el Heidhemâiyeh* ("torn down"), but this is a corruption of the earlier *Adhemâiyeh* as given by Mejr ed Din, and there seems no doubt that it is derived from the tomb of a son of the famous Edhem, a historical character. The Sheikh of the Jerusalem Haram gave me this explanation, which is confirmed by Dr. Chaplin. It appears also from Mejr ed Din, that the neighbourhood immediately east was called es Sahira, and was an ill-omened place connected in the imagination of Moslems with death and judgment (like the Kedron Valley

beyond it). Possibly in this we may have some trace of the ill-omened site of the ancient place of execution.

Another point concerning this hillock has been noticed by recent visitors, who have seen in its outline a resemblance to a skull. This was mentioned to me by the Rev. A. Henderson, but I could not then remember the circumstance. On walking from the north-east corner of Jerusalem towards the rock I perceived, however, what was meant. The rounded summit and the two hollow cave entrances beneath do, indeed, give some resemblance to a skull, as may be seen in a photograph taken from this point of view by Lieutenant Mantell, which I enclose. It is the skull of an animal rather than of a human being, and I should not like to base



NEWLY DISCOVERED TOMB, 200 YARDS WEST OF JEREMIAH'S GROTTA.—VIEW FROM EAST.

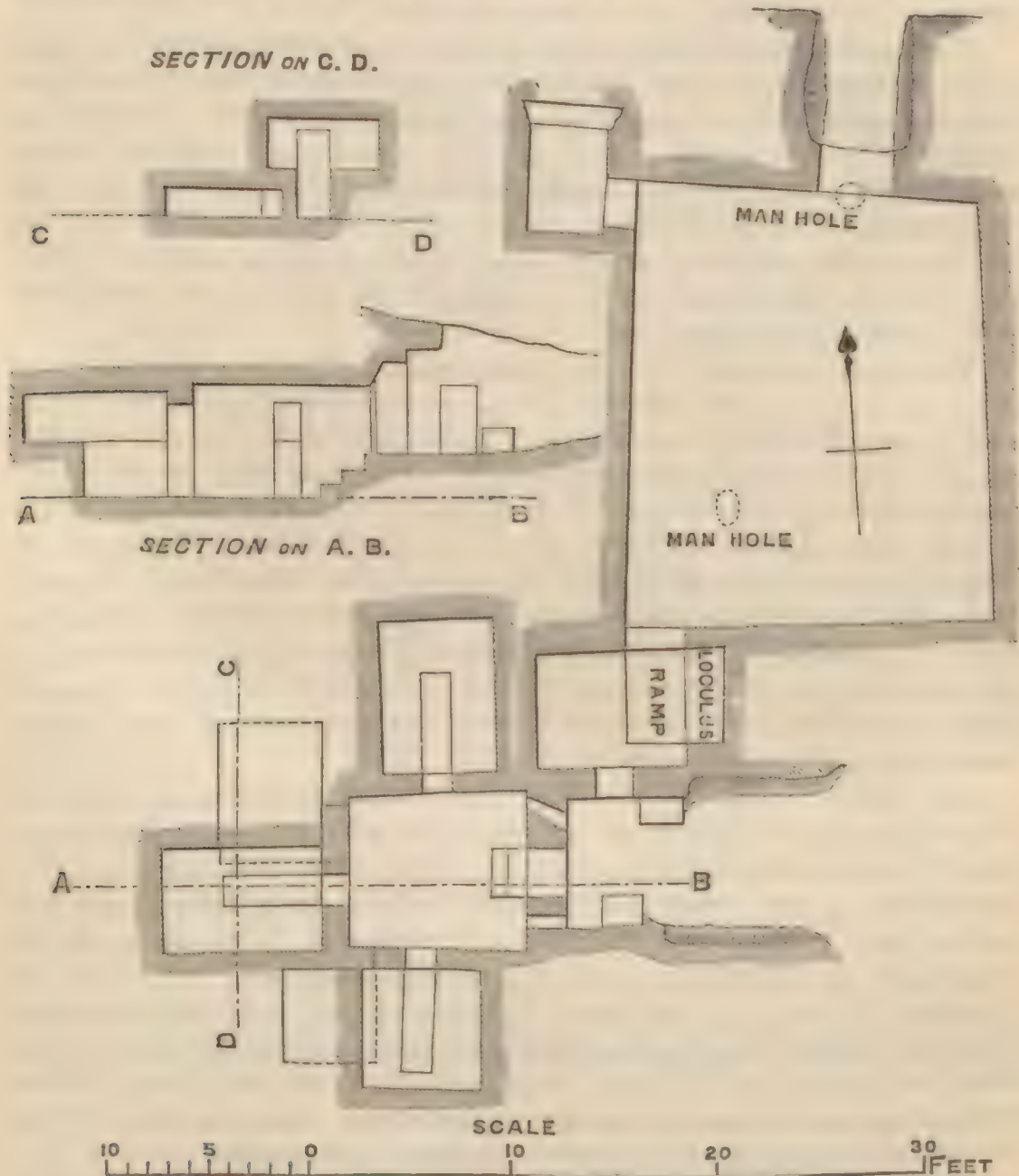
an argument on so slight a resemblance. It is, however, of interest to note the fact, as many persons consider that Golgotha was a name derived from the form of the ground, rather than from the use of the site as a place of burial or of execution.

It is more important to notice that the site of Jeremiah's Grotto is peculiarly fitted for a place of execution in consequence of its commanding position. From the summit the eye roams above the city walls over the greater part of Jerusalem, while on the west the ground rises beyond the intervening valley like a theatre. There is hardly another



spot near Jerusalem so fitted to be the central point for any public spectacle.

Still more interesting is a discovery which I made about a week ago, of an indisputably Jewish tomb immediately west of the knoll in question. It has only recently been opened, and has not been as yet described, I believe, by any visitor. It is cut in the east face of a very curious rock platform measuring about 70 paces either way—as shown on the Ordnance



NEWLY DISCOVERED JEWISH TOMB NEAR THE CITY, 200 YARDS WEST OF JEREMIAH'S GROTTA.

Survey about 200 yards west of the grotto. The platform is roughly scarp'd on all sides, in an apparently artificial manner, and on the west is a higher piece of rock, also with sides rudely scarp'd. The rest of the space is fairly level, but there seem to be traces of the foundations of a surrounding wall in some low mounds near the edge of the platform.

I have long been aware of the existence of a curious cistern in the north-east corner of this scarp. It has a domed roof with a man-hole, and also a door with a passage 10 ft. long and 3 ft. wide, leading out eastwards. The cistern is about 8 paces in diameter, and three steps lead down from the door to the level of the cistern floor. This excavation seems originally to have been a chamber afterwards converted into a cistern, and there are sockets for the door-hinges and for bolts in the passage entrance.

The ancient tomb is some thirty paces further south, and the entrance is also from the east. The whole is very rudely cut in rock, which is of inferior quality. The doorway is much broken, and there is a loophole or window, 4 ft. wide, either side of the door. The outer court, cut in the rock, is 7 ft. square, and two stones are so placed in this as to give the idea that they may have held in place a rolling-stone before the door. On the right (or north) is a side entrance, leading into a chamber with a single loculus, and thence into a cave, some 8 paces square and 10 ft. high, with a well-mouth in the roof.

The chamber within the tomb entrance is reached by a descent of two steps, and measures 6 ft. by 9 ft. From either side wall, and from the back wall is an entrance 20 ins. wide and about  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ft. high, leading into a side chamber. A passage runs in continuation of each entrance for  $4\frac{1}{2}$  ft., and on each side is a bench about  $2\frac{1}{2}$  ft. wide and  $2\frac{1}{4}$  ft. high. A similar bench occurs at the end, the whole width of each chamber being thus  $5\frac{1}{2}$  ft., its length 7 ft. 2 in., and its height from 5 to 6 ft. Each would contain two bodies lying beside the passage, but there would scarcely be room for three. In addition to these three chambers, there are two excavations on the floor-level, in the further corner of the central chamber. They are about 5 ft. square, with narrow entrances, and were scattered with human bones at the time of my visit.

The discovery of this tomb is of no little importance in connection with Jerusalem topography. If it be compared with the great cemetery at Sheikh Hraik, and with the monument of Helena at Jerusalem, it will be seen to belong to the later Jewish period—the centuries immediately preceding the Christian era. It is not a Christian tomb, so far as can be judged, for the Christians in Palestine seem mainly to have used the "rock-sunk" tomb. A cemetery of tombs of the form commonly used by the Crusaders, was found in 1873 near the north-east angle of the Jerusalem city walls, but no Jewish tomb has ever been found before so close to the ramparts of the modern city on the north: the next nearest being the tomb discovered in 1873, about 300 yards further north.

It would be bold to hazard the suggestion that the single Jewish sepulchre thus found is indeed the tomb in the garden, nigh unto the place called Golgotha, which belonged to the rich Joseph of Arimathea; yet its appearance so near the old place of execution, and so far from the other tombs in the old cemeteries of the city, is extremely remarkable. I am sorry to say that a group of Jewish houses is growing up round the spot. The rock is being blasted for building-stone, and the tomb, unless



preserved, may perhaps soon be entirely destroyed. It is now in a disgusting condition of filth, which shows that the Jews have little reverence for the old sepulchres of their ancestors. Perhaps some of our readers might feel willing to redeem this most interesting monument from its present state of desecration, and to purchase and enclose the little plot of rocky ground in which it stands. Without such preservation the sepulchre is doomed to destruction sooner or later.

The platform of rock in which the tomb is cut seems possibly to have been the base of a group of towers with a scarped foundation.

The distance from the monument of Helena, and the position with respect to the Cotton Grotto, agrees with the description given by Josephus of the position of the "Women's Towers" (see "Handbook to the Bible," page 352). If the third wall actually extended over this line, it is easy to explain why no other tombs of the same period exist so close to the present city. The extension of the fortifications rendered it necessary to remove the cemetery further off, since the Jews did not allow sepulture within the walls. The cisterns may have belonged to the period when the great towers were here erected, and the passage with steps may even have been a postern from the towers.

If we could feel any reasonable certitude that in this single Jewish tomb (dating about the time of Christ) we have recovered the actual sepulchre in which he lay, an easy explanation of the loss of the site is afforded at once; for the construction, some ten years later, of the "Women's Towers" by Agrippa, upon the rock over the tomb, would have caused the monument to be hidden beneath, or within the new buildings; and thus the sepulchre could no longer be visited, and in course of time its existence was forgotten, until the zealous Helena destroyed the Venus Temple on the present site of the Holy Sepulchre Church, and "beyond all hope" (as Eusebius words it) discovered the rock-cut Jewish tomb, which the faithful accepted as the tomb of Christ.

A careful plan of the site and of the tomb is being made by Lieutenant Mantell,\* as the alterations in this part of Jerusalem are proceeding so rapidly, that on our next visit rock and tomb may alike have disappeared.

#### THE MOUNTAIN OF THE SCAPE GOAT.†

Since proposing the identification of this mountain, I have been unable until yesterday to revisit the spot. Readers of "Tent Work"

\* In making this plan, Lieutenant Mantell found various remains of early Byzantine sculpture belonging to cornices, also pieces of tessellated pavement and of a stone pavement of squares about 6 inches side. These were dug up south of the rock platform, near the spot where Mr. Schick discovered the great sarcophagus, supposed by Dr. Chaplin to have been the tomb of the Empress Eudocia. It is known that the old church of St. Stephen, which she built and where she was buried, existed on this spot, and the cornices and terraces are no doubt fragments of this basilica.

† My identification of this site has been recently called in question by

will remember that there was a place called Tzuk, to which the scape goat was conducted, and where his conductor, seizing him by the legs, pushed him over a precipice, so that rolling to the bottom he was killed, and thus the evil omen of his voluntary return to Jerusalem was rendered impossible. The mountain was in a district called Hidoodim, and the place of precipitation was called Tzuk. It was apparently at a distance of eleven Sabbath days' journey from the city, and was at the entrance to the desert.

In 1876 I was able to show in the *Quarterly Statement* how all these requisites are met by the site of el Muntâr ("the watch tower"), a great hill north-east of Mar Saba, and about  $6\frac{1}{2}$  miles in a line from Jerusalem. The name Tzuk occurs under the form Sûk (radically exact) at an ancient well near the ridge. The name Hidoodim seems to be preserved, as I first remarked in 1876, in the title *Hadeidun*, applying to the ridge or spur running north-east from the mountain. The distance is almost exactly that required, and the view of the desert first opens on the traveller from Jerusalem as he nears the summit. Since I proposed the identification, Mr. Schick has visited the spot; and in our recent visit we were able to recover the names as before from another witness, and to make several other observations of interest.

Lieutenant Mantell, Dr. Chaplin, and myself rode yesterday to the mountain along the ancient road which leads to it from Jerusalem. This road, diverging from the Jericho highway at Bethany, leads west of Abu Dis, and descends into the upper part of the great Wâdy Abu Hindi, which will be found marked on our map west of the mountain. We could trace the ancient roadway by its side walls the greater part of the distance, and verified the nomenclature of the map in a very satisfactory manner in riding along. Ancient wells, the sites of which are marked on the map and their names recorded in the "Memoirs," occur all along the course of the road. The well of Sûk or Tzuk (Bir es Sûk or Herubbet es Sûk) is a little south of the road, on the side of a shallow depression in the wolds which extend unbroken from Abu Dis to el Muntar. It has every appearance of antiquity, with a small aqueduct some 200 feet,

Professor Neubauer, who does not, however, appear to have been aware of the strength of the arguments in its favour, as he refers only to the name Hadeidun. He supposes Tzuk to have been 12 Roman miles from Jerusalem, which is contrary to the explanation of the Mishna, given by Maimonides, and he places the site at Jebel Kuruntul, which is over 13 English miles in a line from Jerusalem. The name Tzuk he proposes to recover in *Lis Dûk*, at the foot of this mountain; but this name (Doch or Dagon) has no connection with Tzuk (צוק).

It may be noticed, moreover, that while el Muntâr is a singularly conspicuous mountain, at the proper distance from Jerusalem, on an ancient road, and reached without crossing any great feature, Kuruntul can only be reached by a long detour northwards from the city; and far from being visible from the Temple, it is not even seen from Olivet, being hidden by the surrounding ridges. Kuruntul has, in fact, no circumstances in its favour, while the distance is about double that at which the site of Tzuk is to be sought.



bringing surface water from the hill slopes on the east. The great block in form of a cylinder, with a round perforation in the middle, covering the rock-cut cistern beneath, has been broken in two. On the well-mouth lies a rude term or pillar 2 feet long and 9 inches in diameter, much resembling a small mile-stone. There is a second stone collar lying beside the well, cut like the broken one in very hard stone, and showing no marks of the cords of shepherds' buckets, either because the well is little used, or because the stone is too hard. The reservoir is full of good water, and our guide said it extended some way under the ground. There is a small hole in the side of the well, through which the water from the aqueduct enters the cistern beneath at the end of the channel, which is also rock-cut.

Some 300 paces east of the well is a cave, with its mouth to the north. It is quite rough, and is 7 feet high and some 10 paces square.

On the spur north of the well—a high ridge, whence Jerusalem and el Muntâr are both distinctly visible, are remains of an enclosure called Rujm Ghuzâleh ("Cairn of the Gazelle"), with a tradition attached, that a favourite horse of an Arab Chief, called "the Gazelle" from its speed and beauty, was here killed in an Arab skirmish. The enclosure is 30 paces east and west, by 24 paces north and south, presenting a single row of roughly cut stones, some being of considerable size (4 to 5 feet long), and one having a socket cut in it as if for a door post.

The identification of the Scape Goat Mountain does not seem to require further evidence than that already brought forward. Still two curious points may be noticed. In the first place the word *Ghuzâleh* contains the root of the name Azazel, rendered "scape" in our version, but generally recognised as the name of a demon. The enclosure is just about the distance at which the last Tabernacle between Jerusalem and Tzuk should occur, and the messenger as he pushed the goat over the precipice would have been in full view. It is again worthy of notice that the name *Hidu* is used for "India" in the Talmud, and that the unusual name *Wâdy Aba Hindi*, "Valley father of the Indian," applies to the main ravine below el Muntâr.

As regards the mountain itself, I was delighted to find that my impression of the precipitous character of its eastern slopes was not exaggerated. El Muntâr is a great rounded hill as seen from the west, but a steep cliff as viewed from the east. A very steep slope of white marl, some hundreds of feet in height, here exists, and it would be difficult for a goat to find foot-hold in climbing on it, while if pushed over the edge it must inevitably roll to the bottom, and would no doubt be killed by the fall.

The view also from the mountain is very remarkable. Jerusalem is in full sight, the Haram Courts are visible, and the Dome of the Rock is only hidden by a group of olive trees. I was not aware that any point in this desert near Mâr Saba could be seen from the city; but the mountain appears through a gap between Olivet and the more southern hills. Thus, when the unhappy goat was pushed over the precipice, the worshippers in the Temple would have been able, by straining their eyes, almost to distin-

guish the figure of the conductor against the sky line, and the stations whence cloths were waved, to give the news of the death of the scape goat, need not have exceeded two or three in number. These observations serve to connect the mountain in a very remarkable manner with the ritual of the Day of Atonement; and the act of dismissal of the goat is brought, as it were, within the same theatre with the other ceremonies of the day. From the Mount of Olives, the course of the messengers could be distinctly seen almost throughout the whole distance of the journey, for no deep valley intervenes between the city and the Muntâr mountain, a narrow shed running out and connecting the hill with the Olivet chain.

Nor is the view east less striking; a traveller ascends the brown or tawny hill side, and finds himself at the top of the white precipice, the whole of the Judaean desert suddenly unfolds before and beneath him. On the south the Tower of Mat Saba and the peaks called Kurûn el Hayr ("horns of stone"). Beyond these the desert of Engedi, and far away south-east of Beersheba, the peaks of Safra Lawandi. On the east, the *Bukeia* or white plateau above the cliffs, west of the Dead Sea. On the north-east the Jordan valley, the black line of the Jordan jungle, the dark thorn groves of Jericho, the white and modern Russian hotel at Eriha (one of the many Russian hospices built within the last five years in Palestine). Far away north the mysterious cone of Sartaba, and beyond all the dark slopes of Gilead and Moab, the high plateau which extends (in view) almost at an unbroken level from the Jabbok southwards, the great gorge of the Zerka M'afir, and the dark blue waters of the Dead Sea, with the yellow sand spit at the Jordan mouth, and the long yellow line of the Lisân.

The contrast of the glaring white desert, and the dark eastern hills, between the countless knolls and ridges on the west, and the great gorges on the east, was very striking; and there is, perhaps, no view on the earth which is so weird and strange, as this panorama of the Judaean desert from the mountain of the scape goat.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, LT., R.E.

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### A VISIT TO 'AIN QADIS: THE SUPPOSED SITE OF KADESH-BARNEA.

Among the unsettled sites of the Desert of the Exodus, none is entitled to more prominence than Kadesh-barnea. Dean Stanley says: "There can be no question that next to Sinai, the most important resting place of the Children of Israel is Kadesh." Professor Palmer adds: "This is perhaps the most important site in the whole region, as it forms the key to the movements of the Children of Israel during the forty years wanderings." And Dr. William Smith declares: "To determine the position of Kadesh itself is the great problem of the whole route."



Yet there is a remarkable barrenness of material for the settlement of this important question, supplied by the notes of travellers in the Desert; and any fresh contribution to that material is likely to be heartily welcomed by Biblical scholars everywhere.

In 1842 the Rev. J. Rowlands, of Queen's College, Cambridge, discovered a fountain bearing the name Kādēs, or Qadīs, a name having the same meaning as the Hebrew "Kadesh," and was confident that this was the site of Kadesh-barnea. His account of his discovery was published in the Appendix to Williams's "Holy City," with his reasons for deeming it the disclosure of the long-desired site. At the same time, he made mention of two other wells, neither of which, however, had been visited by him, bearing "the names of Adeirat and Ascimeh, sometimes called Kadeirat and Kascimeh," which in his opinion represented Adar and Azmon of the southern boundary of Judah. This reported discovery by Mr. Rowlands has been a fruitful source of discussion for now nearly forty years. The probable correctness of his conclusions has been recognized by such scholars as Ritter, Kalisch, Keil, Kurtz, Schultz, Winer, Professor Palmer, President Bartlett, and others well known in Germany, Great Britain, and America. On the other hand, it has been opposed by Robinson, Stanley, Porter, Espin in the "Speaker's Commentary," Hayman in "Smith's Bible Dictionary," and many others.

It is a singular fact that in all these years the site thus discovered by Mr. Rowlands has never been revisited. Indeed, it has been questioned if he did not confuse the names and the wells, Kades and Kadeirat. Dr. Robinson distinctly declares that he did so. Espin follows Robinson in this error, and on the topography of "el Ain," the location of Kadeirat, builds up an argument against the identification of Kādēs or Gadis with Kadesh-barnea. Even Professor Palmer, who agrees with Rowlands in his main conclusion, and confirms his reasoning with cogent arguments, thinks that Rowlands wrongly applied the name 'Ain Qadis "to 'Ain el Quiderát, some miles farther northward, and seems not to have visited this spot [the true 'Ain Qadīs] at all." President Bartlett, of Dartmouth College, in his "From Egypt to Palestine," while favouring Rowlands's identification, is confident, after a visit to the region in question, that there is no such fountain as 'Ain Qadeirát, and that Rowlands was mistaken in both the location and the distinctive peculiarities of 'Ain Qadīs.

Apart, therefore, from the discussion over the identification of 'Ain Qadis with Kadesh-barnea, there has been no little confusion as to the facts of the location and surroundings of the well itself. No traveller, except Mr. Rowlands, has ever reported a visit to 'Ain Qadīs, until President Bartlett found a well in that region which he supposed to be the one seen by Rowlands, although it did not meet the published description of it. 'Ain Kadeirát has *never* been reported as visited; and its existence has been squarely denied. The question is therefore still an open one. Are there three wells, or two; or is there only one in the region of this supposed site of Kadesh?

A scholar so familiar with both the Land and the Book as Dr. Thomson, says on this subject, in his latest work, "Southern Palestine and Jerusalem:" "When I was at Mr. Rowlands's Muweilih, I made diligent enquiries about Kadesh; but both our own Arabs and other Bedawin we met in the neighbourhood were either absolutely ignorant of such a place, under any possible pronounciation of the name, or they purposely concealed their knowledge of it." Referring to the "singularly brief and unsatisfactory" descriptions of it already given to the public, Dr. Thomson very naturally adds: "One sadly wants a little more information in regard to several points;" "for if 'Ain Qadis be in reality the Kadesh-barnea in the wilderness of Paran, . . . it is one of the most interesting sites in the entire history of the Hebrew Wanderings."

In view of this state of the case, I am sure that a report I am now enabled to make of a personal visit to each of the three wells in question will be a matter of interest to all who are familiar with Bible geography.

About the 1st of April of this year, while crossing the Desert from Kala'at Nakhl to Hebron, I determined to satisfy myself concerning the existence and relative position of these three wells. Turning eastward from Wádi Jerur, at about latitude 30° 28' N., and longitude 34° 20' E., I went on for three hours, to Jebel el Hawádeh, over which I passed into Wádi Qadis. Following up this Wádi, in a direction a little north of east, for three hours more, I came to the place so glowingly described by Mr. Rowlands, and found it all that he had pictured. It was an oasis unapproached by any I had seen in the desert since leaving Feirán, and not surpassed, within its limits, by *that*. It was carpeted with grass and flowers. Fig-trees laden with fruit were against its limestone hill-sides. Shrubs in richness and variety abounded. Standing out from the mountain range at the northward of the beautiful oasis-amphitheatre, was the "large single mass or small hill of solid rock" which Rowlands looked at as the cliff (*sela*) smitten by Moses to cause it to "give forth its water" when its flowing had ceased. From beneath this cliff came the abundant stream. A well, walled up with time-worn limestone blocks, was the first receptacle of the water. Not far from this was a second well similarly walled, supplied from the same source. Around both these wells were ancient watering troughs of limestone. Several pools, not walled up, were also supplied from the stream. On from the line of these pools, a gurgling stream flowed musically for several hundred yards, and then lost itself in the verdure-covered desert. The water was clear and sweet and abundant. Two of the pools were ample for bathing. Before the cliff, and around its neighbouring wells, camel and goat dung was trodden down as if by the accumulations of centuries, showing that the place was much frequented for watering purposes.

Mr. Rowlands was certainly correct as to the name, the general location, and the description of this remarkable place. It is Qadis (قدیس). There is a Jebel Qadis, a Wádi Qadis, and an 'Ain Qadis. It is quite as far to the eastward as he put it, fully twelve to fifteen miles E.S.E. of his



Moilâhhi, or 'Ain Muweilih. The Wâdi at the head of which it is situated is an extensive and fertile plain, larger by far than er Rahah before Jebel Mûsa, where the Children of Israel received the Law. Remains of rude stone buildings and other ruins abound in the vicinity, showing that it was once a well peopled region.

From 'Ain Qadis I went to 'Ain Qadeirât. Coming out of the oasis above described into the main valley of Qadis, and following that westward for twenty minutes, I turned to the north-west, and went over a lofty mountain pass, Nakb Hâwa, descending into Wâdi Umm 'Ashîn (or Hashîn), where Sinaitic inscriptions were numerous. In two and a quarter hours after leaving 'Ain Qadis I reached the upper end of Wâdi el 'Ain. Going down this, westerly, for half-an-hour, I came to one of the several branches with which that Wâdi is spurred, and turned up this in a north-easterly direction. At the entrance to this branch stands a noteworthy ruin, built of huge blocks of hammered stone laid in courses. It is a rectangular quadrangle, some seventy feet by seventy-five, with double walls about six feet high. Along this branch of Wâdi el 'Ain I found vegetation increasing in fulness and beauty. Trees and shrubs and grass were in luxuriance. One tree, called by our Arabs a seyal, but differing from the seyal of the lower desert, surpassed anything I had seen elsewhere. The reach of its branches had a circumference of nearly 250 feet. It had a double trunk, one arm having a girth of six feet, and the other of four and a half. Soon I heard the sound of running water. A channel of forty to sixty feet wide, bordered with flags, was the shallow bed of a running stream. At the head of this was the fountain itself, pouring a rich stream of pure and sweet waters out of the hill side, with a fall of about seven feet, into a basin of some twenty feet sweep, and from twelve to fourteen feet deep. It was such a fountain as one would expect to find in the mountains of Lebanon, rather than in the Desert. There is no wonder that the Wâdi containing it is called Wâdi el 'Ain the Wâdi of the Well. This fountain is the 'Ain Kadeirât, or Qadeirât (قَدِيرَات), mentioned by Rowlands and Robinson, but not before visited by any traveller who has reported his visit.

After finding these two wells I visited, on the day following, the third well named by Rowlands 'Ain Kaseimeh, or Qasême (قَسِيمَة). It is several hours west and south of Qadeirât, and but little more than an hour from Moilâhhi, or by 'Ain Muweilih, thought by many to be Hagar's fountain. This place is by no means so noteworthy as either of the other two. It has been visited and described by several travellers. Professor Palmer mentions the place in "The Desert of the Exodus," vol. ii, p. 357. President Bartlett was evidently deceived by the wily Sheikh Suleiman into thinking that this Qasimeh was Qadis, hence his description of it is fuller and more enthusiastic than Professor Palmer's. It is found in "Through Egypt to Palestine," pp. 358-362; and I can vouch for its substantial accuracy, except as to name.

It is therefore now clear that Mr. Rowlands was correct in his reference

to the three wells; that he did not confound 'Ain Qadeirát with 'Ain Qadis; that he did find a well bearing the name Qadis, the Arabic equivalent of Kadesh; and that any argument based by Robinson or Espin or their followers on his supposed confusion of names and localities inevitably falls to the ground. Yet it by no means follows that the site of Kadesh-barnea is settled by this new contribution of facts bearing on that question.

Among the reasons why 'Ain Qadis and 'Ain Qadeirát have not been found before during all these years of discussion over them, it may be said that they are in the territory of the 'Azázimch Arabs, while the guides of travellers from Nakhb to Gaza or Hebron are of the Teyáhah Arabs, who are not on good terms with the 'Azázimch. Moreover the superstitious fears of the Bedawin make them unwilling to disclose to Christians what they deem the riches of their more sacred wells. Again, there are comparatively few who travel over this route at all. Peculiar circumstances, which it is not necessary to detail here, enabled me to accomplish my desire of finding the much-disputed wells. In reporting of them now, I hope to call fresh attention to the exceeding desirableness and importance of a careful survey of the Negeb and Desert of et Tih, with similar thoroughness to that already secured for Western Palestine and the lower Sinaitic Peninsula.

H. CLAY TRUMBULL.

Philadelphia, U.S.A.,  
June 8, 1881.

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## JACOB'S WELL.

DAMASCUS,

May 17th, 1881.

Very probably some short account of a recent visit that I paid to Nablous may be of some interest to the many readers of the *Quarterly Statement*. The site of Jacob's Well is doubtless well known to the majority of your subscribers, even to those who have not themselves visited the Holy Land. It has again and again been described by the many writers on Palestine, and all have mentioned their disappointment that instead of finding any semblance to a well, or anything which could recall the interview of our Lord with the woman of Samaria, they have merely found a dark irregular hole amid a mass of ruins in a vaulted chamber beneath the surface of the ground. I have shared this disappointment on many previous visits to Nablous, and again, as a fortnight ago, I stood with my wife beside the spot, it was with great regret that we were so utterly unable to picture before us the scene so graphically described by the Evangelist. We had clambered down into the vault, and were vainly attempting to peer into the dark hole amid the heaps of stones and rubbish, when we chanced to notice, a few feet from the opening, a dark crack between the stones. Fancying that possibly it



might be another opening of the well, we removed some stones and earth, and soon were able to trace part of a carved aperture in a large slab of stone. Deeply interested at finding this, we cleared away more earth and stones, and soon distinguished the circular mouth of the well, though it was blocked by an immense mass of stone. Calling to aid two men who were looking on, with considerable labour we at length managed to remove it, and the opening of the well was clear. It is impossible to describe our feelings as we gazed down the open well, and sat on that ledge on which doubtless the Saviour rested, and felt with our fingers the grooves in the stone caused by the ropes by which the water-pots were drawn up. The following day we devoted to completely excavating round the opening of the well, and laying bare the massive stone which forms its mouth. This consists of the hard white limestone of the country, and is in fair preservation, though parts are broken away here and there. The annexed rude sketch gives some idea of its appearance.



The exact measurements I also give :—

					ft.	in.
Length....	....	....	....	....	3	9
Breadth	....	....	....	....	2	7
Thickness	....	....	....	....	1	6
Height above the pavement...	....	....	....	....	1	1
Breadth of aperture of the well	....	....	....	....	1	5½
Depth of the well	....	....	....	....	67	0
Width	....	....	....	....	7	6

We let a boy down to the bottom, but found nothing of any interest,

but evidently there is a large accumulation of rubbish. I trust that a stone of such intense interest may long remain uninjured now that it has been exposed to light.—I am, yours faithfully,

CHARLES WRIGHT BARCLAY.

The Rev. John Mill in his "Three Months' Residence at Nablus," published in 1864, at p. 45, states in reference to Jacob's Well, that "in 1855, when we first visited this place, we measured it as carefully as we could, and found it to be 9 feet in diameter, and a little more than 70 deep. But older travellers found it much deeper. . . . On my second visit in 1860, the mouth of the well was completely filled up, so that it was with difficulty I could identify the spot where it was. Nor could I learn how this had occurred. Some of my friends at Nablus thought that the torrents during the rains of the previous winter were the cause; but others believed that it was done by the inhabitants of the little village close by, on account of the well being bought by the Greek Church. The well, however, was completely hid from sight, to the great disappointment of many travellers beside myself."

"On further inquiry I learnt from the Greek priest that their Church had actually bought the well from the Turkish Government, including a plot of ground surrounding it, of 229 feet by 180 feet. For this they had paid, he told me, 70,000 piastres; but another friend, belonging to the same community, told me it was at least 100,000." †

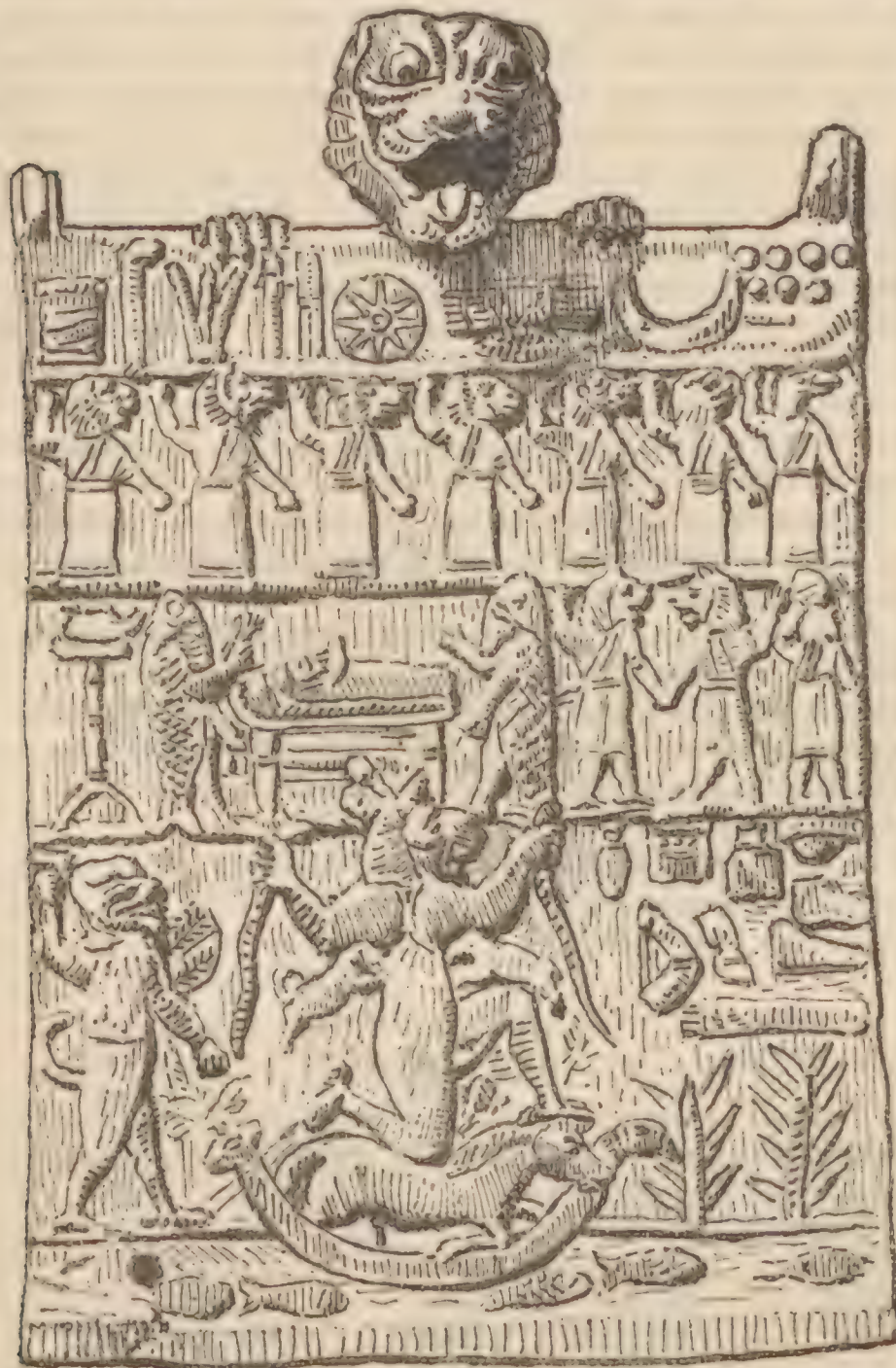
Mr. Mill also mentions that the Christians call it *Beer Samaritanish*, the "Samaritan Well," while the Samaritans themselves call it *Beer Jacob*, or "Jacob's Well." He also points out that it is not an *Ain* (עַיִן), a well of living water, but a *ber* (בְּאֵר), a cistern to hold rain water.

### THE COLLECTION OF M. PÉRETIÉ.

THROUGH the kindness of Mr. Dickson, the British Vice-Consul at Beyrout, I obtained an introduction to M. Péretié, whose collection of antiques is probably the finest in Syria. Among the most interesting objects are two Phœnician mirrors with figures, which have, as M. Péretié himself remarked, a strong affinity in style to Indian representations, both in feature and in attitude. Egyptian bronzes, and a fine amethyst scarabæus from Byblos; Egyptian bas-reliefs representing Typhon and Isis from Palmyra; cuneiform bricks and Assyrian sculptures; Palmyrene figures with inscriptions in Palmyrene characters; bronzes with negro features dug up on the Syrian coast; a fine collection of coins of the Seleucidae, including a god, one of Tryphon, which is almost unique; mediæval signet rings in the same pale gold which is found in the Crusading coinage; a collection of Venuses, and other classic figures, some of the goddesses having bracelets, armlets, and necklaces of gold—in one case with a pearl let into the necklet; gold rings, chains, and earrings;



a rude idol of ivory ; a pair of French pistols, 200 years old, beautifully inlaid with silver masks and scroll work, and found at Diarbekr ; Cypriote pottery, and grotesque figures like those found by Dr. Schliemann at Troy, such are some of the objects which M. Péretié has collected during a long residence in Syria. He told us that two-handed swords of the



Crusades were still in the possession of the Arabs east of Jordan, and that some of these had been purchased by Europeans. Some of the objects are of great interest to students of native worship, and the mixture of Egyptian, Negro, and Indian types in antiquities collected on the Syrian shores, while fully in accord with the views of antiquaries as to the early history of the Phœnicians, is not the less interesting and instructive.

The gem of the collection is, however, the small bronze tablet, of which a sketch traced from a photograph is enclosed, and which has already been described by M. Clermont Ganneau in the "Revue Archéologique," December, 1879. It measures  $4\frac{1}{2}$  inches in height, by  $3\frac{1}{4}$  inches in width, and has an eye at each top corner, whereby it was suspended. It is engraved on both sides, and was intended apparently to be so hung that both sides might be seen. On the back is a kind of demon-cherub, with four wings, a lion's body, eagle's claws, a short tail, and a serpent in front. The front paws rest on the tablet, and are visible on the other side the head, which resembles a tiger's, is boldly moulded, and projects over the tablet in front. It is not unlike that of the Indian infernal goddess Kali, or Durga. It is also worthy of notice that similar heads were picked up by Layard during his Assyrian explorations, and thought to be the tops of sceptres, or the ornaments of thrones, whereas they appear, as M. Péretie pointed out, more probably to have belonged to tablets similar to that under consideration.

The design on the tablet represents the fate of the soul according to Assyrian or Phœnician belief. The tablet is divided into four compartments horizontally, the lowest being the largest, and highest the most narrow. In the top compartment, various astronomical symbols occur, many of which, as M. Ganneau points out, occur on other Assyrian monuments. On the extreme right are the seven stars, next to these the crescent, next the winged solar disc, then an eight-rayed star in a circle. The remaining symbols are less easily explained, but the last is called by M. Ganneau a "cidaris" or Persian tiara, while another appears to me to approach most nearly to the *Trisul*, or symbol of "fire," the emblem of the Indian Siva.

Below these symbols stand seven deities facing to the right, with long robes, and the heads of various animals. The first to the left resembles a lion, the second a wolf or hound, the fourth a ram, the sixth a bird, the seventh a serpent, while the third and fifth are less easily recognized.\* In the third compartment a body lies on a bier, with a deity at the head, and another at the feet. These deities

\* As a tentative suggestion, I may, perhaps, be allowed to propose that these seven deities are the planets, and that the symbols above belong to them as follows, commencing on the right:—

<i>Planet.</i>	<i>Assyrian Name.</i>	<i>Head of Deity.</i>	<i>Symbol.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
1. Saturn ..	Chiun ..	Serpent ..	Seven Stars ..	<i>A.</i>
2. Moon ..	Nannar ..	Bird ..	Crescent ..	<i>B.</i>
3. Sun ..	Shamash ..	Boar? ..	Winged disc ..	<i>C.</i>
4. Mars ..	Marduk ..	Ram ..	Rayed disc ..	<i>D.</i>
5. Mercury ..	Nebo ..	? ..	Two Columns ..	<i>E.</i>
6. Venus ..	Ishtar ..	Wolf? ..	Trisul ..	<i>F.</i>
7. Jupiter ..	Ishu ..	Lion ..	Cidaris? ..	<i>G.</i>

*A.* The serpent is often the emblem of Saturn, who, as the eldest of the seven, ("the great serpent father of the gods") naturally comes first, and therefore on the right, and has seven stars for his symbol.



have the right hand held up, and the left down (a common feature of Indian symbolism also observable in the attitude of the Málawiyeh derwishes), and the figure to the left appears to hold a branch, or three ears of corn. Both are robed in the peculiar fish-headed costume, with a scaly body and fish tail, which is supposed to be symbolical of the mythical Oannes, who, according to Berosus, issued from the Persian Gulf, and taught laws and arts to the early dwellers on the Euphrates. Behind the left-hand fish-god is a tripod stand, on which is an indefinite object; to the right of the other fish-god are two lion-headed human figures with eagle's claws, apparently contending with one another, the right arms being raised, the left holding hand by hand. To the right of these is another figure of Assyrian type, with a domed head-dress and beard.

In the lowest compartment the infernal river fringed with rushes, and full of fish, is represented. A fearful lion-headed goddess with eagle's claws, kneels on one knee on a horse (the emblem of death), which is carried in a kneeling attitude on a boat with bird-headed prow. The goddess crushes a serpent in either hand, and two lion cubs are represented sucking her breasts. To the left is a demon bearing a close resemblance to the one which supports the tablet itself, and who appears to urge on the boat from the bank; to the right are various objects, mostly of an indefinite character, among which M. Ganneau recognises a vase, and a bottle, a horse's leg with hoof, etc., possibly offerings to appease the infernal deities. The above explanation is mainly derived from M. Ganneau's paper; but I would venture to draw attention to the extremely Indian character of the demons represented—a point which M. Ganneau does not mention. The lion-headed goddess might well be taken for the terrible infernal deity Kali, or Durga, the worship of whose consort Yama was the original source of that of the later Serapis, whose dog was the ancestor of Cerberus.\* There is also a general resemblance between this design

*B.* The moon, according to Lenormant, was always an older divinity than the sun.

*C.* The boar is often an emblem of the sun in its strength.

*D.* The disc (*litu*) was the weapon employed by Marduk, the warrior-god, as mentioned by Lenormant.

*E.* The two pillars of Hermes are the proper emblem of the ancient Set or Thoth, the planet Mercury.

*F.* The *trisol* belongs properly to the Asherah, god or goddess of fertility—the planet Venus.

*G.* The Cidaris occurs in the Bavian sculptures, in connection with a similar emblem. In the Chaldean system, Jupiter and Venus occur together as the youngest of the planets.

It should also be noted that the position of the arms, and the long robe covering the feet, resemble the attitudes and dress of the Málawiyeh derwishes in their sacred dance, symbolic of the seven planets revolving (according to the Ptolemaic system) round the earth.—C. R. C.

\* Possibly the two so called lion cubs may represent the two infernal dogs, which accompany Yama, in Indian mythology.

and the well-known Egyptian picture representing the wicked soul conveyed to hell in the form of a pig. The Gannes figures take the place of the two goddesses, who in Egyptian designs stand at either end of the mammy, and who form the prototypes of the two angels for whom the pious Moslem provides seats at the head and foot of his tombstone. Perhaps the miserable horse who stumbles under the weight of the gigantic lion goddess, may represent the unhappy soul itself, while the three ears of corn (if I am correct in so calling them), remind us of the grains of corn which have been found in skulls dug up in Syria by Captain Burton. Corn is intimately connected with Dagon, the Syrian fish-god.

This curious tablet is, I believe, unique, and affords strong evidence of the similarity of Egyptian and Assyrian beliefs. The Egyptians are now generally acknowledged to have belonged to an Asiatic Aryan race, and the fact that the mythology of Africa, of Greece, and of Rome, had its origin in the far East is too well known to require notice; but the Assyrian mythology is as yet but imperfectly known, and the present monument, which was brought from Palmyra by a peasant, who sold it at Hamath, comes from a district directly on the line of the Phœnician march from their first settlements near the head of the Persian Gulf, to their home on the borders of the Mediterranean. I understand that M. Ganneau is anxious to study the original tablet, which I have been fortunate enough to see, in order to decipher some of the more obscure details, and intends, for that purpose, so soon as his health permits, to visit Beyrout, and to examine this interesting relic.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, R.F

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## THE HITTITES.

### I.

#### THEIR SACRED CAPITAL.

THE announcement that Lieutenant Conder had discovered the Sacred capital of the Hittites on the shore of Lake Kades, cannot fail to interest Oriental scholars; and it may lead to more important discoveries in the history of that very ancient and remarkable people. It will be remembered that the Hittites are mentioned in Genesis among those nations who inhabited Canaan during the patriarchial period, and that it was from one of their Princes Abraham bought his burying place, the cave of Machpelah. Joshua incidentally describes the position of their country:—  
 “From the wilderness and this Lebanon, even unto the river Euphrates, *all the land of the Hittites.*” They are not often mentioned in sacred history, but we have a few suggestive notices of their power, wealth, and warlike character.

Many years ago I visited that remote region in the valley of the Orontes where the Hittites had their chief stronghold and settlement,



and I examined with considerable care its topography and ruins. I made full notes on the spot, and perhaps if I now give, in a condensed form, the substance of those notes, it may help to stimulate further inquiry, and in some measure to direct more thorough research.

Leaving the site of the Biblical Riblah, I forded the Orontes, and rode to Tell Neby Mindow, six miles distant. It is a large artificial mound on the left bank of the river, with a village and a Muslem tomb on its top; from the latter it gets its modern name. Around it lie extensive ruins, the remains doubtless of *Laodiceia ad Libanum* mentioned by Strabo and Ptolemy, and placed by the Itinerary of Antonine 18 Roman miles from Emesa. Polybius says it lay near a lake. Some of the ruins, and the large mound, indicate a much earlier origin for the town which first occupied the site.

About a mile farther I came to a small village called Um el-Adam, where there are also ancient remains. On the right bank of the river, about half-a-mile distant, is a large rectangular enclosure surrounded by an earthen dyke, with mounds at the corners as if for defence. It seems to have been an intrenched camp; and it may perhaps mark the site occupied by the army of Nebuchadnezzar, while one of his generals was engaged in the siege of Jerusalem.

I rode on to another mound on the right bank of the river, from which I had a good view of the southern section of *Lake Kades*, and of the place where the Orontes falls into it. Thence I followed the winding shore, passing the village of Kefr Ady. Here my attention was arrested by an island some distance out in the lake, with a large artificial mound upon it; examining it carefully with my glass I thought I could discern traces of ruins on the mound, and I was sorry I had no means of reaching it, for it would most probably repay close inspection.

Continuing along the shore northwards, I passed in succession two villages, one of them on a mound, and at length reached a lofty artificial mound near the end of the lake. Ascending it I obtained a commanding view, not only of the entire lake, but of the whole surrounding country; and I here observed that across the northern end of the lake is *a dam of solid masonry*, about a quarter of a mile long, built to raise the water to such an elevation as would serve to irrigate the plain and vale beyond, and also to supply the town of Emesa. Leaving my horse, I walked along the top of the dam to a square tower at its western end, so that I might examine it more carefully, and, if possible, form some idea of its age and object. It is evidently very ancient, and is one of the most remarkable engineering works in Syria. The centre is about 14 feet high, but it decreases toward the ends. It has often been broken and repaired; and I thought I could detect in it specimens of the masonry of the ancient Syrians, as well as of the Greeks, Romans, and Turks. There can be no doubt that the dam greatly increases the size of the lake, and perhaps the statement of Abulfeda, the Arab historian, is correct, that "if the embankment were destroyed the water would flow off, the lake would cease to exist, and would become a river." The length of the lake is now

about six miles, and its greatest breadth two. Traces of the ancient canals which led the water off at a high elevation are seen, and some of them are still used for purposes of irrigation. The plain around the lake, and on both sides of the Orontes, southward as far as Riblah, and northward to Emesa, is studded with artificial mounds, each of which was doubtless the site of a primeval city, village or castle. Some of them are very large, and are covered or encompassed with ruins. Here is an ample and most inviting field for research and excavation.

Such, in substance, are my notes, written twenty-five years ago. I may observe that an account of my first journey to Lake Kades and Emesa was given in the first edition of my "Five Years in Damascus," published by Mr. Murray in 1855. I afterwards travelled through the same region several times.

If Lake Kades be artificial it would be interesting to know when and by whom the embankment was first built. It must have been before the days of Polybius, for he mentions the lake as I have already stated. There can be no doubt that its name is derived from *Kades*, the primeval capital and stronghold of the Hittites, and that city is often mentioned in the account of the wars of Thothmes I (*circa* B.C. 1630), given on one of the Egyptian tombs (see Brugsch's "Egypt," I, 291); and, still more frequently, in the stirring history of Thothmes III (*l.c.* pp. 334 *seq.*). Kades was captured by Seti I, king of Egypt (*circa* B.C. 1366); but the greatest battle fought there was that between the Hittites and the Egyptians under Rameses II, most probably the Pharaoh in whose reign Moses was born. The story of the battle is contained in a contemporary papyrus still extant, and there are also pictorial representations of it on the walls of Karnac and Luxor. The latter are most interesting, as they show that the field of battle was *on the banks of a river or lake* (see Brugsch, II, p. 48). In an Egyptian poem composed by a certain Pentaur, a Theban, about two years after the battle, a translation of which is given in "Records of the Past," II, 65, *et. seq.*, I find the following words used to define the position of the Hittite army:—"They were at *the lake* of the land of the Amorites," and, from what follows, it is clear that the lake was close to the city of Kades. Another inscription of the same age, on the wall of Karnac, gives the full text of a treaty of peace drawn up between Rameses and the Hittites after the battle ("Records of the Past," IV, 25). The Hittites were themselves a literary people, and it is quite possible that among the ruins of their old capital some most interesting records of those early struggles might be found. I have now little doubt that those singular mounds which stud the plain on the banks of the Orontes, and the more ancient ruins near them, are all relics of the Hittites. The Hittites also seem to have been the original founders of that great embankment which dams up the waters of the Orontes, and forms the lake Kades. The discovery of the exact site of their ancient sacred capital *Kades* "the Holy," and the excavation of its primeval remains, would rank among the most valuable results of Palestine Exploration.

Queen's College, Belfast, 16 *May*, 1881.

J. L. PORTER.



## II.

## THEIR INSCRIPTIONS.

IN the *Quarterly Statements* of October, 1880, and April, 1881, there appear some notices of the Hittite inscriptions from the pen of Mr. Dunbar Heath. As during the last two years I have devoted considerable study to the inscriptions and the history of the Hittite tribes, I would venture to ask you to allow me space to say a few words in reply to some of the statements and the translations put forward by Mr. Heath. It may be well for me to state at the commencement of my remarks upon the subject, that I do not profess to be a profound student of the Newtonian Philosophy, nor do I possess a deep understanding of the doctrine of probabilities by which Mr. Heath is enabled to toy so freely with his figures; making letters, roots, formatives, to vibrate in harmony with each other and producing a "musical result." I most certainly must say that I cannot understand the system upon which Mr. Heath claims to have deciphered these inscriptions. The translations which he has proposed seem to me to be the most curious readings of inscriptions which I have ever as yet seen. I am willing to admit that the Aramaic commercial language or dialects of Syria have a somewhat mixed vocabulary, but they certainly never afforded such strange examples of ungrammatical and base writing as Mr. Heath would make the Hamathites use. In the latest contrast tablets of the Babylonian Empire of the time of Nabonidus (B.C. 556), Cyrus (B.C. 538), Darius (B.C. 521), or even as late as the Seleucide (B.C. 312), where the language is vernacular and therefore liable to decay and to exhibit a mixed vocabulary, there is not an approach to any such linguistic confusion as Mr. Heath would wish us to believe was current at Hamath in the time when the Hittite inscriptions were written. In Babylonia, with its polyglot population and its assemblage of "all nations, people and tongues," such a mixed vernacular might have existed, but the *inscriptions prove did not*. I am therefore, on the theory of probabilities, loath to suppose that it existed at Hamath or Carchemish.

Thus far perhaps Mr. Heath may think that I am only theorising, and not producing sound evidence to the contradiction of his theory; I will now pass to a stronger argument. If the Hittites spoke a quasi-Semitic language, and wrote their inscriptions in that dialect, how is it that their kings and their towns have non-Semitic names? Here we may call in the aid of contemporaneous inscriptions from Assyria and Egypt, and we shall see that certainly they were not Semitic. Such royal names as Mauthanar, Maurosar, Sapalil, Kitasar, which appear in the Egyptian inscriptions, with the personal names of Thargathazaz, Zauzaz.\* Marzarima are not, as Brugsch Bey states, capable of explanation by Semitic languages. Nor are the names in the Assyrian inscriptions, such as Sangara, Irkhuleni, Lubarna, who were kings of Carchemish, Hamath, and

\* All these names are of contemporaries of Rameses I and II, B.C. 1300.

Azaz in the ninth century before the Christian era. I may also mention Sapalulme, king of the Patinaï, Buranate, king of the Yazbukians. In the eighth century we meet with the same class of names, such as Pisiris of Carchemish, Tarkhulara, king of Samsam or Zeugama, the site of which is marked by the village of Balkis, a little north of Beredjik, Tarkhunazi, king of Milid, and others.

In the geographical inscriptions and in the tribute lists and historical records we meet with many names peculiar to the land of the Hittites.

Among these are a number ending in *as*, *az*, and *zaz*. Mairkhnas, Magnas, Ziras, Tainiras, Thukamras, Zarnas, which appear as Hittite towns in the lists of Thothmes. In the Assyrian inscriptions we have Khazaz and Alzi and Puruluz, which are cities of the Hittites.

Having quoted these somewhat strange names, both geographical and personal, I will say a few words with regard to them. In the case of the geographical names I would point out that of those ending in *az*, *as*, or *zaz*, there are yet traces in the localities where these cities were. Both by geographical and historical details, the city of Khazaz, whose king, Lubarna, opposed Shalmanesar II (B.C. 858), is to be identified with the town of Azaz, situated north-west of Aleppo, a city which has been important under Hittites, Assyrians, Greeks, Romans, and Saracens. I visited the place last year, and its lofty tell and ruined castle show that it is the same city as is represented on the bronze gates from Balawat. During my stay at Aleppo my attention was called to a number of village names in the regions of North Syria, which appear to be neither Arabic or Turkish, such as *Azaz*, north of Azaz, *Armenaz*, *Keftanaz*, *Teftanaz*, *Eminaz*, *Kouranaz*, towns in the Jebel Ala and the valleys of the Orontes and the Khoweik. I am inclined to think that in these names we have a survival of the Hittite names in *az* and *zaz*. I will now pass to the personal names, as they aid us in effecting the Hittite alliance, which Mr. Heath would break up.

The name Thargathazaz, which Dr. Brugsch gives, is close akin to the names of Tarrik-nazi and Tarrik-lara, and the name of the king on the silver boss, Tarrik-dimmi-dimmi. Mr. Heath denies that the boss is Hittite, yet on it are six characters, all of which appear at Carchemish, on the lintel (f) which Mr. Heath has read. In the list of names given by Dr. Brugsch of Hittite towns is Talekh or Tarekh, a name very close to that of Tarrik, and the name would appear to survive in the Hittite land for a little north of Carchemish or Jerablons on the Euphrates in the village of Tarknis.

Mr. Heath denies that the inscriptions at Karabel, on the rocks at Boghaz Keui or Eyuk, are Hittite; how then does he account for their being written in characters every one of which are found on his texts at Carchemish and Hamath, or how is it that the people from the lands where these inscribed monuments were erected appear in alliance with Hittites at the battle of Kadesh? Such inscriptions as these from Hamath and Carchemish, cut in hard black granite and basalt, are in every probability the records of royal personages, either dedications to the gods or



records of victories, and when they are read, as they *will be*, but *are not yet*, they will furnish us with names akin to those of the kings mentioned by the contemporaneous kings of Assyria and Egypt.

The only monument in this country which has been read does furnish a name such as is akin with other Hittite names, and so must the inscriptions from sites such as Carchemish and Hamath if they are correctly translated. Mr. Heath talks very glibly of an "emphatic looking aleph," and of expressions of causation, command, and possession; surely the kings who ordered the stones to be carved at Hamath or the lintel at Carchemish would not trouble to cut hard black granite to record such a thing as the charming of a sick man, and he one, by Mr. Heath's own showing, having no title of royalty or office.

Our knowledge of the Hittite inscriptions is not in an advanced state, being at present confined to four syllabic characters and two ideographs which are derived from the bilingual inscriptions on the boss. I may say, in reply to those who call this boss a forgery, let them prove the need or call for a Smyrna silversmith to forge an inscription in one little known and one quite unknown language, and I will believe in the spurious character of the disc. Had the inscription been in Egyptian and Cuneiform then it may have been a forgery, or had the name of the king been less like a Hittite name then the possibility of its forged character might have been admitted, but it cannot be now.

We cannot read the Hittite inscriptions, but still we can gather many facts relating to the kings and people which are of interest, and with none of which do Mr. Heath's theories agree. When more inscriptions have been recovered, and when explorations have been made on sites where bilingual inscriptions are likely to be found, then we can speak of reading the inscriptions.

Until that time it is premature to put forward readings such as Mr. Heath has attempted. I am certain that when the inscriptions are deciphered they will not contradict the historic records of the nations in contact with the Hittites as they now do. The question of the relation of the Hittites to the Aramean tribes is one which I will ask you at some future time to give me space to say a few words upon.

W. St. C. BOSCAWEN.

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### III.

#### NOTE ON ABOVE.

KNOWING the great value of your space, I will answer Mr. Boscawen as briefly as possible.

Mr. Boscawen says he does not profess to be a profound student of the Newtonian philosophy. It is not necessary that he should be so; but nevertheless all knowledge comes to us through the methods of that philosophy, and nothing in Mr. Boscawen's paper shows me that I have

erred in the application of it. Mr. Boscawen considers that my results are very unlikely, in consequence of the fact that they result in a "mixed vocabulary." Now my dictionary contains about 40 words, and in order to understand the charge, I should be glad of a few instances in which this property of *mixture* appears. Take the first three words, *asakh* an oil-jar, *ashteka* to contemplate, and *ashibna* we restored. I really know not what the accusation means.

Mr. Boscawen says that the names of Hittite kings and towns are non-Semitic. Very likely. But then the names of Oxford and Cambridge Rhyd-Uchain and Caer-Grawnt are not English, and Laban the Syrian appears to have spoken Aramæan. It is also to be remarked that in the select Egyptian Hieratic Papyri, the Semitic words seem to be Aramæan, and that the Greek alphabet also was Aramæan.

As to the Cilician Boss, and other small finds, any one interested should give us an enlarged lithographic copy. It is a question of eyesight, and I do not at present see them to be Hittite. Fifty times more important than the Boss question is that of the name Jerablus. I read it in three places without the *l*, and I should be very much puzzled indeed if there be an *l*. Professor Wright has gone carefully into the subject, and says the *l* is due wholly to European travellers.

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## THE ASSYRIANS IN EASTERN PALESTINE AND SYRIA DESERTA.

THE existence of an Aramæan or Arab Semitic population as a trading element in Babylonia, together with the non-Semitic Sumero-Akkadian population, at a period as early as the eighteenth or nineteenth century before the Christian Era, is proved by the occurrence of Semitic names of a marked Arab character in the contract tablets of the time of the Kassite or Cossea dynasty founded by Khammuragas. Such names as Abbu, Abikhibu Libet, Kainuv (Hebrew Cain), Abbu (Abel), Mukhatu Pirkhu, and the many compound names formed with the gods Sin (Moon), and Shamas (Sun), both Arab deities as elements, seem to indicate the origin of the population who at this early period appear in the marts of Ur and Erech. It may not be a mere accident that the inscriptions of a bilingual class which were compiled by the scribes of Babylonia at an early period, and afterwards copied and re-edited by the scribes of Assurbanipal, are all of a commercial character, the non-Semitic phrases in one column being translated into Semitic Babylonian or Assyrian in the other. This would seem to show that the exigencies of trade produced these primitive editions of Clifton and Ollendorf.

Even earlier than the use of the Kassite dynasty, which is to be identified with the Median dynasty of Berosus, a Semitic population to



the north-west of Babylonia was known, and its character is clearly indicated by the generic name given to the people by the writers of the inscriptions. The name *Sukhi* (𐎲𐎶𐎵𐎲 𐎲𐎶𐎵𐎲) appended to these tribes at a very early period is evidently like the Egyptian name *Shasu*, derived from their wandering life and marauding character, and we may connect it with the Hebrew root קָהָה. The root in Assyrian has the sense of "to rebel, to revolt, to create rebellion," and the noun, *Sikhu*, a revolt, occurs several times, notably in the Eponym Canon (W. A. I., 11, 52, lines 9, 10, 11, 25). We may conclude, therefore, that this name *Sukhi*, like the Egyptian *Shasu*, from the root קָהָה which signified the "plunderers," "spoilers," as the Arab Bedouin, was a characteristic name. The two curious inscriptions of Sargon I, King of Agane, give accounts of expeditions into Syria, but, as only general terms, such as the west, and Elam are employed, together with the "Great Sea," no historical argument can be based on these inscriptions. We may conclude that the Semitic population of Assyria was the outcome of these Semitic nomads who had been tempted to come into Chaldea, and be civilised by the learning and wisdom of the Chaldeans. And Abram, the ancestor of the Hebrew race, may be taken as one of the descendants of these primitive *fellahin*, who had settled round Ur.

It has been thus far necessary to sketch the early contact between Babylonia and the tribes of the desert and the West, in order to gain a knowledge of their character, and the name given to them shows the land to have been occupied by a nomadic people given to making *razzias* across the River Euphrates. That this was the case, is shown by the oft-recurring passages in the astronomical tablets, "The cattle of Akkad safely in the desert lie," "The foe plunders, and the corn of the land devours and seizes."

In about the thirteenth century before the Christian Era, this population became settled, and petty kingdoms were established on the west of the Euphrates. All along the Euphrates, both on the east and west bank, colonies of Arameans sprang up, and in the time of Tiglath-paliser I, B.C. 1120, they had obtained considerable power, and were largely connected with trade. The campaign of Tiglath-paliser I in Aram Zobah and the border of the Hittite land, is found recorded on his cylinder. (W. A. I., 1, p. 13, col. v, 44-63.) "In the service of Assur my lord, my chariots, and warriors, I gathered a divination (mut-bara),\* I took. . . . the land of the Armaya (Arameans) opponents of Assur my lord, then I marched from the frontiers of the land of the Sukhi (Bedouins), as far as the city of Kar-Gamish (Carchemish), of the land of the Hittites. . . . In one day I swept (akhbuth),† their soldiers I slew, their spoil, their wealth, and property innumerable. . . . I recovered.‡ The

\* Root קָהָה.

† Hebrew מָחָה, beat out, thrash out, devastate.

‡ Returned to myself.

remainder of their host, who from before the arrows of Assur my lord had fled away, and the river Euphrates they had crossed. After them in boats of inflated skins, the river Euphrates then I crossed. Six of their cities which are situated at the foot of the mountains of Bisri. . . I captured and with fire I burned . . . threw down and dug up; and their wealth to my city of Assur I brought." During this raid the Assyrian king captured the city of Pitru or Pethor, the birth-place of Balaam. From the Kurkh inscription of Shalmaneser we have the following passage referring to that city: "At that time also (B.C. 854) to the city Assur-utir-azbat, which the men of the Hittites the city of Pethor call, which is above the river Sagura (*Sajur*), on the far bank (west) of the river Euphrates, and the city of Mutkin, which is on the near bank (east) of the Euphrates, which Tiglath-paliser I, the ancestor, the prince my predecessor had united to my country from Assur-rab,—Amar, King of Assyria, the King of the Arameans (Arumu), by force had spoiled. These cities to their place I restored." This passage shows that during the period of weakness which followed the death of Tiglath-paliser I (B.C. 1100), the Arameans had recovered the city of Pethor, an important Aramean city, and one which they appear to have regarded as one of the sacred cities. The above passages give us clearly the northern boundary of the Arameans. The city of Carchemish, the stronghold of the Hittites, was one day's forced march from the frontier of the Sukhi; and Pethor lay in the direct line, and above the river Sagura of the text, which we must identify with the modern Sadjur. The Sadjur is at the point where the old caravan road following the Euphrates crosses it three hours from Jerablus, the ruins of Carchemish, therefore from 10 to 11 miles at the pace my horses went. Above this river, and on the road to Carchemish, was the city of Pethor, and, apparently, with a city or fort on the opposite side of the river. The site of Pethor I feel certain will be found at Tokari-Tash-atan, a name which to this day retains an echo of the old name. There is a small stream flowing down from the limestone hills which form the watershed between the Sadjur and the Euphrates, and on this stream at the point where the caravan road crosses it, is the village of Tokari-Tash-atan. The natives say that the village derives its name from an old stone in the bed of the stream which was thrown there by an ancient Moslem Sheik, Tash-atan, meaning "he threw the stone." The stone in question proved, when I examined it, to be an old Roman milestone, very much defaced, but still with letters such as MCC, etc., remaining on it to prove its original use. We know that the Greco-Roman colonists called Carchemish Hierapolis, which the Arab conquerors corrupted into Jerablus, and the Turks into Jerabis.\* It would therefore seem that they confounded Pethor or Pitru with one of the numerous Petra or Petre. The Turks translated the confused name by the Tashatan, "the village of (he who) threw the Stone," thus the

\* The name of this village is Yorablus among the Arabs, (يرابلس); the mound being *Kalaat Yerablus*. Jerabis is the Turkish corruption.



name may be traced. The proof of my argument will be found in the exploration of the large mound a little to the south-east of the village, between it and the Euphrates, and I feel certain, from a hasty inspection of the site, that it will re-pay exploration, as well if not better than Jerablus. There are fewer Greek and Roman remains about than at Jerablus, and so more of an earlier date may be expected.

The Arameans, as I pointed out before, had colonies all along the Euphrates, and when I come to speak of the wars of Assur-nazir-pal, and Shalmanesár II, in Aram Zobah and Damascus, the Hauran, &c., I shall have occasion to mention them more particularly. This explains the statement made in Numbers xxii, 5 : " He (Balak) sent messengers, therefore, to Balaam, the son of Beor, to Pethor פְתוֹר which is by the river of the land of the children of his people" (i.e., the Euphrates) ; and again, in chapter xxiii, " the King of Moab hath brought me out of Aram, out of the mountains of the East." These passages from the inscription, and from the Scriptures, would connect the Arameans of the Euphrates Valley and Eastern Syria with the Moabites, and would account for Carchemish, *once* an Aramean city, but, taken by the Hittites, having a Semitic name.

During the period from B.C. 1100, until the accession of Assur-nazir-pal in B.C. 885, the Aramean or Syrian confederation had made great progress. In this interval the Jewish kingdom under Saul, David, and Solomon, had grown up, and the kingdom of Damascus, and of Aram Zobah, with those of Ammon, Moab, Edom, and Saba, or the Arabs, were all formed out of the mass of partially nomadic tribes or colonies of fellahin settled round strongholds or commercial stations on the Euphrates, or in various parts of Syria Deserta and the regions east of Jordan. In the time of David we have Hadadezer king of Aram, Zobah, and Hamun king of Ammon. During the reign of Solomon, we have the names of Hadad and Genubath as kings of Edom and Resin in Damascus. The foundation of Tadmor by Solomon, was intended to divert the Syro-Babylonian caravan route which, from time immemorial, had passed along the Euphrates, and through Carchemish into a more direct channel across the Syrian desert. It connected the Aramean tribes on the Euphrates and about the mouth of the Khabour, with Damascus and Syria direct. In the month Sivan,\* B.C. 879, the Assyrian king Assur-nazir-pal started from Kalah (*Nimrud*), and, after crossing the Tigris and the river Kharmis, the modern Sinjar, سنجار the classical Hermus,† he reached the Khabur, and followed its course as far as the city of Sadi-kanni, now Araban. Following the course of the river as far as its junction with the Euphrates, he received tribute of the city of Sirki, the classical circesium, the modern Karkesi (قرقيسيا). The towns in these regions all bore names of strongly Aramean type, such as Dur-kuvlimi, Bit-khalupji, Tsupri, Nagara-bani, Khindani. These towns and districts were situated between the mouth of

\* The third month, May.

† The upper part of the Sinjar, called N-al Huali.

the Khabour and the Wâdy el Seba. In his inscription the king thus speaks of the march through this district: "From the city of Khindani I departed in the mountains over against the Euphrates; I established a camp." These mountains must be the limestone ranges on the east bank, north of the Wâdy el Saba. The inscription states further, "I then departed from the mountains, and in Bit Sabaya (Wâdy el Saba), I encamped in the approach to the city of Kharidi" (Erzi). Departing from here the king next halted at the commencement of the city of Anat (Annah)\* Anat was situated on the opposite side of the Euphrates. Starting from here, the Assyrian king marched against the stronghold of the Sukhi (Bedouins), the city of Suru, the modern Sura or Soiera, a little south of Annah. The king of the Sukhi was Sadudu or Sadad (the invader). This opponent of the King of Assyria was aided by the Arameans or Chaldeans from Babylonia, commanded by the brother of Nabu-bal-iddina, King of Babylon, Zabdanu by name. The allies were defeated, and Sadad threw himself into the Euphrates, and swam across to save his life. The capture of these cities, and the whole of the Aramean colonies from the city of Ittu or Hit, as far as the mouth of the Sadjur, and the land of the Hittites, quite destroyed the commercial caravan route which had been established across the desert from Damascus *viâ* Tadmor, and the old line *viâ* Carchemish was once more used. The existence of these colonies of Arameans on the banks of the Euphrates, the Khabour and the Singar or Hermias, in the ninth century B.C., shows very clearly where we are to place Aram-Nahrain. In this region it exactly corresponds with the Nairi of the Assyrians and the Naharian of the Egyptians.

The principal kingdoms of the Eastern Arameans were:—

*East.* *Bit Adini*, from the Khabour as far north as Kalaat Nedjim or Tul Barsip, the Barsamsi of Ptolemy. This was the Eden of Ezekel xxvii, 23. "Haran, Kalneh and the merchants of Sheba, Assur and Chilmad were thy merchants." The Sheba (שָׁבָא) here is not the Arabian Sheba, but the Sabaya of the inscriptions of Assur-nazir-pal, now the Wâdy el Seba.

*West.* The S'ukhi or semi-nomadic population corresponding to the fellahin Arab of the present.

*Laka.* North of the Sukhi, extending along the present caravan route to Aleppo. The name is perhaps preserved in Lachadur and Lachadamie stations on that route.

The *Arumu* or Arameans, about the Sadjur and the country round Aleppo southward as far as Damascus. In the northern portion of this district, round Carchemish and Khilban (Aleppo) the population was Aramean, but the Hittite conquerors were the dominant class, and ruled in these cities.

Up to the end of the reign of Assur-nazri-pal, B.C. 869, the Assyrian armies had only penetrated to the extreme west, the "shores of the sea

\* This expression is interesting, as Annah is a town extending a long way upon the river bank.



of the setting sun," by the route through Carchemish, the plain of North Syria, and the valleys of the Afrin and Orontes. In the reign of Shalmaneser II (B.C. 860-824), we shall find them in Eastern Palestine, Aram Zobah, and the regions of Bashan, Moab, and the Hauran.

It has been necessary to sketch thus, in as brief a manner as possible, the connection between the Arameans of the Euphrates Valley and Assyrians, in order the better to understand the connection which these tribes had with those of the lands of Moab and Ammon. This above *résumé* of the growth of the Syrian tribes enables us very clearly to see the nature of the kingdom of Solomon, King of Israel, the Alexander of the Arameans and Syrians, which reached from *the river* unto the land of the Philistines.

W. ST. CHAD BOSCAWEN.

(To be continued.)

## EGYPTIAN VIEW OF THE EXODUS

From the "Sixth Anastasi Papyrus."

WITHIN the last two or three years the history of the Exodus has aroused a much larger amount of interest than usual. Witness, among other signs, the publication of Brugsch—that of the anonymous author of the "Hebrew Migration from Egypt,"—and last, not least, the trans-Jordan expedition. As there is a great deal to say on the subject from Egyptian sources I will begin the collation of it at once.

The sixth Anastasi Papyrus was written by a very famous man, named Emma, who stood in close relation as a correspondent to another famous man, the scribe of the Treasury or Finance, named Kek-Kebu. The "Papyrus" contains six large pages, of which I notice at present only two and a half.

The first page is filled up by a splendid superscription in large letters, which may be condensed into the words "Under the reign of Seti II," viz., "Set-Emenephtah." I omit the usual long titles, but note that Seti is called a Ra-Horus, and son of a Ra-Horus, viz., not a mere Regent as his brother Bai-n-Ra Menephtah was, but a reigning king and son of a reigning king. His coffin is in the British Museum, with the word "Set" chipped out. Manetho would thus naturally read him as Emenophis, and his grandson Rameses III shows us in the great Harris papyrus how this Seti was unable to hold the Delta. In fact, after the death of his father Rameses II and his Brother Bai-n-Ra, he executed a strategic movement towards Ethiopia. This papyrus is, however, sufficient to show us that his civil and military officers were not obliged to leave their posts in the Delta, and in mitigation of the charge of cowardice, it is stated that when Seti ascended the throne he was upwards of 60 years old, infirm, blind, and helpless. Here follows the first letter:—

"The scribe Emma, for the satisfaction of his lord, viz., for the scribe of

the treasury Kek-Kebu in the palace. This comes to give an account to my lord. Whenever I am to give a full reckoning, to leave to those that shall come after me, perfectly safe will be the goods and chattels. I shall have caused no deficiency to my lord since I have come to his property."

This is the ordinary common opening between the official at home and the scribe on an expedition. Going on with the letter, he says, "I brought up the fleet, which gave me its protection. This it gave to me as far as up to the men of the magazine, in the fortress of Tabnet, which fortress the military scribe, the commissary of cattle, had dug, who was posted at the fortress of Tabnet. The work was completed in 23 days, but its watch fell off, and the head astrologer took every step that was wrong. He forced my three serving men whom he took before the General Hucee, with whom was the scribe Ptah-n-heb."

Here we see the political position coming already into view. A strong hostility is evident between our well known Enna the scribe *par excellence* of Seti II, and directed against the representative of the astrological party. In other words, between the civil and military officers who remained in the Delta when deserted by Seti II. The programme of the military was the digging of fortifications to protect every little village in the Delta. This points to the state of things explained in the great Harris Papyrus, when Emenophis had retired leaving the Delta open to Siptah Thuoris and the strong Mediterranean maritime Powers.

All through this Papyrus the party which opposed the military party in the Delta was specially the Finance or Treasury department. I cannot at present lay my hand upon the evidence, but I stated 25 years ago in my "Exodus Papyri," that the head of the Treasury was Phinehas, second son of the Great Regent Bai-n-Ra Meneptah Hotep-hi-ma. Bai-n-Ra, who saved his country for a time at the great battle of Prosopis, was a loyal friend of the Hebrews; and the very name of his second son Phinehas shows his close relations with the Semites. The letter proceeds. "Now it came to pass that while I numbered the Sem people on the list, he" (the head astrologer) "carried off the Sem people in the fortress. Then it came to pass that he made me number them on the list in the Temple of Rameses. When the people forced him in the fortress, he could not stand against the collected leaders. He made me carry the Sem people to the Temple of Nebt-hotep. He brought also two women to me, who said, 'Let the head of the Treasury end the matter.'"

It must be remembered that the papyrus from which I take this is not in a very good condition, but I cannot doubt that I am substantially right in my translations hitherto. It results, then, on Egyptian evidence, that a certain Sem people, supported by the civil authorities, managed to get together to the Temple of Nebt-hotep; notwithstanding the opposition of the military party. There is now a gap of half a line, after which we read:—

"I pacified (?) the Sem people, who brought up people by my side to say, let the slaves of the Sem people go with it, for there is favour for the slaves of the Sem people before the Head of Finance. So they were



allowed to perform the Service in the month Paoni their beginning of months."

I hesitate in presence of two words which I have here passed over. The fact is that, after the publication of my "Exodus Papyri" I left off Egyptology, and have only lately resumed it. The sentence, however, seems to identify the Egyptian beginning of their month Paoni with the new year's day among the Sem people at the time these events were taking place. The calculations are all made in my "Exodus Papyri," the result being that in B.C. 1291, which Miss Corboux holds as the date of the Exodus, the first new moon after the vernal equinox was visible on what we call April 6, which the Egyptians at that time call the beginning of Paoni.

The statement here made, viz., that the Sem people (probably the Semites) had themselves slaves under them, may modify our view on the miseries endured by the Hebrews. Leave, however, having at last been given to these slaves of slaves, they "took the robes which had been brought up before the Head of Finance, to give an account to my lord. The robes were brought and the Head of Finance caused them to be looked to."

" Royal Robes ...	...	...	87
Other Robes ...	...	...	64
Other Robes ...	...	...	27

—  
In all 178."

This part of the papyrus is in good condition, and I apprehend there can be no dispute about the translation. It is surprising that this spoiling of the Egyptians has been for 25 years pointed out and no notice taken of it. From the Egyptian point of view, it appears that the great Exodus consisted of many small movements, each of them being of manageable size. If every 50th person collected at the Temple of Nebt-hotep considered himself or herself entitled to a splendid robe, there would have been about 8,000 desirous of attending the national annual ceremonies.

"When the numbering was over, I disposed the people before the leaders. The leaders, said to it, 'Let the people be complete in everything that is arranged for it.' There was put down for me four days for the journey which the leaders made. The second military scribe gave it the start. He also brought aid of carriers. He brought also two women at the waters of                    who said, 'Let each child go.' He did not allow it. He was after the cattle of the head commissary Moses."

Thus, from the Egyptian point of view, Moses superintended herds of cattle, and this presence of a Moses makes it probable that Enna is here describing the chief among the many small movements for keeping the new year's day. A military scribe seems to have been obliged to accompany the four days' expedition, showing, however, his annoyance by refusing a request about the children. It is also very curious to observe that up to the time when the sacred robes were given out the account has

related to the Sem people, but after the slaves of the Sem people had leave to accompany the expedition, the "people" alone are named, and the name of Sem is dropped.

Thus have I done my best with one and a half pages out of five, exclusive of the title page. There is more in this papyrus of the very highest interest. Among other things, I feel called upon with great regret to say that Dr. Brugsch has done harm by circulating his account from this papyrus of the Shasu people passing from Edom into Egypt. My translation of the passage is now 25 years old, and will be found in my "Exodus Papyri," p. 183. Dr. Brugsch begins with "we have carried into effect." There is possibly a "we," but nothing about "carrying into effect." In fact the papyrus is a confession throughout of the weakness of the Egyptians before the Shasu. Dr. Brugsch goes on "from the land of Edom." There is no word signifying "from." "Through the fortress." There is no word signifying "through." "To the city Pithom, etc., situated in the land of Thuku." Dr. Brugsch in his own book of "Foreign Geography," plate xvi, gives us his own map of Palestine showing that Thuku was in Edom. How, then, could the Shasu pass from Edom to Thuku, which is in Edom?

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## MEGIDDO.

MEGIDDO has thrice to do with horses and chariots, in the case of Sisera, Ahaziah, and Josiah, but its connection with Mujedda, three miles south-west of Bethshean, is merely a mare's-nest.

This identification put forward in *Quarterly Statement*, 1877, p. 13, repeated in "Tent Work," but apparently abandoned in his "Handbook," is once more revived (1881, p. 87) by Lieutenant Conder, when, on returning from the slaughter of Abu Gheith, with the head of Beth Aphrah in his hand (my overlooking of the *li* in *Beth li Aphrah* I can only explain on the principle "humanum est errare"), he finds a Jonathan ready to embrace his theory (1880, p. 224).

It is best to repel this advance at once, and without delay fight out the topographical battle of Megiddo, before more allies come up.

We propose to show (1) that Megiddo was near Taanach (now Taanuk), and (2) that the only feature near Taanach answering to *the waters of Megiddo* are the streams near Lajjun. If these points be proved, then it is *certain* that Megiddo was situated *at or close to* Lajjun (as proposed by D. Robinson), and not at Mujedda.

(1). That Megiddo was near Taanach is somewhat probable from Joshua xii, 21; xvii, 11; 1 Kings iv, 12; 1 Chron. vii, 29; where the two names occur in juxtaposition. As however Judges i, 27, is against us, we turn for certainty to Judges v, 19-21: "The kings came and fought in (near)



Taanach, by (=near) the waters of Megiddo." These words evidently describe a *battle*, and not a campaign. Therefore, as the kings fought near both these places, it is obvious that they must have been near one another. Thus (it seems to me) our first point is already fully made out.

But suppose for a moment that Megiddo was not near Taanach, but at Mujedda. Then we have to believe that Barak and his ten thousand, armed with staves and ox-goads, or at the best with bows and slings, fought along a line of nearly sixteen miles, while most of the Canaanites must have galloped up the valley of Jezreel, before they could be swept away by the Kishon. The whole supposition is supremely ridiculous. The *known* site of Taanach so afflicts Lieutenant Conder's theory, that he has to put a gloss on this reference to it, offering these alternatives (1877, p. 15). "The words 'in Taanach' must either be taken to be a district name applying to all the plain, of which Taanach was the capital, or it must be translated to its meaning 'sandy soil.'" No doubt "in Taanach" does describe that part of the plain which was near Taanach, but certainly not the *whole breadth* of the plain as far as the northern hills, under which Lieutenant Conder thinks the battle took place; while, again, as Taanach is five times (above, and Judges i, 27), connected with Megiddo, it is an inadmissible throwing of dust to take the word differently in the *sixth* instance. The vagueness too of describing the plain near Tabor as *by* or (Lieutenant Conder) *above* the waters of Mujedda is certainly not like the precision of topographical notices in the Bible; but on this point Lieutenant Conder offers no comment. Barak's battle, however, would not be more real than that of the Titans if its site were just *at the foot of Tabor*, thirteen miles from Taanach, and sixteen from Megiddo, if placed *at Mujedda*; while, again, the last place is fifteen miles from Taanuk. The italicized positions are obviously at variance with Judges v, 19-21; indeed, they are quite impossible, and the theory arises from an initial error as to the right position of the Kishon in Judges iv, 7, 13; v, 21.

This Lieutenant Conder fixes at "a place called *el Mujalâghet*, where there is an extensive chain of pools and springs about three miles west of the foot of Mount Tabor." He thinks also that the above passages require this position; that Josephus confirms it in "Ant.," v, 5, 3; "Barak camped at Mount Tabor . . . Sisera met them, and pitched not far from the enemy." (In Josephus, however, *not far* may mean anything; that "the advantage obtained by Barak in his impetuous descent from the mountain on the enemy in the plain is evident;" that had the battle taken place at Taanach, he "would have had to come the whole width of the great plain, and would have attacked from low ground the enemy on the spurs of the hills, far away from the main bed of the Kishon." He also adds (1881, p. 88), "It is an assumption which contradicts Scripture that the stream from Lejjun is the ancient Kishon."

Here are several errors, one of which must be pointed out.

As to the position of the Kishon. Since Sisera's army was gathered to the river Kishon, and the battle was fought near Taanach, it is clear that the main watercourse in the plain below Taanuk *must* be the brook

Kishon in Judges iv, v. For if Sisera had encamped at el Mujahiyeh, he must have turned southwards, and Barak must have passed him, to fight near Taanach; a thing utterly absurd, as Barak was on Tabor. Thus, "the assumption which contradicts Scripture" is really Lieutenant Conder's own.

My notion of the battle is this:—

From Tabor, Barak descended *on foot* (as is emphatically stated) to the valley (*Emek*) between Tabor and Endor. The watchmen of Sisera in Taanach (or in Megiddo) must have spied afar off "the advance of the ten thousand" rustics over the great plain (*Bikath Megiddo*). The little army, without shield and spear, seemed marching to sure destruction; meanwhile Sisera was not slow to seize the opportunity, little thinking that he was about to fall into his own trap. Leaving his encampment at the foot of the hills, he hastily crossed the Kishon with his nine hundred chariots and vast host, marshalled in Hamitic array (like the Egyptians and Zulus), in an extended line, and soon the long wings of the dragon had enclosed Barak's little flock of kids. Escape now seemed impossible, yet not to faith. The battle began; but suddenly the clouds poured out water, "the rain descended, and the floods came, and the winds blew, and beat upon the house" of Canaan, "and it fell, and great was the fall of it." At once the horses and chariots moved heavily in the viscous mud; soon the whole plain was a quagmire; before long the recently dry watercourse became a foaming torrent, sweeping away the terrified Canaanites that tried to ford it; while the rest of the enemy, fleeing in a north easterly direction, were pursued by the fleet hinds of Naphtali (Gen. xlix, 21; Judges iv, 6), and overtaken and scattered near Endor, whereupon Sisera alighted down off his chariot and fled away *on his feet*.

The passages in Judges and Psalm lxxxiii, relating to the brook Kishon, thus seem to be in perfect agreement with the natural meaning of the words, "then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo," and we conclude that *our first point is proved, viz., Megiddo was near Taanach.*

(2). The waters of Megiddo were the streams near Lejjun. On reference to the Great Map we find four miles N.N.W. of Taanak abundant perennial streams flowing from the hills near Lejjun.

These are the nearest to Taanuk, and to find the next we must go five miles further, to Wâdy el Kûsab, which is nine miles from Taanuk. As Sisera would hardly need so extended an encampment, we have at once to admit that *the waters of Megiddo* were the copious streams rising in the neighbourhood of Lejjun, which or near which was the famous city of Megiddo. I well remember how six years ago here, in the high luxuriant grass, revelled our mules and Selim's ill-starred ass, destined on the morrow to be half buried in Bikath-Megiddo's mud, and how the spiteful miller spoilt his morning meal. Worse things, however, than these happened, not far off, to Sisera thirty centuries ago.



In support of Mujedda, Lieutenant Conder quotes Ahaziah's flight.

Without giving an opinion on the position of "Beth-hag-gan," "Maaleh Gur," and Ibleam, I would point out that even if Ahaziah fled northwards towards en N'aurah, he might afterwards, under cover of night, reach Megiddo (near Lejjun) as easily as Mujedda.

His object seems to have been, not to get to Jerusalem, but to the nearest place of refuge, and afterwards (as we learn from 2 Chron. xxii, 9) "they caught him (for he was *hid in Samaria*) and brought him to Jehu." Thus it is probable that the words "he died *there*," (2 Kings ix, 27), ought to be translated "he died *then*," *i.e.*, at that time, when Jehu cut off the house of Ahab.

The Bible does not state by what road Necho approached Megiddo. I am not sure, however, that to march up the Jordan valley would not be more exhausting than "to toil over the *hostile* mountains of Ephraim," *hostile* only by an oversight, as Josiah's power reached even unto Naphtali (2 Chron. xxxiv, 6).

It is very satisfactory to find that the *great* plain near Taanuk is after all "the valley (*Bikah*) of Megiddo," as the uniform meaning of the word *Bikah* is hereby preserved. The next step is to admit that "Baalgad in the valley (*Bikah*) of Lebanon" (Josh. xi, 17; xii, 7) must be *Ba'albek* in *el Buka'a*.

The Jordan valley east of Mujedda seems to me hardly worthy to be called a *Bikah*, and if it were, it ought to be called the *Bikah of Bethshean* and not of Mujedda.

If one had to point out on the map where Barak fought, I should say *d'Afulah* or the *Birket el Fulch*, just west of it, which is marked as "marsh in winter." Here Siser's host would be shut in between the confluents of the Kishon. This spot is six miles from Taanach, and four from the waters of Megiddo, which distances I hope are not too great to be covered by the Hebrew *li*; but if they are, then the battle must be placed still nearer to Taanuk.

Until it is agreed what is *the* correct translation of the Mohar's adventures, it seems premature to attach any weight to them in this matter.

W. F. BIRCH.

## HIDING PLACES IN CANAAN.

### II. GIDEON'S WINE-PRESS AT OPHRAH.

OPHRAH of the Abi-ezrites was certainly in *western* Manasseh (Josh. xvii, 1-6), although Josephus speaks of Gideon's preparing to cross the Jordan ("Ant." v, vi, 3) in order to attack the Midianites in the valley of Jezreel.

Lieutenant Conder in his "Handbook" states that this Ophrah is "probably the present village Ferâta, near Shechem, the old name of which was Ophrah (Samaritan Chronicle)." Happily the identification of Gideon's famous city need not rest on this insufficient evidence, as

the details of the Bible story will, I believe, be found to fix the exact spot beyond all doubt.

We have to find in western Manasseh, which reached apparently from Issachar to a little south of Shechem, a place satisfying the following conditions :—

(1.) It ought to be suitable for vines, and perhaps to contain some old wine-presses ; as Gideon was *beating* wheat in the wine-press. This would probably be in a vineyard on the southern slope of a hill.

(2.) There ought to be *cliff* near, since close to the wine-press was a *Sela* (A. V. rock, Jud. vi, 26), *i.e.*, a *precipitous* rock. Welcome again to this old friend, who has helped us before ! On this *sela* Gideon apparently built the altar called “Jehovah Shalom.”

(3.) There ought also to be a *strong place*, or fortress (A. V. rock, Hebr. *maoz*, Jud. vi, 26), to which, I imagine, the inhabitants used to escape with their cattle in times of danger.

On it stood the altar and grave of Baal, which Gideon destroyed ; here too he built an altar unto the Lord (vi. 26). If (which seems uncertain) the two altars were identical, then the *fortress* must have stood *upon the cliff*.

(4.) There ought to be at least one *ancient tomb*, as Gideon was buried in the sepulchre of his father at Ophrah.

(5.) It ought probably to be *not far from Shechem*, as Gideon's concubine lived at the latter city.

(6.) It ought probably to be *on the south side* of Shechem, as Jotham took his stand on the *southern Gerizim*, and not on the northern Ebal.

Guided by conditions 1 to 4, I had in vain searched the country north of Samaria ; when however we turn to the Survey Map, to find some spot to which *all* the indicating lines 1-6 converge, we meet with complete success.

One and three quarter miles (5) south-west of Shechem, (6) is an elevated (2,508 feet) village named el Arak (2), *i.e.*, the *cliff*. It is apparently marked as an isolated place perched on the *precipitous* extremity (3) of a narrow ridge running westwards from Mount Gerizim. As this spot must remarkably satisfy the conditions 2, 3, as well as 5 and 6, I do not hesitate to recognize it as the *maoz* or fortress, if not also as the *sela* or cliff mentioned in Jud. vi, 20, 26. I venture to predict that when search is made on the spot, *tombs* will be found to satisfy (4), and possibly an old wine-press to suit (1), as vineyards seem in the map to be marked on the southern side of the hill.

In regard to Arabic, as I have not even the little knowledge which is proverbially dangerous, I abstain from discussing whether the name of Ophrah does, or does not survive in the ruin called Khurbet Aufâr, on the opposite hill, three-quarters of a mile south-east of el Arak. The memoirs will probably give some interesting particulars *bearing on this identification*.

*The tower of Shechem, the hold of the House of the god Baal Berith and Mount Zalmon.* The tower though not *in* was obviously *near* Shechem, so



that Jebel Suleiman ("Handbook," p. 210), four miles off, cannot be Mount Zalmon, as Abimelech though willing once in a way to be *a lover of word*, would naturally demur to carrying his load further than was necessary. It seems to me that Zalmon ("Sinai and Palestine," p. 239) must be some part of Ebal. The curious ruin on whose summit ("Tent Work," i, p. 67) may well be *the habal* (a kind of tower) mentioned in Jud. ix, 46. An altar of Baal might as suitably have stood on the *top* of Ebal as of Carmel.

I propose in the next number to give the arguments for placing the cave of Adullam at Khureitân, and the rock Êtam near it in Wâdy Urtas.

W. F. BIRCH.

## EMMAUS.

FIRST of all, Khamêsa, which has of late secured some votes as the probable site of Emmaus, is at least  $8\frac{1}{2}$  miles, as the crow flies, from Jerusalem, and by any possible road cannot be less than  $9\frac{1}{2}$  miles from that city. The distance is therefore too great to tally with St. Luke or Josephus.

Now among the cities of Benjamin, Joshua (xviii, 26) speaks of Musah, as we read it, but in Hebrew **הַמִּסָּה** Hammosah, "The Mosah." Fürst gives Musah the meaning "place of reeds," but it seems more probable that it is equivalent to **מַיָּין**, a spring. Be this as it may, the Talmud says that this Musah, or Maûza, is the place whence willows were brought to adorn the Altar at the Feast of Tabernacles, and this suggests a valley; and elsewhere again the Talmud says that it was made a colony. (See Caspari § 242.)

But Josephus tells us in the well known passage that his Ammaus was colonised by the assignment of the place by Titus to 800 discharged veterans.

We have thus side by side these statements from totally different sources: first, that a place called by Joshua Hammusah became a Roman colony; secondly, that Ammaus became a Roman colony. Hammusah is therefore in all probability identical with Ammaus.

We now turn to the map. We find a well known place on the main road from Jerusalem to the west, called Kolonieh, manifestly from Colonia, and about a mile to the north of this, looking down on a valley which trends at that point south and west toward Kolonieh, a ruin called Brit Muzza.

Here we have another linking of these two, Hammusah, the fountain, and a Roman colony, and we must be near the place we are looking for.

But now let us pass up from Kolonieh along the valley, under Brit Muzza, and pursue our way along the whole length of the valley (Wâdy Bâwai) up to its head. We are then some three miles from Kolonieh, and

about a mile further, on the hill, in Kubeibet, which it is said the Crusaders were informed was the site of Emmaus.

Now the head of this valley is as near as may be 60 stadia from Jerusalem. And it would seem probable that the original Emmaus, or the principal part of its population, originally laid around the head of the valley, giving its name, however, more or less exactly, to the whole: that this valley, and especially its upper part, was originally the *Colonia* of the discharged soldiers of Titus, but that as time went on the chief part of the population gravitated down to the Roman road, not at the nearest point to Jerusalem, but at the junction of the valley with that road.

Travellers from Jerusalem to the upper valley of Emmaus would not pass through Kolonieh, but would leave the main road about two miles from that place, and descend into the Wādy Būwai just where the roads from Kolonieh on the left, and from Lifta on the right, converge upon it. At such a point as this we may well imagine that the two disciples encountered their veiled and risen Lord, and as they went along that upland path towards what was then the chief part at least of Emmaus, the fountains of a new life were opened out to them.

Joshua and the Talmud, St. Luke and Josephus, the traditions heard by the Crusaders, and the stern requirements of a modern survey fixing distances beyond possibility of mistake, seem all harmonised by the identification thus proposed.



THE  
PALESTINE EXPLORATION FUND

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NOTES AND NEWS.

We have great pleasure in announcing that all the instruments having arrived and been examined, and all preparations having been made, Lieutenants Conder and Mantell have crossed the Jordan and taken up their quarters for the present at Ain Hesban, where they have been joined by the Surveyors, Messrs. Black and Armstrong.

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The Survey of Eastern Palestine has therefore been commenced in the south instead of the north, as was originally proposed. The change has been necessitated by recent disturbances in the Hauran. The second theodolite did not arrive in Jerusalem until June, and the Arabs were then fighting, so that it was then impossible to cross the river. Now, however, peace is re-established. This delay at starting shows that the difficulties of the Eastern Survey may prove to be greater than those of the west. Fortunately, the officer in command is experienced, and may be trusted to exercise prudence and tact.

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A base-line has been successfully measured, and eight trigonometrical stations have been set up. The work has been conducted under great difficulties arising from the heat, the thermometer in the Jordan valley standing at  $118^{\circ}$  F. in the shade. Lieutenant Conder's first report from the eastern side, and his notes on the commencement of the work, with his proposed identification of Balak's Altar, will be found in their place, in Report VIII.

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Among the topics touched upon in the other Reports will be found a very remarkable attempt at identifying Kirjath Jearim with a place called Khurbat Erma. The suggestion had already been made by Lieutenant Conder, and is now followed up by a more careful examination of this ground. The name will be found on the great Map on Sheet XVII. Its reference in the Name Lists is (Kt), but it seems as if it should rather be (Jt). The ruin does not appear to have

been visited by anybody before the Survey—it is not, for instance, on Guérin's map or on Vanlevede's, or Murray's. The arguments advanced by Lieutenant Conder will be read with the greatest interest. Perhaps we have here a solution of one of the greatest topographical difficulties connected with the sacred narrative. His observations on Ai, Hebron, Gibeon, etc., may be advantageously followed by the light of the new map.

Lieutenant Conder has made a copy of the inscription of the Pool of Siloam, on which Professor Sayce sends a paper, which will be found in its place (p. 282). The copy was taken after Herr Guthe had cleared the letters by means of nitric acid. A cast has also been taken by Herr Paules, and is on its way to England. As regards the last, Lieutenant Conder writes, "I have been over it with my copy, which agrees very well indeed with it. I see one more letter, but do not see anything to change my copy." M. Clermont Ganneau is reported to be working at the inscription. Another aqueduct has been discovered, running west from the Pool of Siloam, on the same level as the one previously known. This new aqueduct, when traced, may lead to important discoveries. It was found by some fellahin.

Since the publication of the last *Quarterly Statement*, the General Committee has been strengthened by the addition of two new members, namely, Sir Albert Sassoon, C.S.I., and Mr. Edward Thomas, F.R.S. They have also to lament the loss of four of their oldest and most valuable members, a notice of whom will be found on pp. 243-246.

The Reduced Map of Modern Palestine is now completed, having received the final corrections. The first edition will be issued on October 17th, after which date subscribers may expect to have their copies in order of application. They are reminded that the price to them is 6s. 6d. a copy, carriage free. To the general public it will be 12s., through all booksellers, or the agent, Mr. Stanford, 55, Charing Cross. It will be issued in six sheets, including the title page in a paper cover. There is in preparation a list of Biblical names and their identifications, a copy of which, when ready, will be given with the map. But the first subscribers will probably have to wait a little for this list. It will also be given to every subscriber of the large map who wishes for it.

As regards the two ancient maps, Mr. Saunders reports that the outline is engraved, and that they are proceeding with the names. We hope to have them ready very shortly.

For convenience of travellers and for library purposes, an arrangement has been made with the agent, Mr. Edward Stanford, for mounting the map. He undertakes to mount the map on strong cloth, and to place it in a case for the bookshelf or for travelling. The map in this form will be charged 11s. 6d. a copy, carriage paid, to subscribers, and 18s. 6d. to non-subscribers. For hanging purposes, he will supply the map on mahogany rollers at 16s. 6d. for subscribers, and 24s. for the general public. And he will make special arrangements if desired for a more expensive mode of mounting.



Two more volumes of the Memoirs, viz., the "Name Lists" and the "Special Papers," have been issued. The next is far advanced and will be ready in November. The remaining two will, it is hoped, be issued in January.

Enquiries have been made as to the price of the memoirs in separate parts. It must be remembered that only a small number of copies remain; arrangements have been made for offering these copies to libraries in Great Britain, America, Germany, etc. Should any remain when these have been supplied, they may be had in separate parts, as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
The Great Map .. ..	3	3	0
The Memoir in 3 vols. .. ..	9	9	0
The Name Lists .. ..	3	3	0
The Special Papers .. ..	2	2	0
The Jerusalem work, with a portfolio of drawings .. ..	5	5	0

Mr. Saunders has completed his delineation of the water basins on the map of Western Palestine, and has given it to Mr. Stanford, the engraver and agent of the maps, to be laid down on the reduced map, which can then be used to illustrate and explain his "Introduction."

It can also be laid down on the great map, but as the work will have to be done by hand, the cost of doing so will be no less than £5. On the reduced map it can be done by a double printing at a very small cost. In fact a shilling will cover it. It is hoped that any one who wants Mr. Saunders' "Introduction" (now in the binder's hands) will have the water basin edition of the reduced map.

A general Index to the *Quarterly Statement* from its commencement to the issue of this number inclusive, has been prepared, and is now in the printer's hands. It will be ready some time in November.

The Committee will be greatly obliged if subscribers will forward their subscriptions for the current year as early as possible. Arrangements for lectures on the Biblical Results of the Survey by the Rev. Henry Geary and the Rev. James King should be made as early as possible.

The income of the Society from all sources from June 21st, 1881, to September 22nd, was 1,253*l.* 5*s.* 1*d.* The amount in the Banks on Tuesday, September 13th, was 451*l.* 4*s.* 9*d.* About 1,000*l.* will be required before the end of the year.

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

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

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

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

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## OBITUARY NOTICE.

THE Society has experienced a very heavy blow in the deaths, during the last quarter, of four of its oldest and most valuable friends. The first of these, Dean Stanley, was one of the Founders of the Society. He gave the use of the Jerusalem Chamber for the meeting, at which he was present, on May 12th, 1865, when the Palestine Exploration Fund was founded. At this meeting he was appointed one of a Sub-Committee, afterwards expanded into the Executive Committee, appointed "to draw up a statement of the general objects of the Association." The other two members were the Archbishop of York, and Professor Owen. The Honorary Secretary was Mr. George Grove. It was this Committee who drew up that very careful document, the original Prospectus of this Society. Dean Stanley frequently addressed meetings in behalf of the work, and never failed in his interest in the scientific examination of the country for which he had himself done so much in his great work "Sinai and Palestine." The last occasion on which he showed his sympathy and gave his assistance was exactly similar to the first. He lent the Jerusalem Chamber for the very important meeting, presided over by himself, at which the Survey of Eastern Palestine was resolved upon. At the moment of his death our party were just beginning their work across the Jordan. His words at the meeting were:—"When the Palestine Exploration Fund was first set on foot by my friend Mr. Grove, though I sympathised heartily with the proposal, I felt what Mr. Freshfield has expressed as his feeling also, that the point at which every effort ought to be directed, was the exploration of Eastern Palestine. Beautiful as the new map of Western Palestine is, and great as has been the light which has been cast upon the country by the explorations, that light is as nothing compared with the light that can be thrown upon the eastern district of Palestine. Of all the features of interest that struck me when I first went to Palestine—a feature altogether undescribed, and of which I had not the least

idea till I went there, of which no book of travel had given the slightest information—the most interesting was the constant view of the mountains of Moab, and the great wall of the east of Jordan. Wherever we went, that wall, rising up from the purple chasm which separated us from it, was a beautiful source of mystery and of tantalization, filling us with a sense of ignorance, and with a desire to know what there was beyond it. I feel pleased and delighted beyond measure that that desire is now about to be satisfied."

Among the bequests of the Dean is one to the Palestine Exploration Fund of a small collection of books on the Holy Land and Egypt. These are now on the shelves of our office.

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We have also to record the death of the Rev. F. W. Holland, Vicar of Evesham, one of our Honorary Secretaries.

He joined the Committee, being then one of the Curates at Quebec Chapel, in November, 1866, and was associated with Mr. Grove as Honorary Secretary. In 1868 he raised the Sinai Survey Fund and joined the party, which was commanded by Captain (now Colonel Sir Charles) Wilson, which accomplished that valuable piece of work. On being appointed Vicar of Evesham he offered to resign his post as Honorary Secretary, but was requested by the Committee to continue a connection which was never, in spite of his absence from London, nominal. His death was sudden, and happened on a mountain side in Switzerland on August the 27th last.

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Again, on the 11th of September, died Major Samuel Anderson, C.M.G., R.E., one of the Executive Committee, formerly one of our officers in Palestine, general editor of our maps, and always the constant friend, adviser, and upholder of this Society. The list of his public services is thus detailed in the *Times* of September 16th, and will help to show how great a loss our work has sustained:—

Major Samuel Anderson, C.M.G., of the Royal Engineers, who filled the office of Inspector of Submarine Mining Defences under the War Department, died at Dallousie Grange, Bonnyrigg, N.B., on the 11th of September. He was in his 42nd year. Having received his professional education at the Royal Military Academy, Woolwich, he entered the corps of Royal Engineers as Lieutenant in December, 1858, and in September, 1859, was appointed surveying officer to the



North American Boundary Land Commission, under Colonel (now General Sir John S.) Hawkins, who had the duty of marking out the boundary between Her Majesty's possessions in North America and the territory of the United States. From this duty Major Anderson returned to England in July, 1862, but was employed in London in completing the maps of the Commission till February, 1864. After various professional engagements, in June, 1872, in which year he was promoted to Captain, another Commission was formed, under Major Donald R. Cameron, R.A., who was deputed to mark out, in conjunction with a Commissioner on the part of the United States of America, the line of boundary between British and American territory from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains, and to this Commission Major Anderson was appointed Chief Astronomer. In September, 1876, he was appointed Assistant Inspector of Submarine Mining Defences under the War Office, and in May, 1877, he was created a Companion of the Order of St. Michael and St. George, in recognition of his official services in North America. In 1879 he was employed for a few months as Her Majesty's Commissioner for the demarcation of the frontier of Servia, and attained the rank of Major in the Royal Engineers in September of the same year. A short time ago he succeeded Lieutenant-Colonel Crossman, C.M.G., as Inspector of Mining Defences, which office becomes vacant by his death.

The following letter appeared in the "Times" of September 21st.

Sir,—Among your obituary notices on Friday last, September 16, occurred that of the late distinguished officer, Major Samuel Anderson, R.E., C.M.G. Will you allow me to supplement the list of his public services, there detailed, by the addition of those which he rendered to this Society during a period of 16 years? Major (then Lieutenant) Anderson was one of the two officers, the other being Captain (now Colonel Sir Charles) Wilson, who made a preliminary expedition through Western Palestine, with the view of ascertaining the best way to conduct the scientific and systematic examination of the country which this Society has since been carrying on. The survey of Western Palestine, now completed, and justly acknowledged to be the greatest contribution to Biblical illustration ever accomplished, is the outcome of that expedition, and will ever be associated with the names of the two officers who led it. When, again, ten years ago, the committee thought themselves justified in beginning this great and costly enterprise, it was Major Anderson who sought among the younger men of his corps for one possessing the ability, knowledge, and enthusiasm necessary for the work, and found him in the officer who executed the greater part of the survey.

He has since that time always been ready to give, not only advice, but also time and active work, to the furtherance of the undertaking, and at the time of

his death was the editor of the New Maps of Western Palestine, which will henceforth form the basis of all writings and discussions on Biblical geography and topography. His latest work for us was the outfit and despatch of the new expedition, with which we hope to do for the East of Palestine what we have already done for the West.

I remain, Sir, your obedient servant,

JAMES GLAISHER, Chairman, Executive Committee.

Palestine Exploration Fund, 1, Adam Street,  
Adelphi, W.C.

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Lastly, we have to record the death of the Rev. Samuel Manning, LL.D., one of the members of the General Committee, and better known as Secretary of the Religious Society. His own work prevented him from actively aiding this Society, except when he was able to do so by speaking in its behalf. No one who heard his address at the Royal Institution some six years ago can fail to remember the eloquence and fulness of knowledge with which he explained the value of scientific exploration.

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## LIEUTENANT CONDER'S REPORTS.

## V.

## THE LAND OF BENJAMIN.

GIBEON, 1st July, 1881.

TAKING advantage of the delay occasioned by circumstances already referred to, we have revisited one of the first districts surveyed by the party employed in 1872, while under care of Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, before my arrival in Palestine.

The chief points of interest include the questions of Rimmon and Ai; the vicinity of Gibeon and the battle of Ajalon; and the ruins of Tellilia, and Deir esh Shebâb, with some traditions connected with Tell 'Asûr, and el Jîb, &c. The general result of our re-examination is satisfactory, inasmuch as the nomenclature of the Map has been tested in many places, and found correct; while scarcely any ruins of even the least importance are found to be omitted; all the really ancient sites and buildings having been plotted and described. This is specially satisfactory, inasmuch as the district is one of the most difficult to survey, on account of the ruggedness of the hills and the great depth of the valleys, while it was also one which was undertaken while the party were still new to the work, and unfamiliar with the archæology of the country.

*The Rock Rimmon.*—Until the year 1879, it was generally agreed that this site, in the wilderness (Judg. xx, 47) where the six hundred Benjamites lived for four months after their defeat at Geba of Benjamin (Judg. xx, 10 and 33) was to be recognised at the ancient village of Rummôn, on the edge of the cultivated hill-country, overlooking the desert ranges, above the Jordan valley. It has now, however, been proposed to recognise a connection between this Rimmon rock (which may most properly be rendered "high rock" on the authority of Gesenius, and on other authorities) with the "pomegranate tree which is by Migron" (1 Sam. xiv, 2), *Ha Rimmon asher bi Migron* in the Hebrew, a site which it is unnecessary to say cannot be expected still to exist if the rendering "pomegranate tree" be correct, but which is to be sought in the vicinity of Wady Suweinit (the valley of Michmash), to the cliffs of which the term Migron "precipice" appears from another passage to apply (Isaiah x, 28).

Those who support this view point to the large cave in Wady Suweinit called Mughâret el Jai as the possible refuge of the Benjamites, and consequently to the precipice in which it occurs as the true Rock Rimmon. Having now revisited and carefully examined both this cave and the village of Rummôn, I send you the following results.

Before describing the sites, however, it is necessary to take note of the word *Sela*, rendered "rock" in the English version. It is a term of

frequent occurrence in the Bible, and is rendered almost invariably rock. The Rev. W. F. Birch, in writing on Rimmon (*Quarterly Statement*, 1879, p. 127) states that the term "always means a precipitous rock, *i.e.*, a cliff," and this has been urged as an objection to the identification of Rummôn with Sela Rimmon. The quotations which he gives (p. 129) are, however, scarcely sufficient to prove that *Sel'a* should be rendered precipice. Gesenius gives its radical meaning as signifying "High place or place of refuge," and the Septuagint translators, who may be supposed to have known the contemporary use of the word, render it by the Greek *πετρα* a stone or rock.

There are also passages in Scripture where the term can scarcely be understood as meaning a precipice, as in Psalm xvii, 2, "The Lord is my rock" or Psalm xl, 2, "Set my feet upon a rock," for David cannot be supposed to mean "set my feet upon a precipice"—a position hardly to be considered as one of safety and comfort.

The arguments in favour of the site proposed by Mr. Birch (Mughâret el Jai and the south cliff of the Michmash valley) are the following: 1st, the identity with the pomegranate tree, supposed to have existed at or near this spot, but no longer to be found; while the name Rimmon no longer occurs in the vicinity; 2nd, the existence of a cave reputed to hold 600 men, which cave, however, is not mentioned in the Bible; 3rd, the existence of precipices, which may represent the Rock, or Sela, although, as shown above, the Hebrew word has not the meaning of precipice.

The present village *Rummôn* stands in a conspicuous position, at the end of a high narrow ridge which runs out south from the village of Taiyibeh. The houses stand on a rounded knoll of hard rock, very similar to that on which Beit 'Atîb (the Rock Etam according to my view) is built. On the west the rock is specially steep, with low cliffs or steps, some 10 feet high in places. On the south are several rude caves used as cattle stables, and called Shukâf Jiljâl; there are other small caves under the houses on the east. The village consists of straggling cottages of stone, supplied by ancient cisterns. There is a ruined tank on the flat top of the knoll. On the north is a small plateau with olive groves, on the west are some caves and rock-cut tombs. The site is evidently ancient, and is of great strength, as deep, narrow valleys occur on three sides, so that it is only easily reached from the north. On the east are the gorges and inaccessible precipices of the great ravine which runs from Taiyibeh to the Jordan valley. From the rocky hill top a fine view is obtained southwards, extending to Jebel Fureidis, south of Jerusalem, and including Tell el Fûl, Jeba' (Geba of Benjamin) and er Râm, and on the north Taiyibeh and Tell 'Asûr are visible. This site I afterwards induced Dr. Chaplin to visit, and he agreed with me that it could not be more correctly described than by the term *Sel'a*, a rock, a high place, a stronghold, or place of refuge. Here, then, on a rock close to the edge of the *Midbar* or pastoral desert which extended east of Bethel (Josh. xviii, 12) we find the name Rimmon preserved unchanged, in a form which has no meaning in Arabic, but which in Hebrew properly describes the site as "high."



We must now turn to the question whether the cave called Jâi, is likely to have any connection with the rock called Rimmon. The position and character of the cave have been very carefully described in a former paper by Mr. H. B. Rawnsley, and I can only add the results of a careful survey of the interior (see *Quarterly Statement*, 1879, pp. 118-129 and 170-171). Mr. Rawnsley's plan, though rough, agrees fairly with the Survey now made, which was executed on main lines laid down with magnetic directions, with numerous offsets. This Survey enables us to calculate very closely the area of the cave.

Mughâret el Jâi is excavated in a precipice some 40 feet high, on the south bank of Wady Suweinit, east of Jebâ' (Sheet XVII) and about a quarter of a mile east of the small hidden spring (Ain Suweinit) which is on the top of the precipices, but accessible by a path down a steep slope, which occurs west of the two bluffs, one called *el Mek'ar* ("the place of holes") in which is the cave, the other *el Koba'* (apparently "the helmet") immediately west of the former. The cavern is entered from the north-east, and is hidden from the west by the projecting bluffs. Beyond it is a second cave, to which I obtained the name *Aba Janâl*, the entrance to which, partly closed by a rude wall, is quite inaccessible, being some 20 feet from the foot of the cliff. This second cave faces north-west, a recess occurring in the precipice between the two caverns.

The rocky slope at the foot of the cliffs is polished by the bare feet of shepherds and the hoofs of goats, and an explorer shod with boots is in great danger of sliding down towards the stiff slope which falls perhaps 300 feet to the rocky bed of the ravine. On the north rise cliffs and bluffs equally barren, and also burrowed with caves.

The gorge is as solitary and desolate as the well known Kelt valley, which it joins further east; and is inhabited by the black grackles, the rock-doves, and desert partridges; while the sage-bushes, the thorny *bellân*, and a few scattered *Kharrâbah* trees form the only vegetation. The guide who accompanied us seemed much impressed by the awful silence and desolation of the great valley. He muttered constant prayers to the Moslem saints for aid, and sat in the great entrance hall of the cave, and refused to come further. He became much alarmed when we disappeared in the dark; and afterwards, when the light of a magnesium torch shone in the distance, we could hear him calling to us as we penetrated yet further into the darkness, and he gravely stated that the great passage led to Jerusalem, and that if we walked from dawn till eve we should not come to the end.

But although the site is impressive, the cave itself was disappointing. It is not like the famous Khureitûn cavern, a network of halls and passages, but simply a large cavern, with a narrower gallery leading upwards and returning with a stiff descent to a second entrance visible in the cliff, west of that now accessible. Why the advocates of a Rock Rimmon in this vicinity should have pitched on this particular cave it would be difficult to understand, seeing that there are many other caves along both sides of the valley, were it not that they appear to rely on the statement of the fellahin that this cave will contain 600 men, and that 16 flocks of 100

sheep have been folded at one time in its main chamber. The Survey shows that the total area of the cave and its branches does not exceed 970 square yards, while the main chamber is about 500 square yards. Thus if 1,600 sheep were ever crowded into this chamber they must have stood half of them on the backs of the rest, as more than 3 sheep could scarcely be packed into 2 square yards.

In the same way, allowing 6 feet by 3 feet for a man, if the 600 Benjamites lived and slept in this cave (even including the branches which are low and pitch dark) 120 of them must have lain above the rest (which is improbable). I am therefore unable to agree with Mr. Rawnsley that "three hundred could perhaps find ample accommodation," as even this smaller number would necessitate the supposition that for four months they were packed twice as thick in this dark cavern (without ventilation) as soldiers in barrack rooms, which, however carefully ventilated, are still unpleasantly crowded at night.

Thus the only remaining argument in favour of this site—that it is a cave capable of containing 600 men, vanishes before the results of careful survey, and we are left to choose between a rock where the name Rimmon still exists, and a cave in a cliff which will not hold the number of fugitives mentioned in the story, and has not any connection by name with the topography of the episode, and is not mentioned in the Bible.

The cave appears to be mainly natural, formed probably by the action of water, and possibly enlarged by man. The floor is covered with the dung of sheep and bats, a few of the latter being encountered, while a goat's skull lay at the end of the passage which once communicated with the second entrance. The roof of the main chamber is blackened with smoke. The branches have lower roofs and are quite dark. There is nothing remarkable in this cavern, which resembles many others visited by the Survey-party, some being much larger. Both sides of the valley have many similar caves of various dimensions, mostly inaccessible. In almost every case they appear to be traditionally connected with the Christians, and a comparison with similar caves near Mâr Sâba, in Wady Kelt, and on Jebel Kûrântûl, seems to show that whether or no they were originally natural, they have been enlarged by the hermits who, in the 5th and 12th centuries, retired to these fastnesses and lived and died in the caves.

In searching for the name Rimmon at this spot, Mr. Rawnsley collected many titles applied to surrounding features, some of which were new. These local names are specially numerous in the desert districts, where the Arabs have no landmarks other than those formed by natural features, and we recovered no less than thirty similar names in one valley near Taiyibeh.\* They do not, however, as a rule, appear to be very ancient or of

\* The same peculiarity of the much greater number of names applied to natural objects in pastoral districts, as compared with those in the settled or agricultural districts, is observable in the British Ordnance Survey. The surveyors, I am told, in the highlands find among the Gaelic shepherds that every feature has a well known name, and the number thus collected is much



any special value, but can easily be recognised as describing the peculiarities of the features to which they apply in the present case; while some of the names are evidently genuine and well known, others are differently given by different guides and are extremely doubtful. The following are the names collected in a length of about  $1\frac{1}{2}$  miles along the course of Wady Suweinît.

I.—*North side of Valley going East.*

1. *El Aleiliyât*, "the upper chambers," hermits' caves. See Sheet XVII.
2. *El Hosn*, "the fortress," hermits' caves with windows in cliff.
3. *El Hosn*, "the fortress," another group in same cliff  $\frac{1}{2}$  mile E. It seems that the name must apply to the whole cliff.
4. *'Arâk esh Shinnâr*, "Partridges' Cave," above No. 1.
5. *El Merjâmeh*, "place of the Cairn," above No. 3.
6. *Sh'ab el Hâtî* "the walled spur," a narrow spur of rock like a wall with ravine behind.
7. *Khallet er Râhîb*, "monks' dell," above this ravine.
8. *Kurnet el Falkeint*, "peak of two clefts," a cliff.
9. *'Arâk el War*, "cave of rough rocks," above No. 8.
10. *'Arak (or Shakif) el Akhdeish*, "Cliff of the Scratch."

II.—*South side of Valley going East.*

11. *Ka'at Abu Dâmûs*, "Castle of Damus," a large cave opposite No. 1. See Survey, Sheet XVII.
12. *Khallet el Haiyeh*, "dell of the snake," from a ruin of same name south-east of it.
13. *'Ain Suweinît*, "spring of the little Acacia."

larger than in the Lowlands, where the country is divided into fields, and the roads, villages, and buildings form landmarks which do not exist in the moors. I believe that the same rule applies in Palestine, as we have always collected more names (though fewer of value) among the Bedawin than among the Fellahin. In the vicinity of Shechem, Jerusalem, and Hebron, there are, however, unquestionably a great number of names, applying to hills and valleys, although for the most part they appear to be of little value to the archæologist, and are often indisputably modern.

In connection with this question I may mention a very interesting conversation with Mr. S. Bergheim, of Abu Shushah. He quoted to me several instances in which, within the last ten years, the peasantry in the above village had changed the names of various plots of ground, and small valleys, in consequence of local events. Thus a hill formerly known by another name is now called by that of an Arab found murdered on the spot. This fully accords with the survey experience, and it appears necessary to distinguish between the true nomenclature attaching to villages, ruins, springs, and spring wells, and the secondary local nomenclature of small natural features which appears to be of modern and varying character.

14. *El Kob'a*, from a root meaning "domed," a cliff.
15. *El Mek'aâr*, "the place of holes," cliff with caves.
16. *Mughâret el Jâi*. The meaning is unknown to the Fellâhin.
17. *Mughâret Abu Jemâl*, "Cave of Camels."

The only names of any interest in this long list seem to be Nos. 1, 2, 7, 11, 13, 16, of which only 7 and 13 are omitted on the Survey, Sheet XVII.

The name Jâi (16) appears to come from the same root as the Hebrew Gai, and the Arabic *Jeych*, has the same meaning as the Hebrew Gai, viz., "a place where water collects." It has been suggested above that it was by the action of water that the cavern was originally formed, but it is perhaps more probable that it should simply be rendered "cave of the ravine," in allusion to the side ravine which runs into the gorge immediately east of the cave or to the main valley itself.

In consequence of the assumption that the 600 Benjamites lived in a cave, and that this cave was Mughâret el Jâi, the cavern has been awarded an undue amount of importance, for there are many other caves of greater interest in Wâdy Suweint (especially Nos. 1, 2, and 11), though unfortunately they are for the most part inaccessible.

In these, perhaps, the mysterious Essenes dwelt long before the Christian hermits, and probably among them we may recognise the "Caves and rocks, and high places ('Alâli) and pits" (1 Sam. xiii. 6) in which the Israelites hid from the Philistine garrison of Geba.

The most important in appearance of these is the cave in the great cliff called el Hozn, "the stronghold," which cliff appears to be the Biblical Bozez as mentioned in "Tent-Work in Palestine." After visiting the Mughâret el Jâi I attempted, in company with Mr. Armstrong, to reach this other cave, climbing down about 600 feet and ascending some 200 feet on the north side of the gorge. Here we found ourselves at the foot of a cliff at least 100 feet high and seemingly inaccessible. Near the top were the little windows which seem to belong to a chapel, but the caves at the foot of the cliff which we had hoped to find connected with this upper story proved to be only shallow excavations blackened by smoke.

We now attempted to reach the windows by climbing the precipice, and for this purpose I took off my boots and clambered over a high ledge slippery from the naked feet of former climbers, and found myself on a broad platform extending to the Aleiliyât caves on the west. Above this was another cliff some 20 feet high, which I was able to climb without great difficulty, reaching a second narrower terrace. The next cliff was apparently quite inaccessible, but I found in it a fissure half filled by a bush, and using my shoulders against the sides of the crevice I succeeded in gaining a yet higher and narrower ledge. Walking eastwards along this I endeavoured to reach the windows, which were hidden by an intervening buttress of rock. I found, however, that the ledge terminated in a vertical cliff, and that I was now higher than the windows, although not yet at the very top of the cliff. Descending again to the next terrace, I joined my companion, and we again tried to reach the cave, but found that there was no foot-hold on the cliff. We were thus obliged to abandon the



attempt when within a few yards of our object, and after a very fatiguing climb. We marked the spot which we reached with a sheet of white paper, and descending to the bottom of the ravine climbed up the south side, visiting another small cave in a cliff. On gaining the top of the southern precipice, much exhausted by our efforts, we looked back at the white sheet of paper, and I was surprised to find that I had climbed the whole cliff with exception of the highest ledge, which did not appear to be more difficult than those surmounted.

The interest of this escalade lies in the fact that the cliff of el Hosn is probably the rock Bozez, up which Jonathan climbed "upon his hands, and upon his feet, and his armour-bearer after him" (1 Sam. xiv, 13).

The position of the Philistine camp near Michmash is carefully described by Josephus, in a manner which strikingly recalls the cliff of el Hosn, and it seems possible that in the name *Hosn*, or "Stronghold," may linger some reminiscence of the ancient history of the spot. The descent of the cliff Seneh is not mentioned as specially difficult in the history of Jonathan's adventure, and the fact that the Survey party once brought their horses down this side of the gorge shows that though apparently impassable, a comparatively easy descent can be found. I had always, however, supposed that it would be impossible to climb up the northern precipice, and Mr. Rawnsley has recently suggested that Jonathan reached the top by the *Shâb et Hâti*, a steep but quite practicable ascent.

The objections to this view seem to be that this approach would no doubt have been specially guarded by the Philistines, and, moreover, that Jonathan would not have been obliged to climb on his hands and feet, as stated in the Biblical account. It was no doubt the audacity of the attempt, and the appearance of the enemy at an apparently impregnable point, that spread such panic among the Philistines, and in searching for an entrance to the hermits' caves, I unconsciously proved the possibility of scaling the cliffs, perhaps at the very point where Jonathan himself ascended. Above the precipices a stiff slope of perhaps 260 feet or more leads to the flatter ground near the summit, and if the Hebrew champion at all approached the modern Arab in his powers of endurance, there appears to be nothing impossible in his being fit to fight when he reached the top of the mountain.

In riding from our camp at el Jib to the valley of Michmash, we passed through Jeb'a, and as questions have at various times arisen respecting the view from this village, I carefully recorded the places visible. There is high ground immediately north of the houses, almost level with the top of the central tower, and the view is here the same obtained by Dr. Chaplin when standing on the tower itself, but as the position of the village is not high compared with the surrounding ridges, the panorama is much less extensive than seems to have been supposed. From Jeb'a (2,220 above the sea) are seen on the north, Rummôn, Mukhmâs (Taiyibeh being hidden), Tell 'Asûr (3,300), et Tell, Deir Diwân (2,570), Burkah and Kefr 'Akâb: both Beitin and Bireh are hidden by intervening hills, though the gardens of the latter can be seen.

On the west, er Râm is completely shut out by the crest of its own hill, although 400 feet higher than Jeb'a, on the south-west Tell el Fûl (2,754) stands up against the sky-line, and the ridge near it entirely conceals every part of the Jerusalem plateau; as a section along this line would show to be necessarily the case. Hizneh (2,020), and 'Anâta (2,225) are visible, but the ridge of Râs el Meshârif (2,900) conceals the buildings on Olwet (2,700). A portion of the Dead Sea is visible on the east, but the view from er Râm is much more extensive than that from Jeb'a.

A2. — From our Taiyibeh camp in company with Dr. Chaplin and Lieutenant Mantell, I made a thorough investigation of the vicinity of Bethel and Michmas. It has been advanced by other writers in the *Quarterly Statement* that the term *beside* (Josh. xii, 9), intimates that Ai was close to Bethel, while the same may be deduced from the description of Abraham's altar, "having Bethel on the west, and Hai on the east" (Gen. xii, 8). For this reason the site proposed by Lieutenant Kitchener (Khûrbet el Hâi, south-east of Michmas) appears unsuitable, being at a distance of six miles south-east of Bethel, and therefore not likely to be mentioned as defining the situation of the mountain east of Bethel, and not properly describable as "beside" that city.

It is curious to note how many places there are in this district to which the name *Haiyeh* ("living animal" or "serpent," according to the termination) is applied; 1st, Khûrbet el Haiyeh, south of Wâdy Saweint; 2nd, Khûrbet el Hâi, north of the same; 3rd, Khûrbet Haiyan; 4th, Khûrbet, Dâr, Haiyeh, further north; 5th, Wâdy Abu Haiyât, east of the latter. None of these have, however, the exact form of the Hebrew *Ai* (אֵי), though the *He* may perhaps take the place of the Hebrew guttural  *Ain*.

Khûrbet Hâi is an insignificant ruin, apparently a shepherd's hamlet, with caves and foundations of ruined cottages. It has a large cistern on the hill above it, and enclosures walled in with large rude blocks, which are often found round the village threshing floors. The natives of Mukhmâs say that this was formerly a village belonging to them, and inhabited by Moslems.

The site which appears most probably to represent Ai, is the important ruin of Haiyân, immediately south of the curious hillock called et Tell. The vicinity has long been recognized as the approximate locality, but the ruins were first described by the Survey party.

The mound of et Tell with its terrace walls of rude stones, and its conspicuous group of olives, is a natural feature modified by the construction of the terraces. It does not appear to have been the site of a city, and only a single cistern has been found there. It is, however, only half-a-mile distant from Khûrbet Haiyân, and the arguments which were brought forward by Vandevelde, Colonel Wilson, and others, apply with even greater force to the site at Haiyân. There is a deep valley to the north (Josh. viii, 11), such as would be called *Gai*; there is an open plateau on the east, which may perhaps be intended by the "plain" ('Arabah, Josh. xii, 14); and there is a valley on the



west (Wady el Medinet), which may have afforded concealment to the ambush sent by Joshua from Gilgal (Josh. viii, 3) before he marched up to Ai himself (verse 10), supposing that this force of 30,000 men advanced by the only really practicable route, which leads from Jericho to the vicinity of Michmash, and reaches Haiyân on the south-east.

The ruins of Haiyân will be found fully described in the memoir to Sheet XVII; they include several large tombs on the south, three fine rock-cut tanks (the largest in the district), and a number of rock-cut tombs on the north. The site is now covered with olive gardens, but the name is well known to the villagers of Deir Diwân, a Moslem village immediately north of the site.

From Haiyân we followed the old road westwards to Bethel. On this road there is a curious construction of rude stones on the ridge some 300 yards west of et Tell; it resembles one or two other similar foundations to be found near Bethel, being apparently solid, about 10 feet square, of rude unshaped blocks 2 to 4 feet in length. There are three courses standing, and the building might be taken for an altar (which would be of the highest interest in such a situation); but its position by the roadside more probably indicates that it is a small watch-tower, such as are frequently found on Roman roads.

We paid three visits to the vicinity of Bethel with the view of examining the supposed circle of stones said to exist near it. We were, however, unable to arrive at any other conclusion than that the curious rocks photographed by Colonel Wilson are natural features; and although Dr. Sepp speaks (I believe) of a rude stone circle, I was unable to find any such monument after searching the entire vicinity. The rocks called *el Kûla'h* are very remarkable features, and might at a distance easily be mistaken for remains of an ancient monument, but they are not detached from the mass of the mountain, and are not arranged in any particular form.

It is worthy of notice in this connection that the plains of Jordan and the north end of the Dead Sea are clearly visible from the ridge between Beitin and Haiyân, where Abraham's altar would probably have stood (Gen. xiii, 10). Thus the crusading monastery of Burj Beitin, and the neighbouring chapel of el Mukâtir, no doubt represent the traditional sites of this famous altar in the 12th and 5th centuries respectively.

*Gibeon*.—Our camp has been fixed at this famous city for ten days, and we have carefully examined the site of the ancient town. *El Jib*, the modern village, occupies the north end of a detached hill some 200 feet high, surrounded by broad flat corn valleys on every side. The inhabitants state that the old city stood on the south part of the hill, and here in the sides of the natural scarps which fortify the site we have visited and explored some 20 rock-cut tombs. There are eight springs on the hill, the largest, on the east, being one of the finest supplies of water in this part of Palestine. One of the springs is called *el Birksh*, and flows out into a rock-cut tank measuring 11 feet by 7 feet, the

water issuing from a small cave. This place is south-west of the village, and close to the main east and west road through Gibeon. The pool is cut in the face of a cliff, and has a wall of rock about  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet high on the west. Above it grows a pomegranate tree, and near it are ancient tombs in the cliff.



THE POOL IN GIBEON.

The reader will remember the dramatic account of the meeting between Joab with David's followers, and Abner with the clansmen of the house of Saul (2 Sam. ii, 13); how they sat one on one side, the other on the other at "the pool in Gibeon," and arranged the fatal duel between the young men who were bid to "arise, and play before us." The Hebrew word describing the pool is the same as the modern Arabic Birkah, and the apparent antiquity of the ancient tank fed partly by rain water, partly by the little spring in the cave, seems to countenance the idea that we here find preserved one of the lesser sites of the Biblical narrative, the recovery of which lends so much force and reality to the ancient narration.

It is possible, however, that the great spring (Ain el Belled) is the place intended in this episode, as it wells up in a chamber some 30 feet long and 7 feet wide, reached by a descent of several steps. This cave resembles very closely that of the Gibeon spring (Virgin's Fountain) at Jerusalem, for there is said to be a passage with steps leading up from



the back of the cave to the surface above. As the water is some 5 feet deep, and the passage is now stopped up, we did not attempt to enter it. It is, however, clear that a door of some kind once existed at the present entrance to the cave, and it would appear that the inhabitants of Gibeon were thus able to close their spring below, and to obtain access to it from above within the city.

The spring in question, like many of the famous fountains in Palestine, is held sacred by the Fellâhin. An earthenware lamp is occasionally lighted in the chamber, but at other times the peasantry say that supernatural lights and smoke are seen within, and that a *Nebî* or Prophet inhabits the cave. Close by is a little rock chamber with a rude masonry wall. It is plastered inside, and in one of the niches of its rock sides we found some sardine tins containing offerings of pomegranate flowers and young figs, while pottery lamps are placed in others. This Mukâm is called Jâmîa' el Burîdeh, and near it above the spring is a small platform for prayer. The villagers may often be seen praying here, and great consternation fell upon the women who drew water when they found the sacred grotto of the spring full of dense white smoke some few days since. It was not, however, in this instance the action of the presiding genius, descending to punish the peasants for allowing Franks to enter the sacred cave, for the smoke was the result of burning a magnesium torch for the better investigation of the dark interior.

It is worthy of remark that the older the site of a village in Palestine, the more numerous and venerable are the sacred places now recognized by the Fellâhin of the spot. At Gibeon we have but one instance of that reverence for living water, which is so marked and so natural a feature of the ancient Asiatic religions, from the Ganges to the Nile. The niches which once held perhaps statues of the genii of the springs, are still to be found at Baniâs, Jericho, Shechem, Yasûf, and in other places where five fountains occur. Springs, trees, stones, and mountain tops, form the central objects of the Fellâh cultus not less than of that of the ancient Canaanites.

From Gibeon we visited among other places the Nether Beth Horon, where a treasure trove was reported some little time since, which proved, however, as in so many other cases, to be an exaggerated version of the discovery of a small rock tomb. We ascertained the correctness of the position of Khûrbet Dâriah, which I have proposed to identify with Ataroth Adar (Josh. xviii, 13), and although scarcely a trace of a ruin exists we found the name to be well known among the peasantry.

In returning I was reminded of the eloquent description given by Dean Stanley of the defeat of the Canaanites by Joshua, and the pursuit from Gibeon to Ajalon. If, however, we are to apply strictly the words of the book, we must seek a place north of Gibeon, and in sight of the Valley of Ajalon (Josh. x, 12). In such a position we should imagine Joshua to have stood when he spoke the words, "sun stand thou still on Gibeon, and thou moon in the valley of Ajalon." If the sun stood still "in the midst of heaven," it was of necessity visible in the south.

while the moon cannot have been (as picturesquely described by Dean Stanley) a crescent, but must have been in the third quarter on account of its relative position to the sun.

It may be noted that there is a position on the ancient road from Gibeon to Bethoron, which fulfils these requisites, for on the hill east of Khūrbet el Lattātin, a view is obtained down the ravine of Wādy Selmān, while Gibeon and the high place of Gibeon (if at Neby Samwīl) are visible on the south.

Within the village of el Jīb, Lieutenant Mantell has recently discovered the remains of a small crusading church. The place is called *el Kanisch* by the natives, but the building is now converted into a house, and the plan is scarcely traceable. The nave appears to have been 22 feet wide by 40 feet long. No apse is now visible, but the west wall, with an orial window, exactly resembles that of the crusading church at Taiyibeh.

*Ebenezer.*—We have also taken this opportunity to visit Khūrbet Samwīl, which Mr. Birch proposes to identify with the stone erected by Samuel (1 Sam. vii, 12). Some foundations, caves, and rock-cut cisterns exist here, and near it on a high knoll is the ruined fort called *el Burj*, which seems to be not earlier than crusading times, even if as early. No monument of the kind required now exists on this spot, and it appears probable that the name is derived from the proximity of *Neby Samuel*. The identity of the latter with Mizpeh, as proposed by Dr. Robinson, has been disputed mainly on account of a passage which appears to place Mizpeh on the road from Shiloh to Jerusalem (Jer. xli, 5-7). The topographical notices of this important place are otherwise so vague, that it seems impossible to decide between the two high places of Nob and Gibeon, to one of which the name Mizpeh appears to have applied. The identification of Shen with Deir Yasin was mentioned to me in 1874, by Dr. Chaplin. As regards Ebenezer, the only point which is clear is that the early Christians believed Deir Abān to mark the site. This I found in 1876 in reading the "Onomasticon." It appears to have been also independently recognised by M. Clermont Ganneau, although I have been unable to find any publication earlier than 1877, in which he announces his discovery. No doubt other readers of Jerome's works must have formed the same conclusion, although Robinson appears to have overlooked it.

*Roman Camp at Tellia.*—The hill east of Wādy Beit Hannina, which is a spur of the Neby Samwīl ridge, terminates in a rather steep slope, and on the end of the spur is seen what appears to be a gigantic cairn of stones; a careful examination, however, proves that this is a quadrangular enclosure built of unhewn stones without mortar.

The area measures 190 feet north and south, by 130 feet east and west, and the labour entailed in its construction must have been enormous. The interior is subdivided into three by two walls, running north and south, while cross walls form side chambers about 37 feet by 40 feet along the sides of the enclosure. On the outside is a slope formed of loose stones,



which though partly due, perhaps, to the falling down of the walls, seems to have been intended to strengthen the fortification with an outer scarp. No well or cistern is visible inside, but there is a large cistern on the hill 200 or 300 yards to the west. The walls are still standing some 15 feet above the ground outside the structure, and 6 or 8 feet above the interior.

Such rude stone buildings are generally considered among the oldest remains to be found in Palestine. The stones used are, indeed, not much larger than those employed in building terrace walls, but the work seems too important to have been executed by the Fellâhin for a cattle fold, and the position commands the junction of two important roads, both showing signs of antiquity. That on the west comes down from Neby Samwil, and that on the east follows the valley from el Jib; the two join on the south and ascend thence to Jerusalem.

The conclusion which seems most natural is that Tellilia ("the little Tell") represents a camp constructed by one of the Roman armies (either of Titus or Severus) in advancing on Jerusalem. The whole structure resembles the Roman Camps which exist almost untouched at Masada; and in a mountain district where earth was not to be found in sufficient quantity it seems that the Romans were obliged to use stone.

This discovery at Tellilia serves to confirm a conjecture which has often occurred to me, that the great stone heaps north of Jerusalem, and west of the Nâblus road, represent the remains of the camp which Titus constructed on Scopus. The plan of a camp can in this case no longer be traced, but the long line of stone-heaps called *Rujm el Kehalir* has an appearance very similar to the rude scarp at Tellilia—a work which must have entailed the labour of a large body of men, and the collection of materials from a considerable area.

*Alâli el Benât* ("the towers of the maidens"), east of Kilia (Sheet XV), in the great gorge of Wâdy Sâmiçh. Mr. Black has recently explored a curious hermits' cave with three cisterns. It is reached by a narrow stair of rock in the face of the precipice, and it presents the same peculiarity found in several of the caves of Wâdy Suweinft, &c., namely a little gallery leading to a window in the rock at a higher level than the cave-mouth, from which the anchorites were able to reconnoitre any one approaching their abode.

*Deir ash Shabâb*.—Although this site, representing a mediæval monastery north of Bethel, has been more than once visited, it is curious that the front has never been noticed. It is hewn out of a single block, and is of the usual form,—a cylinder hollowed within, in form of a cross composed of four semicircles on four sides of a central square. Other examples occur at Jufna, Tekoa, Khûrbet, Zakariya, and near Beit Jebrin.

*Deir ash Shabâb*, "Monastery of youths," possibly represents a traditional site of the "School of the Prophets" near Bethel. The ruins are described in full in the memoir.

*Tell 'Asâr*.—This mountain (which is generally called *el 'Asâr* or *el Asar* by the natives) has been identified in an apparently satisfactory



manner with the ancient Baal Hazor, or Baal of the "Enclosure;" and it now appears that the mountain is still a sacred place. There is no building on the summit, but a fine group of oaks; the remains perhaps of a sacred grove, such as is still to be found venerated among the Nuseireh Pagans. During our recent visit to the cairn constructed on this hill (one of the highest points in Palestine) in 1872, and which we found still standing, Dr. Chaplin, who accompanied the party, was informed that there was a cave, sacred to Sheikh Haderah, at the place. This name preserves the Hebrew Hazor in the usual Arabic form with the *Dâd*. I am also informed that the Moslems of the vicinity are in the habit of making vows to the Rijâl el 'Asawîr, or "Men of 'Asûr," whom they now call Companions of the Prophet. It seems, therefore, that, although no modern shrine or ancient stone temple now exists (the vineyards having crept to the very top of the hill), yet traces of the old Canaanite worship are still recognisable on the spot among the modern Fellâhin.

*Fellah traditions.*—The collector of such traditions has to contend with many difficulties. In 1874 a good many stories, which were rude imitations of the Biblical narrative, were collected at Sûrah, in connection with the tomb of Neby Samit, who is variously represented as having been identical with, or brother of *Shemshîn el Jebbâr*. We have only just returned from a three days' visit to this village. We were told the stories of the defeat of infidels by this hero, armed with a camel's jaw-bone instead of a sword, of his death under a great building, of his being betrayed by a woman, but we also found that the village for many years has been owned by a Christian from Beît Jâla, and the peasants at once confessed that they knew nothing of Neby Samit before the new owner told them who he was. In the same way at Taiyibeh, we were told that the old name was 'Afrâ, and that it was the city of Gideon. This tradition is derived from the Latin priest, who has thus instilled erroneous ideas into the Fellah mind, as, even if it were certain that Taiyibeh represents Ophrah of Benjamin, it certainly could not represent Gideon's city Ophrah of Abiezer, which belonged to Manasseh (Judg. vi, 11-15), and was probably the Samaritan Ophrah, now called Fer'ata, not far from Shechem.

It is, moreover, another cause of difficulty that the traditions of the peasantry are rapidly being forgotten, as are those of the Samaritans. The young men do not know the stories which can occasionally be extracted from an old man or woman. At Abu Shûsheh, Mr. Bergheim, in the winter's evenings, has had many such stories related to him by an old Sheikh, now dead, including the plot of the "Merchant of Venice," and that of "Pericles, Prince of Tyre," both slightly altered and orientatised. In the first story it was a father-in-law, who exacted the pound of flesh in case of the husband quarrelling with his wife, and the wife who invented the limitation that no blood should be drawn. This tale the Sheikh had heard from his father. Possibly it may have come down from the twelfth century, but when we consider how modern research has traced the fairy tales of Europe to the East, and found



Cinderella's glass slipper in India, there seems no very great improbability in thus recovering in Syria the stories—much older than the time of Shakespeare, on which he founded the plots of two of his plays.

## VI.

'AIN KARIM, 14th July, 1881.

*Kirjath Jearim.*—We have just returned from a long ride to Khürbet 'Erma, which, in 1878, I indicated as possibly representing the important town of Kirjath Jearim, and our observations at this spot, which I had not previously visited in person, seem so materially to confirm the identification, that it may be of interest to recapitulate the arguments published on various occasions in the *Quarterly Statement*, and to describe in full the existing remains.

Kirjath Jearim is first mentioned in the Book of Joshua as identical with Kirjath Baal, a town of Judah (Josh. xv, 60). It was on the boundary between the tribes of Judah and Benjamin (verse 9), and from the peculiar expressions used in the description of the border line (Josh. xviii, 15; xv, 10), it appears that the town must have stood at an angle, from which the line ran in two directions, one being eastwards towards Nephtoah, the other northwards towards Kesla, which is Chesalon, on the north side.

The next appearance of the city is in the Book of Judges, when the men of Dan, who had no inheritance (Judges xviii, 1), went up to the Mahaneh Dan, which was "behind" (or more correctly *west of*) Kirjath Jearim. Of the position of this Mahaneh Dan, or "Camp of Dan," we have a further indication in the history of Samson, in which it is mentioned as "between Zorah (*Sūr'ah*) and Eshtaol" (Eshū'a) (Judges xiii, 25). The term Mahaneh is identical with *Muknah*, "camp," a title now applied to the plain east of Shechem, and it seems to be properly indicative of a plain fit for camping ground. We can therefore have little hesitation in placing the Mahaneh Dan in the broad Wādy Surār, near the recognized sites of Zorah and Eshtaol; and the site of Kirjath Jearim should thus apparently be sought east of this natural camping ground.

Kirjath Jearim is again mentioned as the place where the Ark remained for twenty years after the destruction of the men of Beth Shemesh (1 Sam. vi, 19; vii, 1). From this passage it appears that Kirjath Jearim was in the mountains above Beth Shemesh; yet Josephus, who may be supposed to have known the real site, states that the two cities were near one another (6 "Ant.," i, 4).

At a late period David went down to Baale (or Kirjath Jearim) to bring up the Ark to Jerusalem. It was found in the house of Abinadab "in Gibeah" (the hill or knoll), but this place would appear to have been in or part of the city of Baalah. This is the last mention of the city

except its enumeration in the lists of Ezra, where the name appears under the abbreviated form Kirjath Arim (Ezra ii, 25).

From these various notices we may sum up the apparent requisites which should be satisfied in any site proposed as identical with this important town.

1. The name Arim or Jearim ("thickets") should be recovered, and the site should present such thickets.

2. It must be east of the Mahaneh Dan, which lay between Zorah and Eshtaol.

3. It must be south of Chesalon, identified with the modern Kesla.

4. It must be near Beth Shemesh (now 'Ain Shems), which agrees with the second indication.

5. It must be in the mountains above the last-mentioned site.

6. It must be at the south-west angle of the border line of Benjamin.

7. Its position must agree with that of Nephtoah and Rachel's tomb (cf. Josh. xv, 9; and, 1 Sam. x, 2), so as to allow of an intelligible line being drawn for the south border of Benjamin.

8. The name Baalah indicates either that a high place of Baal existed at the city, or else that the position was elevated (taking Baal in a wider geographical sense, as some authorities are inclined to do).

9. A rounded hillock or humped knoll of some kind seems indicated by the term Gibeah, occurring in connection with the site of the city.

The usual site shewn as representing Kirjath Jearim is the village of Kuryet el 'Anab ("Town of Grapes"), better known as Abu Ghosh, on the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem. This town is called simply el Kuryeh by the Fellâhin, and appears to be the ancient Kirjath of Benjamin (Josh. xviii, 28), a place apparently distinct from Kirjath Jearim, and situated in the Lot of Benjamin, whereas the latter belonged to Judah. There is no doubt that in the fifth century Abu Ghosh was believed to be Kirjath Jearim, and the only argument which Dr. Robinson has adduced in favour of this identification appears to be founded on the early Christian tradition, which he too often quotes in favour of his own views, even against his own canon of criticism condemning such traditions as of no value. The site thus commonly pointed out to travellers does not, however, fulfil the requisites enumerated. The name Arim is not found at Abu Ghosh, the site of which lies 9 miles north-west of 'Ain Shems, and 3½ miles north-west of Chesalon. The border line of Benjamin cannot be drawn through Abu Ghosh and also through Rachel's tomb, without being so twisted as to be practically improbable, while no special features occur which would serve to explain the names Gibeah and Baalah, connected with that of Kirjath Jearim.

These objections have been so far recognized by various writers as to induce some archaeologists to prefer the conspicuous village of Sôba, as proposed by Dr. Chaplin, a site answering better to the requirements of the name Baalah or Gibeah. Sôba is the Bel Mont of the Crusaders, and is undoubtedly an ancient Jewish site. In the Septuagint of Josh. xv (verse inserted after 60) it seems to be mentioned, according to some



MSS., under the form Thobes. It lies, however, 4 miles east of Chesalon, and is separated by 10 miles of rugged mountains from Beth Shemesh. No trace of the name Kirjath Jearim has been found in its vicinity, and the difficulties with regard to the boundary of Judah and Benjamin are not removed by the choice of this site.

The ruin discovered by the Survey Party in 1873, seems in every respect to answer better than any previously proposed to the nine requirements enumerated above.

1st. The three principal letters (עֵרִים) of the name Jearim, or of the later abbreviated form Arim, occur in the proper order in the modern Arabic 'Erma (spelt with the guttural Ain); the site is moreover surrounded and concealed by the thickets of lentisk, oak, hawthorn, and other shrubs, which properly represent the Hebrew word tarim (תָּרִים) from a root signifying to be "tangled" or confused.

2nd. The ruin is due east of the open plain formed by the junction of Wâdy Ismâîn with Wâdy el Mutluk, extending from Beth Shemesh on the south-west, to Eshtaol on the north-east, and to the hill of Zorah on the north-west, representing the ancient Mahaneh Dan.

3rd. It is  $2\frac{1}{4}$  miles south of Chesalon or Kesla.

4th. It is only 4 miles from Beth Shemesh, and an ancient road descends north of the ruin into Wâdy Ismâîn, and thus leads to Beth Shemesh direct along the valley banks.

5th. The site of 'Erma is nevertheless in the mountain proper, and about 1,000 feet higher than that of Beth Shemesh.

6th. The identification of the sites of Ataroth Adar (ed Dârieh), Gibeah (Jebâ), and Kirjath (Kuryet el 'Anab), belonging to Benjamin; of Jethlah (Beit Tul) and Eltekeh (Beit Likia) belonging to Dan, as proposed by the survey party, all agree with the supposition that the west border of Benjamin ran south, from near the Nether Beth-horon, along the crests of the spurs which sink so suddenly from the level of the mountains proper (Har) to the distinct region of the Shephelah. This natural boundary, excluding on the west the Vale of Ajalon, which belonged to Dan, cannot be reconciled with the proposed identifications of Kirjath Jearim at Abu Ghosh or at Sôba, but agrees perfectly with the wording of the biblical description: "The border was drawn thence, and compassed the western side southwards, and the goings out thereof were at Kirjath Baal which is Kirjath Jearim, a city of the children of Judah. This was the west quarter. And the south quarter was from the end of Kirjath Jearim (*i.e.*, the end of the spur on which the city stood), and the border went out on the west (*i.e.*, west side), and went out (eastwards) to the Springs of Nesshtoah" (Josh. xviii, 14-15).

Again, it agrees also with the other description, "And the border compassed from Baalah on the west (or looking west) unto Mount Seir, and passed along unto the shoulder of Mount Jearim, which is Chesalon, on the north side, and went down unto Beth Shemesh" (Josh. xv, 10).

If the reader will compare this paper with Sheet XVII of the Survey, he will at once see the line which appears to be indicated. 'Erma is on the

south or Judah side of the great valley, with a spur (perhaps "the end of Kirjath Jearim") running out northwards. Here, on the north side, are the precipices of a remarkably rocky hill burrowed with hermits' caves, to which the word seir ("rough") might very well apply.

On the same northern ridge, moreover, the name *Saghir*, which is radically the same as seir, may be found marked rather further east. The line running due north along Mount Jearim (which appears from the text to have been on the opposite side of the valley to Kirjath Jearim, as the expression עבר rendered "passed along," means strictly "crossed over," as of a river or valley) arrives at Kesla or Chesalon, and thence follows the important valley called Wady Ghuráb, which joins Wady Ismáin and flows past Beth Shemesh. The position of 'Erma is thus naturally placed at the south-west angle of the border of Benjamin.

7th. The common boundary of Judah and Benjamin may be drawn from the new site of Kirjath Jearim in a direction which agrees with various other indications. It would follow the crest of a long spur to the watershed at 'Ain 'Atán (near Solomon's pools), the en Etam which, according to the Talmudists, was the same as Nephtoah (Tal. Bab Yoma, 31, a). Thence it would pass along a watershed northwards by Rachel's Tomb (1 Sam. x, 2) to the Emek Rephaim, which, according to Josephus, extended from Jerusalem towards Bethlehem (7 "Ant.," xii, 4).

Lifta is thus left to be identified with Eleph of Benjamin (Josh. xviii, 28) rather than with Nephtoah. The identification of Lifta and Nephtoah has always seemed unsatisfactory, not only on account of the difficulties which result in drawing the boundary line, but also because no great spring or group of springs such as seems to be implied by the expression מעין, *Máin* occurs at the spot. The modern Arabic name is moreover deficient in the guttural of the Hebrew.

8th. The expression Baalah would refer very properly to the situation of 'Erma, overlooking the great valley, while, as will be explained immediately, the traces of what may have been an ancient "high place" (Bamah) still remain.

9th. A central knoll such as would account for the name Gibeah occurs at the ruin of 'Erma.

Although the indications of identity thus appear very strong, they could not be considered as conclusive if the site proved to be insignificant, with modern ruins in an inconspicuous situation. I was therefore anxious to revisit the spot, and was much pleased to find that an evidently ancient and important ruin exists still in this position. Riding down the great gorge which, under various names, runs down from near Gibeon to Beth Shemesh, we gradually ascended the southern slopes in the vicinity of the little ruined village of Deir esh Sheikh. Before us was the notable peaked knoll of Khúrbet Sammūniéh, a conspicuous feature of the view up the valley from Suráh, and leaving this on the right we followed an ancient road along the slope of the mountain. Here and there remains of side walls are visible, and there can be little doubt that this is a branch of



the Roman road from the vicinity of Bethlehem leading to Beth Shemesh.

In front of us, far beneath, we saw the white bed of the torrent twisting in bold bends between the steep slopes which rise fully 1,000 feet to the hill tops. Both slopes were rocky and rugged, both, but especially that to the south, were clothed with a dense brushwood of lentisk, arbutus, oak, hawthorn, cornel, kharûb, and other shrubs, while in the open glades the thyme, sage, citrus, and *bellân* carpetted the ledges with a thick fragrant undergrowth.

A bold spur running northwards from the southern ridge was characterised by a small natural turret or platform of rock, rising from a knoll which stood covered with fallen masonry above a group of olives, beneath which again the thickets clothed the mountain. This knoll represented the ruin of 'Erma, which on closer inspection proved to be a site undoubtedly ancient, and presenting the aspect of an old ruined town. Some of the walls, rudely built in mortar, may belong to the Arab period, but the rude blocks built up against scarps natural or artificial which occur in various directions, resemble the old masonry of the vineyard towers, which date back to a very early period.

On the east is a fine rock-cut wine press; on the south a great cistern covered by a huge hollowed stone, which forms the well-mouth, and which from its size and its weather-beaten appearance, must evidently be very ancient.

Rude caves also occur, and the ground is strewn with fragments of ancient pottery. But the most curious feature of the site is the platform of rock, which has all the appearance of an ancient high-place or central shrine. The area is about 50 feet north and south by 30 feet east and west, the surface, which appears to be artificially levelled, being some 10 feet above the ground outside. The scarping of the sides seems mainly natural, but a foundation has been sunk on three sides, in which rudely squared blocks of stone have been fitted as the base of a wall. On the east this wall consisted of rock to a height of  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet with a thickness of 7 feet. There is an outer platform, about 10 feet wide, traceable on the south and south-east, and a flight of steps 3 feet wide, each step being 1 foot high and 1 foot broad, leads up to this lower level at the south-east angles. There is a small cave under the platform, and the ruined houses extend along the spur principally north and south of this remarkable rocky tower.

The view from the ruin on the west is also worthy of notice. The valley is seen winding 600 or 700 feet beneath, and the cliffs and caves of the northern ridge form unusually accentuated features. Beyond these the broad corn vale of Sorek (the Mahaneh Dan) is seen extending beneath the rounded hill on which gleams the white dome of Neby Samit, close to Zoreah. The actual site of Beth Shemesh is hidden by the southern ridge, but the valley-bed north of the ruin is visible.

On the hill to the south stand the houses of Deir el Hawa, and to the east the peak of Sammûniéh hides the further course of the valley.

Standing on the rocky tower we saw clearly how well the Mahaneh Dan might be described as "west" of Kirjath Jearim. How naturally the Ark might have been sent from the lowlands of Beth Shemesh to this neighbouring city, so strongly posted in the rude hills of Judah.

In the central platform we might perhaps recognize the high place of Baal, whence the city took its name, or the Gibeah where the Ark was kept; for Kirjath Jearim is not the only sacred city of Palestine in which the altars of Jehovah and of Baal once stood side by side. The instances of Carmel and of Bethel will recur to the reader's mind, with other indications of a similar kind.

Here then at 'Erma we seem to find in a remarkable manner the numerous requisites of the site of Kirjath Jearim fulfilled. The name, the position, the character of the ruin, the view thence, the surrounding thickets which half cover the site, the situation close to the edge of the higher hills and to the mouth of the great gorge, the proximity to Beth Shemesh, and the relative positions of Chesalon and the Mahaneh Dan, all seem to agree in fixing 'Erma as the true site of the important boundary town where the Ark was kept for twenty years.

Having studied the question carefully on the spot, and having ascertained the importance and antiquity of the site, I cannot but look upon this identification as one of the most valuable which has yet resulted from the Survey of Western Palestine.

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## VII.

HEBRON, 31st July, 1881.

SINCE last report the camp has been moved to Hebron, with a view of clearing up various questions of minor interest in connection with the nomenclature of the vicinity. This is almost the only piece of revision which remains to be done in connection with the Survey west of Jordan. The great change which has occurred in Palestine since Hebron was surveyed, has enabled us to examine even the vicinity of the Haram, without any danger of insults such as I had to endure on the occasion of our previous visit, during the great storm of the spring of 1875, which drove us to take shelter in the Jews' quarter of the town.

*The Haram.*—As regards the Haram we were able to make one interesting observation. The great stones of the outer wall are, as we have now ascertained, dressed in a precisely similar manner to those of the Jerusalem Haram. The drafts vary from 2 to 4 inches in width, and are about  $\frac{1}{2}$  inch deep. The draft and the margin of the boss for a width of about 2 inches, have been dressed with a toothed instrument—an adze like that now used by native masons, but more carefully employed,—thus giving the peculiar *crisscross* appearance observable in the Jerusalem stones. The rest of the boss has been dressed with a point, as at Jerusalem. The interest of this observation lies in its bearing on the



probable date of the masonry. It would appear that the Hebron Haram is of the same date as that at Jerusalem, which it resembles so closely not only as regards the size, the dressing, and the drafting of the stones, but also in the existence of piers projecting from the wall, of which there are 54 at Hebron, while their former existence at Jerusalem seems to be shown by the discovery I was fortunate enough to make, in 1873, of two such piers still *in situ* at the north-west angle of the Haram wall.

We visited the eastern side of the enclosure, and found ourselves on the housetops almost level with the cornice of the old wall. We here found a mosque, called el Jāwāliyah, with a large dome. There is also a third entrance to the enclosure on this side, and the old wall appears to be almost as high here as on the west, although the mountain called el Jālabīneh rises very suddenly behind the Haram on the east. It would appear therefore that the rock beneath the Haram platform, in which the great cave is said to exist, must be a detached knoll: since on all sides there is lower ground, and a retaining wall some 40 feet in height.

As a religious centre Hebron may be said to rival Shechem, and far surpasses Jerusalem. The old name, Kirjath Arba, "City of Four," was said by the Talmudists to refer to the four prophets, Adam, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. It is curious that the Moslems still invoke four prophets in their prayers at Hebron, but instead of Adam they repeat the name of Joseph, whose tomb is shown just outside the Haram at the north-west angle. The tomb of Joseph at Hebron is mentioned also by Josephus. According, however, to the Book of Joshua, the name Kirjath Arba was derived from one of the Anakim (xiv, 15; xv, 13).

In addition to the sepulchres of these four patriarchs and their four wives, we find the curious rock-cut tomb west of the town, known to the natives as Kabr Habrūn, "the Grave of Hebron," possibly, however, a corruption of the name Ephron; by the Jews this is known as the tomb of Othniel, and they show the graves of Jesse and Ruth higher on the same hill, at the mediæval monastery of el Arb'ain. The tradition of the cave in which Adam and Eve lived for 100 years near Hebron is now unknown, though the probable site—as described by mediæval writers—is the present subterranean spring called 'Ain el Jedīdeh. The site of the sacrifice of Cain and Abel, which used to be shown south-west of the town, has now been removed to Neby Yūkin (the Cain of Josh. xv, 57), about 3 miles south-east of Hebron. In addition to these traditions we have the tomb of Noah, west of Hebron; of Lot, on the east; of Esau, on the north-east (at Sī'air, which must at one time have been identified with Seir), and of Jonah, on the north; the early Christian tomb of Gad the Seer. The tomb of Abner is shown in Hebron, north-west of the Haram, but it is a modern cenotaph in a Moslem house, and of no particular interest. Abraham's well and Jacob's well are shown also, towards the north, but no well of Isaac appears to exist, and the inhabitants say that his wells are to be found at Beersheba and Tell el Milh.

Another very curious tradition we found during our recent revision work. There is on the north-west of the town—south of the present site

of Abraham's Oak—a hill called Kuff en Neby, “the prophet's palm” (of the hands), and below this is a cave called Mughâret edh Dhukkâ'ah, with a narrow entrance. There is a bench of large stones running round the walls, and this was found covered with the usual rude offerings of pottery, lamps, &c. The cave is a very sacred place, where the prophets Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob are said to appear every Friday. Mr. Black entered it, however, on that day, without reporting any appearance of either of the Patriarchs, but his guide did not enter, and was roundly abused by the inhabitants of the place, who warned him that the local divinities would be sure to take vengeance on him for bringing a Christian into their sanctuary.

This is not the only instance we have heard in which prophets are said to relieve the monotony of residing in one sanctuary by paying occasional visits to other places.

There are several interesting problems in connection with Hebron which may be considered more important than the traditions above noticed. Where was the plain (or oak) of Mamre? where was Kirjath Arba? where Eshcol? where the place in which Abraham “stood before Jehovah”? (Gen. xix, 27). To each of these questions I have now been able to devote some attention.

In respect to Mamre, we may be allowed to lay aside the traditions which have placed Abraham's oak in various sites, ranging from Râmet el Khulil on the north to Sebta on the north-west, and to the *Dras Ogages* of Josephus (“Ant.,” I, ix, 4), apparently yet nearer to Hebron.

Mamre, we learn from the Bible, was *in or by* Hebron (Gen. xiii, 18), and Machpelah was before or in face of Mamre (Gen. xxiii, 17, 19), “the same is Hebron.” It seems, therefore, most natural to identify the plain of Mamre with the flat open vale facing Machpelah (or the Haram of Hebron) on the west. In this vale, the threshing-floors and the chief Moslem cemetery of Hebron are now to be found. It does not, however, appear quite clearly whether the original Kirjath Arba was on the western or the eastern hill, as the expressions used are somewhat ambiguous. We examined the western hill carefully, but found no traces of any ancient town, although a Jewish cemetery of considerable antiquity exists there, near the four rock-cut Jewish tombs, of which the largest is called Kabr Habrûn. It might not be unreasonable to identify the Cave of Machpelah with this double tomb, or with the newly-discovered sacred cave above noticed; but the consent of Jewish, Moslem, and Christian evidence in favour of the traditional site of the Haram, is too strong an argument in its favour to be lightly set aside.

As regards Eshcol, which is mentioned in connection with Hebron (Num. xiii, 23), and took its name from one of the Anakim of the same place (Gen. xiv, 13-24), the identification proposed by Vandeveldt with 'Ain Keshkaleh appears somewhat doubtful, as the Hebrew *Caph* is supposed to be represented by the Arabic *Quaf* instead of *Kaf*. It is, however, noticeable, that the first K is always dropped in ordinary speaking, and the word is pronounced *Ashkali*. We have not found



any nearer equivalent to Esheol; and the position of this fine spring among the vineyards, is well adapted for that of the famous "brook," whence the grapes of Hebron were brought down by the spies.

The Biblical passage just quoted includes the curious topographical note, "Now Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." The site of Zoan (Sân) has produced monuments attributed to the 6th Egyptian dynasty (a thousand years before Abraham), but the real building of the city is attributed to Rameses II, the famous conqueror of the Hittites (circa 1365 B.C.) If it be to this building that the Scripture refers, the translation of the name Hebron, "friendship," might be thought to refer to Abraham's friendship with the Hittites, and the name may have superseded the earlier title of Kirjath Arba at the later period of the conquest of Palestine by Joshua. This is one of the few instances in the Holy Land where the *meaning* of an old name is preserved instead of the sound; *el Khalil*, "the friend," having superseded Hebron, "friendship," in the mouths of the modern inhabitants.

The traditional site of the place where Abraham "stood before Jehovah," and whence he is said to have perceived, after the destruction of the Cities of the Plain, that "the smoke of the country went up as a furnace" (Gen. xix, 28), has been placed at the village of Beni Naim, three miles east of Hebron, where the Tomb of Lot is now shown.

It has often, however, been suggested by recent travellers that the site should be sought nearer to the Plain of Mamre, and we therefore visited all the highest points immediately east of Hebron, to observe the view towards the Dead Sea. We found that the long spurs which run out above the Desert of Judah are so high as to shut out entirely all the eastern view, except the very highest portion of the Moabite ridge. At Beni Naim, on the other hand, the traveller stands on the very edge of the desert, which is spread out beneath him. The cliffs of Engedi are clearly seen, and the eastern slopes from Kerak to Nebo, although the waters of the Dead Sea and the Valley of the Jordan are hidden by the western precipices.

Beni Naim is mentioned by St. Jerome and other early Christian authorities, under the name Caphar Bareca, "the village of blessing," and I was much interested to find, on recently visiting the village (where are remains of a basilica, now a mosque), that this name was still known to the Sheikh. Without any prompting he asked me if I knew the old name of the place in the time of the Beni Israil. On my professing ignorance, he said it was Kefr Bareka, and volunteered the information that *Suddâm* was east of it by the Dead Sea—pointing towards Engedi. This name, "village of blessing," is no doubt ancient and genuine, and must have had its origin in the original sanctity of the spot, which is a natural site for a high-place on account of its magnificent view. It is to be noted that the three angels are said to have "looked towards Sodom," and Abraham went with them to bring them on the way (Gen. xviii, 16). The destruction of the cities is said to have taken place after sunrise (Gen. xix, 23), but Abraham "got up early in the morning to the place

where he stood before the Lord" (verse 27). These details do not seem to require that the place in question should have been very close to Hebron, and it seems quite comprehensible that the site intended should have been the ancient "Village of Blessing," now called Beni N'aim.

It cannot, however, be said that this throws any very clear light on the position of the Cities of the Plain, as the north and south ends of the sea are about equidistant and equally invisible; and we are forced to rely on other arguments in discussing the situation of Sodom, which Josephus, no less than the modern Moslem, believed to lie beneath the waters of the "Vale of Siddim, which is the Salt Sea" (Gen. xiv, 2).

In the year 1856, Dr. G. Rosen devoted some time to the investigation of the vicinity of Hebron, and made various interesting discoveries. I have now been able to compare his map, embracing an area of about 25 square miles, with our own, and the result is curious, as showing the difficulties of collecting names in Palestine.

Dr. Rosen collected, in all, 116 names within the area of five miles either way, the town of Hebron being near the south-east corner of his map. Out of these, 34 are to be found on our map, and six are merely repetitions of names on the map with slight variations, giving 40 as the total collected by ourselves against 116 collected by Dr. Rosen. By devoting a week to the vicinity of the city we have collected 90 new names, giving 124 in all. Of these, no less than 26 are not noticed by Dr. Rosen, and these include the important sites of Mughâret edh Dhukkâ'ah, Ain Ibrahim, and 'Ain esh Shems. We found 80 names given by Dr. Rosen to be correct, and 12 to be given with very serious errors; while 18 names which he shows on his map or notices in the text were entirely unknown to any of the natives. Out of these 18, five are unimportant, but the rest are for the most part unlike Arabic in form. One deserves special notice, namely, Jebel Elâni, which Dr. Rosen renders "Mount Helena." The name is certainly not now known in Hebron, and is applied by Dr. Rosen to the vicinity of Râmet el Khulîl—the early traditional site of Mamre. It seems therefore to be probably a corruption of the Hebrew Elon ("oak" or "plain"), and may have been obtained from the Jewish inhabitants of the city.

With exception of the sacred cavern of edh Dhukka'ah we have not found any important site omitted from the 1-inch map. Of the 124 names now recorded, only two, namely *Kashkaleh* (Eshkol) and 'Ain Sâra (en Sirah) are of Biblical interest, but the examination seems to show that the nomenclature of the district is gradually changing, and that names which may have existed in Dr. Rosen's time are now forgotten.

This agrees with some facts as to nomenclature which I have noted in a previous report, and with others which I observed at Hebron. Thus 'Ain Mezrûk (which Dr. Rosen calls Mezrû'a, but which is clearly spelt with a *Quaf*) is known to others as 'Ain Merzûk. The valley east of Hebron is called Wâdy el Besâtin by some, and el Mesûtin by others, and I overheard a group of ladies sitting by a tombstone, who were holding a lively dispute as to whether a certain place west of the



town should be called *Zerûr* or *Shulshâr*. This was unusually interesting, as they were quite unaware of my presence or of my interest in nomenclature.

The more carefully we study the nomenclature, the more do we seem forced to the conclusion that the only really permanent and ancient names are those of villages, ruins, and springs, and that the *Secondary Nomenclature*, as it may be called, applying to small natural features, is of fleeting and modern character, while the ancient names of hills and valleys have, as a rule, been utterly lost.

*Aceldama*.—While speaking of names I may mention a curious survival of a Latin name near Jerusalem. Aceldama, south of the city (the possible site of Tophet), was known in the 12th century as Carnarium, "The Charnel," being indeed used for that purpose. This name is still known to the inhabitants (according to Mr. P. Berghien) under the corrupted form, *Shernei*, attached to this rock-cut cemetery. Among Christians the place is also sometimes called Hakk ed Dumm—a transliteration of Aceldama, the Aramaic name rendered "field of blood" in English.

*Beth Haccerem*.—From Hebron we have returned—while awaiting a final decision as to our Firman—to 'Ain Yals in the Valley of Roses, south-west of Jerusalem. We are here close to the curious cairns above Malhah. The object of their construction is not clear, but they may have been used as ancient beacons, and in connection with them we may recall the passage in which the prophet exclaims, "Blow the trumpet in Tekoa and set up a sign of fire in Beth Haccerem" (Jer. vi, 1). Christian tradition fixes on the so-called Frank Mountain as representing the site of this beacon; but the name Beth Haccerem ("house of the vineyard") has not been recovered in that direction, while, on the other hand, we find the present 'Ain Kârim ("spring of vineyards") close under the slope of the ridge on which the great cairns in question are now found. This identification would not clash with the very probable supposition that 'Ain Kârim is Beth Car (1 Sam. vii, 11). Beth Haccerem may have been the later form, intermediate between the old Beth Car and the modern 'Ain Kârim, and the name occurs again in the lists of Nehemiah (iii, 14), in connection with that of other places near Jerusalem. So far as I am aware, this identification has not previously been indicated as probable.

The cairns above noted are among the most interesting remains in Western Palestine, and seem more probably to belong to pre-historic times than any monuments as yet discovered. The largest is that nearest 'Ain Kârim, known as Rujm et Târûd, which is 40 feet high and 130 feet in diameter, with a flat top about 40 feet across. It is composed entirely of stones some 4 to 6 inches long, quite unshaped, and the sides, which slope at an angle of about 45°, are covered with a thin layer of earth. The next largest is Rujm 'Afâneh, more than 30 feet high and 96 feet in diameter. The smallest is *Rujm 'Ateiyeh*, some 9 feet high and 40 feet in diameter. The cairns are seven in number, without counting one very

small heap, and another which seems of different character. Rujm et Târûd stands highest on the ridge, the others are irregularly disposed on the spurs, and one is in a hollow at the head of a ravine. They seem too numerous and too irregularly-disposed to have been originally intended for beacons, though the Târûd cairn is well suited for such a purpose. It seems highly probable that they may have been originally seven high-places, consecrated to the seven planetary deities. As is usual with such high-places, they command an extensive view from the Mediterranean on the west to the Moab Mountains on the east; Neby Samwil (the high-place of Gibeon), Tell 'Asur (Baal Hazor), the Summit of Olivet (the old high-place of Chemosh), Abu Thor (father of the Bull, possibly the old sanctuary of Moloch), and Neby Samat (possibly Samson's Tomb), are all in sight from one or other, as well as Soba, Kustul, Râs Sherifeh, &c. Excavations have been attempted but apparently abandoned before any result of interest was obtained. It is possible that a *Kist* or tomb of some kind may exist under the centre of each cairn.

The only similar monuments are the Jordan Valley Tells, and we are thus led to conjecture whether these latter may not have been originally "high-places" of the Canaanites. They occur generally close to springs, which would agree with such an hypothesis, and in many cases they are still consecrated by a Mukâm standing on the Tell. The idea seems worthy of some consideration.

*Jerusalem.*—On receipt of Professor Sayce's pamphlet I compared his copy of the Siloam Inscription with ours. I see various differences of importance, especially in the form of some of the letters, and we shall consequently revisit the tunnel, and endeavour to make sure as to the doubtful points.

I have also received from Herr Konrad Schick a copy of an inscribed slab, which was found some time ago lying inside the tomb described in the last *Quarterly Statement*. It measured 3 feet 11 inches by 2 feet 7½ inches, and near the top was an inscription with a cross, the letters being about 2½ inches high, and 6 inches below the top edge of the slab. The text reads—

† ΘΗΚΗΔΙΑΦΕΡΩΣ.

This inscription, *θηκη Διαφερους*, has been found in several other instances in early Christian tombs near Jerusalem. The occurrence of the slab cannot, however, be considered conclusive evidence of late date in the tomb, because the arrangement of the *loculi*, as previously explained, is exactly that found in the so-called "Tombs of the Kings," and other monuments near Jerusalem, dating from a period earlier than the Byzantine. The tomb may have been re-used, or the slab may have been originally placed in the neighbouring Church of St. Stephen.

While speaking of inscriptions, I may also note that the inscription from the town-walls contains the name John *Ιωαννου* in the third and fourth lines, and that there are several misprints in the text (page 197).



I believe the word *θεοτοκου* may be read in the third line, but it is very indistinct.

About 100 yards south of the tomb above noticed is another sepulchre, which was excavated in 1875, and described in the *Quarterly Statement* (p. 190, and 1876, p. 9). I have now obtained a plan and a detailed account of this tomb from Herr Schick.

In digging for a cistern, the proprietor of the ground hit upon two flat slabs covering shafts which led to the tomb. The depth of rubbish was 10 feet 6 inches, and the tomb was entirely cut in rock. The shaft was about 4 feet deep, and the chamber beneath  $6\frac{1}{2}$  feet high and  $8\frac{1}{2}$  feet square, with three *loculi* on north, south, and west, and an entrance on the east from the face of the rock. The *loculi* are sunk beneath the level of the tomb floor, and were covered originally with flat slabs. A narrow opening in the north-west angle led into a second chamber about 10 feet square and  $9\frac{1}{2}$  feet high, but of trapezoid form.

This second chamber had also three *loculi* and an eastern entrance with six steps. The *loculi* in this case were, however, under *arcosolia*, and with the bottom of the coffin level with the chamber floor. The entrance now built up is well formed, as in the better specimens of *loculi* tombs. It was in this chamber that the great stone sarcophagus was found which has been conjectured to have held the coffin of the Empress Eudoxia. The sarcophagus measured nearly 8 feet in length and 3 feet 3 inches in height, including the four legs; the width was about 3 feet, and the stone sides were only about 3 inches thick and the bottom 5 inches. It had a cover with rudely-arched cross section, and its size was such that it could evidently not have been brought in through the door. It was found indeed that a shaft, carefully blocked up with masonry, existed in the roof of the chamber, through which it appears to have been lowered. The sarcophagus was broken in trying to raise it through this same shaft.

A third chamber was found to exist beneath the first described, and it was only to be reached by removing slabs which pave the northern *loculas* of the first chamber. Three *loculi* covered with slabs, and placed side by side with their length direction east and west, were here found. They were sunk 9 feet below the floor of the upper chamber, the *loculi* themselves being 2 feet deep.

The tomb thus described is very curious and puzzling. It seems probably to have been enlarged and altered at various periods, and has, it will be observed, two methods of access, namely, from doors in the face of the cliff, and by shafts from above. The use of the *loculus* tomb by the early Christians is proved by the examples at Shefa 'Amr (Sheet V), and other instances; the use of tombs reached by shafts and of *loculi* sunk in the chamber-floor is also observable in Christian tombs. It appears on the whole probable that an early Christian tomb was here found at a later period, and re-used at the time when the great sarcophagus was lowered into it. The arrangement of the *loculi* would seem to show that the sepulchre is later than the northern tomb, which

was described in the last *Quarterly Statement*, and it may perhaps be best ascribed to the early Byzantine period, although the larger chamber may belong to the Jewish times.

*Emmaus.*—The suggestion that *Ham Motzah* may represent Emmaus is very interesting, and from a philological point of view no objection can be raised to it. The distance does not appear, however, to agree, as Kolonia is only  $4\frac{1}{2}$  English miles from Jerusalem, and Beit Mizzeh not much more, which is under 40 furlongs, whereas the distance given by the third Gospel and by Josephus is 50 furlongs. The distance of Khamesa is  $8\frac{1}{2}$  English miles (some 70 stadia) in a straight line, and 10 by road.

The fact that a Motzah mentioned in the Talmud was called "Colonia" is in favour of Mr. Birch's view. Kolonia has often before been proposed as the site of Emmaus, by Canon Williams and others. The identification of the Motzah of the Bible with the ruin called *Beit Mizzeh* (not Muzza as spelt in the *Quarterly Statement*) was proposed by Mr. Tyrwhitt Drake, nine years ago, and I have accepted it in my "Bible Handbook," although there is an objection that the Arabic *Zain* rarely takes the place of the Hebrew *Tzadi*. Mr. Birch does not appear to have been aware of this previous identification of Motzah.

Kolônia was—and still is—a place to which the inhabitants of Jerusalem went out for recreation (cf. Mishna Yoma and Tal. Jer. Succah, IV, 5); possibly the expression "went into the country" (*εἰς ἀγρον*, Mark xvi, 12) may be taken in the sense of a similar retreat for rest and refreshment from the city, and, in spite of the distance, Mr. Birch's proposal may be considered considerably to strengthen the case in favour of Kolônia.

*Muristan.*—The eastern half of the great enclosure which once belonged to the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem is now German property, and excavations have been carried on in these precincts since 1872.

The Hospital proper and the Church of St. John still lie buried beneath at least 30 feet of rubbish, but the Church of St. Marie la Grande and the monastic establishment south of it have been cleared out, and a complete plan has been made for me by Herr K. Schick. The rock, varying in level from 2,445 to 2,425 feet, and forming the bottom of the Tyropeon Valley, has been traced throughout, and it appears that the mediæval buildings were founded on *débris* varying from 20 to 50 feet in depth. The only structures which rise from the rock are the walls of two magnificent reservoirs, which I visited in 1872, beneath the monastery. Here, at a depth of 50 feet below ground, we were able to walk along the very bed of the Tyropeon, treading on rock for a distance of 100 feet or more.

The buildings, though all attributable to the Crusaders, are of various dates, as shown by the straight joints and the varying finish of the masonry. Even the narrow street to the east (the old *Malcuisiriat*) appears to belong to the 12th century, as mentioned in a recent report.

Part of the old masonry has been destroyed in opening a new street



on the west of the property, but the buildings are shown on the plan just obtained, which I am sending home to Colonel Warren for his volume of the "Memoirs."

### VIII.

#### MOUNT NEBO.

. 'AIN HESBAN, *25th August, 1881.*

It is with great satisfaction that I pen the first report from beyond Jordan, more especially as some points of interest have already rewarded our exploration of the country round this camp.

I seized the first favourable opportunity which has presented itself since we landed in Palestine, to push across the river. When we took the field in May, the country was in a very excited state, the Druzes were almost in open rebellion: the French seizure of Tunis, the non-settlement of the Greek affair, and the visit of various princes and political agents to Palestine, raised a very general feeling that some sort of crisis was approaching. The great tribes of the Adwân and the Beni Sakhr were at war, and the governor of the Belka had proceeded from Nâblus to es Salt and was travelling over the whole country which we intended first to survey.

It appeared, therefore, prudent to await a more favourable opportunity, while employing the party in the south of Palestine as detailed in preceding reports. We were thus able to watch for the proper moment for commencing our real work, and found that our presence was tolerated by the government so long as we avoided asking for any official assistance or protection.

On the 16th August Lieutenant Mantell and I left our camp at 'Ain Yâlo with six of the native staff, and marched down to Jericho, where we had arranged to meet Sheikh Goblân en Nimr of the Adwân Arabs. My principal object was to secure a satisfactory agreement with the Adwân Arabs before committing the whole of our heavy expedition and of our valuable property beyond the river. On the 17th Goblân appeared with two spearmen and two swordsmen, and we marched over the valley, crossing the river at the Ghoraniyeh ford, and camping in Goblân's own property at Kefrein. The stream of Jordan was easily fordable, being only up to the horses' shoulders, and thus before we had time almost to realise it we crossed the barrier beyond which I had for nearly three months so much longed to penetrate. The heat in the valley was very great, rising to 100° F. in the shade by day, and remaining at about 90° all night. On the 18th we reached the beautiful stream of 'Ain Hesbân, which flows rapidly down the steep mountain sides to the Jordan valley, rising about 2 miles N.W. of the ruins of Heshbon. Here on the 19th we made our arrangements with Sheikh Goblân; and on the 20th, having arranged these preliminaries, we despatched mules to Jerusalem to bring over the rest of the party.

During the week we have been employed in visiting the country surrounding the camp, arranging the trigonometrical stations, and collecting the names of the principal ruins. It becomes necessary, in consequence of our change of plan, to measure a new base-line between Heshbon and Madaba, on the flat plateau called the Mishor in the Bible. The site for this base has been chosen, and I hope soon to report that it has been measured and the triangulation extended thence for about 100 square miles.

Our operations have been considerably facilitated by the work of preceding explorers, for the Arabs are accustomed to see cairns erected, and lines measured, theodolites set up and aneroids consulted, and we are, moreover, able to make use of the cairns built by Lieut. Steever's party in 1873. On the other hand, the liberality of our predecessors has raised the market so that it is not possible for us—unrecognised by the government, and thus dependent entirely on the Bedawin—to work as cheaply as we were able to do in other Arab districts—notably in the Judean desert and the Jordan valley. It is, however, very satisfactory to feel some sense of security due to our present agreement, instead of having night and day the anxiety of expecting constant attempts to steal horses or other valuable belongings. The Adwān impress me very favourably, and among all Arabs an agreement may be considered as binding as it would be among men of honour in Europe.

Our first ride was along the western slopes of the great plateau, to visit the famous site of Jebel Neba, supposed to represent the Biblical Nebo or Pisgah, whence Moses surveyed the Land of Promise, and where Balaam is recorded to have been brought by Balak to curse the children of Israel. Crossing Wādī Heshbān we rode south to the beautiful 'Ayūn Mūsa, where two streams issue from the cliffs and flow in a succession of cascades down the mountain sides. This is one of the most picturesque spots I have yet seen in Syria (excepting in Lebanon), and the magnificent water supply of the district we are now exploring—every gorge having its stream even as late as the autumn—contrasts with the scantier and more diffused character of the water supply west of Jordan in a remarkable manner. The northern spring at 'Ayūn Mūsa falls over a cliff 40 or 50 feet high, the southern wells out at the base of a precipice forming a beautiful clear pool flanked by two aged wild figs; and here in the face of the cliff a rude cottage is built up and inhabited by a family of Christians of the Greek Church from Taiyibeh, north of Jerusalem.

From these springs we climbed up 700 feet to the spur which runs out west from the summit of Nebo, and which takes the name Siāghah from a ruin so called on the crest. We examined the site, and found remains of a small Byzantine village with a church, fallen columns, rude capitals of the 5th century style, and vaults supported on round arches, such as are common in early Christian ruins throughout Palestine. The name Siāghah has already been collected by the American Survey party, but I am not aware whether its identity with the Aramaic *Seath* (סיעת) has been pointed out. *Seath*, "the burial place of Moses," is the paraphrase:



for Nebo given by the Targum of Onkelos in Num. xxxii, 3, and the name forms therefore a link in the identification of Nebo with the ridge of Jebel Nebo where *Siāghah* still exists.

So far as I can judge by the map, it is to this ruin that Canon Tristram gives the name *Zi'ara*, and which he identifies with Zoar. No other ruin appears to exist on the way from 'Ayūn Musa to the ridge south of these springs, and with great deference to so experienced an explorer I cannot but think that an error has arisen, due to the great similarity in sound (to an European ear) between the *Re* and the *Gheïn* in Arabic. The name *Zi'ara* was quite unknown to Sheikh Goblān, although he has shown himself thoroughly acquainted with the nomenclature of the district, which has as yet been imperfectly collected. Whoever is responsible for the Arabic spelling of the name *Zi'ara* as given in Dr. Tristram's "Land of Moab," I feel convinced that the form *Siāghah* given by the American party is the correct one, and it is evident that this form has no connection with the Hebrew Zoar, which in Arabic would appear most probably as *S'arch* or *Saghār*.

Other objections to Canon Tristram's proposal have been pointed out by various writers, the main difficulty being that *Siāghah* is situated almost on the level of the great plateau 3,000 feet above the Jordan valley, which appears hardly to agree with the plea put forth by Lot in asking permission to flee to Zoar, that the mountains were too far from him. We shall have, I hope, further opportunities of searching for Zoar near the foot of the mountains, where Tell Shaghār has been pointed out by the Rev. W. F. Birch as a possible site; but if Zoar should be sought higher up the slopes we may perhaps have an indication in the names Rujm S'aūr and Tal'at S'aūr, which we discovered yesterday north of our present camp.

The hot haze rising from the Jordan valley rendered it impossible to obtain a very accurate idea of the extreme limits of the view commanded by the *Siāghah* ridge, but the Arabs assured us that in clear weather *Kaukab el Hawa*, *Tabor*, and *Neby Duhy* could be seen on the north-west, and *Beni Naim* and *Yekin* (the city Cain of the Kenites) on the south-west. *Bethlehem*, *Beit Jāla*, *Jebel Fureidis*, *Olivet*, *Taiyibeh*, *Tell Asur*, *Gerizim*, *Ebal*, *Neby Belān*, *Jebel Hazkin*, and *Gilboa* can be seen, and the Jordan valley from *Jericho* to *Kaukab*; the *Kurn Sartaba*, the northern part of the *Dead Sea*, *Jebel Osha* above *es Salt*, *Heshbon*, and *Elealah* are also in view. The most striking peculiarity of the scene seems, however, to be that the valley east of the river is plainly seen, *Kefreïn*, *Nimrin*, *Rāneh*, and other places close to the foot of the *Moab hills* being in view. Thus the prospect seems to agree well with the account in the book of *Deuteronomy* (xxxiv, 1-3), although *Dan* (if *Baniās* be intended) and the "utmost sea" cannot, I think, be seen, as high mountains appear to intervene. Perhaps we should read "all *Judah towards* the utmost sea." *Gilead* with its oak woods, the land of *Ephraim* and *Manasseh* west of *Jordan*, *Naphthali* (in the vicinity of *Tabor*, which formed, as the survey of *Western Palestine* shows, the border between that tribe and *Issachar*), the hills of *Judah*, and the *Negeb*, or country south of *Hebron*, are all seen as

described in the Bible narrative; while no description could be more exact than that of the "plain of Jericho *unto Zoar*," if Zoar is to be sought at the edge of the Ghor es Seisebân, near Kefrein or Râmeh.

The name *Neba* appears to apply to the highest part of the ridge at the very edge of the great plateau. The name Siâghah applies to the spur further west near the ruin of that name; but as is usual with natural features these titles are not very strictly applied, and the whole ridge appears occasionally to be called Dhahret Neba.

A very startling discovery awaited us at Neba, which, while making every deduction which prudence suggests, seems more likely to give a direct connection with the Bible narrative than anything we have yet come across. Immediately north-west of the highest summit, near the ancient road which here descends from the plateau, we found a distinct and well preserved specimen of those rude stone monuments, called by some "cromlechs," and by others (though, according to Max Muller incorrectly) "dolmens." Their existence in this district has already been noticed by Canon Tristram, though, so far as I know, he has not described the specimen in question. It is distinct and well preserved, consisting of one large covering stone supported by two others.

The monument stands on the bare rock, and cannot apparently have been erected over a grave. Large scattered blocks near it appear to have belonged to other monuments of the same kind, and, as in Galilee, they seem more probably to have been ancient altars than anything else—an explanation which has, I believe, been accepted by many archaeologists, as best accounting for the purpose for which similar cromlechs were erected in our own country, and in other parts of the world.

There is nothing to give a date to the cromlechs on Nebo, unless it be found in the Bible, where we are informed that Balak erected seven altars—one no doubt to each of the great planetary divinities—at this spot. The position of these altars was evidently not on the extreme summit of the hill, as Balaam went aside to the high place leaving the king standing by his sacrifices. It may, perhaps, be considered a bold suggestion, but there appears nothing extravagant in the idea that one of those ancient altars, so hastily erected to summon the deities of Moab to war against Israel, may yet be standing, unharmed by more than 3,000 winters, on the bleak slopes of Nebo, beneath the summit where, according to the dramatic story of the Book of Numbers, the prophet from Euphrates went up to meet with Jehovah.

That similar monuments are alluded to in the Bible in the opinion of many modern authorities, who recognize in the "gilgal" or "circle" of the book of Joshua, where the twelve stones taken from Jordan were set up, a circular monument not unlike Stonehenge. Such a gilgal still exists east of Dhibân, as recently described by Herr Schick, consisting of stones of great size, and of this as well as of all the most perfect cromlechs, Lieutenant Mantell will now endeavour to obtain photographs. Caution is, however, very necessary, as some of the supposed monuments may turn out to be merely natural features, for the hill-sides here, as in



Western Palestine, are strewn with fallen blocks. In two instances west of Jordan we came across groups of stones, which may have belonged respectively to a cromlech, and to a stone circle; but we were unable to make sure that they were not natural features, and they are consequently not marked on the map.

It is striking to find that the unmistakable cromlechs exist only beyond Jordan and in Upper Galilee, at a distance from the influence of Jewish faith in Jerusalem, and this serves to strengthen the conjecture that the ancient Baal worshippers made use of rude cromlechs, similar to those of the Druids of a later period, for altars.

In connection with this subject the form of the *Makams*, or places now held sacred by the Arabs, is very interesting.

During the present week we have visited some six or eight of these shrines, consisting of circles some 20 feet in diameter, built up of stones about a foot long. In each case there was a sort of doorway or small cromlech on the west, formed by two stones—generally well hewn and taken from a neighbouring ruin, supporting a third stone or lintel. The jambs were generally about 2 feet high, and the width of the entrance about the same. The remainder of the circle was composed of unhewn blocks about a foot long piled up into a wall some 2 feet in height. The lintel stone of the cromlech or western entrance serves as an altar on which are laid offerings, consisting of blue beads, fragments of pottery or of purple basalt, bits of china, the locks of guns, rags, etc. The ploughs of the Arabs are left inside the charmed circle for protection, and a rude grave of stones occupies the centre, while in three cases sacred trees grow close by. The names of some of these *Makams* are modern, others are said to date from "ancient times," but whatever be the age of the existing structures, it is probable that the custom of thus constructing "gilgals" has been derived by the Arabs from their forefathers, from a remote period, while many of the sites (especially that of Neby Bal'ath), may be supposed to preserve ancient centres of Baal worship on the high places of Moab.

The field we have at length entered promises to be one of great interest. It may be said to stand to Western Palestine something in the relation of the highlands to the lowlands of Scotland—a wilder region; inhabited by clans of pastoral habits; distinguished by its gushing springs, its uncultivated moors, and its more ancient archæological remains.

The ruins appear to be more important, though less numerous than west of the river, but with the exception of cromlechs all those we have as yet visited appear to belong to the Byzantine period. The ruin of *Sâmich* in Wâdy Hesbân has not apparently been previously noted, and its position seems to fit well with that of the Biblical Sibmah of Moab. The great tower of *Sâmik* may prove to be the Samega of Josephus, and *Sûfa* may have some connection with the field of Zophin, but without books of reference it is impossible to follow up these indications very closely.

Most of the sites which we have visited are marked on the excellent

maps of Bœdeker's Handbook, though the names are often incorrectly spelt.

At Umm el Burak we found a mutilated Greek inscription, which appears to record the erection of a building by a certain Antonius Rufus, and is evidently not older than the Byzantine period. Three other inscriptions from Madeba have been removed to Jerusalem, where I hope to see them in the winter, and no doubt many others as yet uncopied remain to be found, but the Adwân say that they know of no other stone like the Moabite stone anywhere in their country.

It may be interesting here to note the present condition of the more important tribes east of Jordan. The Adwân are at present perhaps the strongest, being allied with one section of the Beni Sakhr. Their country is bounded by Jordan and the Zerka Ma'în, Jebel 'Ajlûn, and Jerash, 'Ammaân and the ridge on which stands the ruin of Sâmik, embracing some 1,000 square miles of very good country, including the best part of the Ghor, and the hill slopes and part of the Heshbon plateau.

On the south-east is the country of the Beni Sakhr, or "sons of the rock," including the plateau east of Madeba and Sâmik, as far as the country of the 'Anezeh. The famous Sheikh Fendi el Faiz has died within the last few years, and his sons quarrelled among themselves. Ibn el Faiz and Zutum allied themselves with their old enemies the 'Anezeh, while another section made peace with the Adwân, who during the present year (about the middle of May) slew Zutum in fair fight. Peace has since been made, and blood money paid, but the Beni Sakhr have lost much of their power, and the Hameidi tribes who inhabit the district south of the Zerka Ma'în as far as Kerak are now their own masters. The establishment of a colony of fifty Christian families in the caves of Madeba, under protection of Padre Paulo, the priest appointed by the Latin Patriarch of Jerusalem, has also made a great change in the condition of the country. On the 22nd we paid a visit to this worthy priest in his cave, and I had a long conversation with him in Italian, which served to throw much light on the best method of proceeding. He offered us all the assistance in his power, and will send our letters for us to Jerusalem. His assistance ought to be a great help to us in making arrangements with the Hameidi, who have a wholesome fear of him, as he has caused some of their number to be imprisoned. So far, indeed, as the country south of the Jabbok is concerned, our way is now clear, with the exception of possible interference; and as the district has the reputation of being healthy, we may hope to reap a good harvest before the winter sets in.

From day to day our store of notes increases rapidly. Every evening Sheikh Goblân comes to our tent for a cup of tea, and over this our conversation is often considerably prolonged. The Arabs being a freer and nobler people than the peasantry, are less suspicious of Europeans, and more willing to give information. They are also much less fanatical and, indeed, have very little religion. We have not yet seen Sheikh Goblân at his prayers, and his foresight politically seems to be shown by his having sent his younger sons to the English School in Jeru-



salem. Yet, although in constant communication with travellers, although he has even been on board an English man-of-war, and has acquired a truly civilised love of money, he has not lost the native dignity of the Arab, nor acquired the detestably familiar and impertinent manner of the Dragomans of Western Palestine, whose treatment of travellers seems to become more insufferably contemptuous every year. It is impossible in a short report to give any account of the fund of traditions, notes of customs and manners, of scenery and archaeology, which we are now gathering day by day, while the more intelligent among the natives, including our new Protestant scribe, and our old major domo (Habib el Jemâil), appear to enter thoroughly into the spirit of the work, and fill their note books with traditions and other scraps of information diligently collected from the Arabs.

My present plan is to proceed southwards by Dibon to the Arnon, and thence north-east by Ziza to 'Ammân, visiting the palace of Mashitta, and completing the survey of the mountains, if possible, from the Arnon to the vicinity of es Salt. For however interesting the district round Kerak may be, it is properly speaking no part of the Holy Land, and this, together with the south end of the Dead Sea, the Harrah, and the Negeb, south of Beersheba, might with advantage be undertaken at one time, with an expedition rather differently organised, and by a more rapid method of work. The region to the north, including mount Gilead and the Hauran, appears, however, to present more immediate interest, and we may perhaps hope if all goes well to complete the survey of the Ghor to the Sea of Galilee next spring, and before autumn to extend the work as far as the river Hieromax on the north, and eastwards to Remthel and the Haj road.

The country south of Heshbon is absolutely bare of trees, and we are therefore liable to suffer from extremes of temperature. On the day of writing this report the thermometer stands at 105° F. in the shade of the tent, the wind from the east being hotter and stronger than I have almost ever experienced it in Palestine.

A few days ago the mists covered the hills in the morning, and the temperature at night was quite chilly. North of our present camp there are, however, hills covered with oaks, and here we shall hope to find refuge before the equinoctial gales commence. The attached sketch-map will serve to show the proposed field of our immediate operations, and I hope that before the *January Quarterly* is issued we may be able to send further interesting particulars of our work in Moab.

Mr. Black and Mr. Armstrong, with the remainder of the expedition, arrived here on August 26th, after three days' march. They encountered a fearful scirocco in the Jordan valley, the thermometer reading 118° F. in the shade by day and over 90° F. by night. Fortunately all members of the party arrived safely, except our trusty watch-dog Barûd ("gunpowder"), who succumbed to the heat near Jericho.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Lieut. R.E.*

## THE ANCIENT HEBREW INSCRIPTION IN THE POOL OF SILOAM.

### I.

SINCE the publication of the last *Quarterly Statement* much new light has been thrown upon the ancient Hebrew inscription in the tunnel of Siloam. Dr. Guthe—who has succeeded in discovering remains of the old city wall which defended the entrance of the Tyropœon valley—has not only taken a gypsum cast of the inscription, but has also removed the deposit of lime which filled the characters, and has thus made their exact forms visible. He kindly allowed Lieutenants Conder and Mantell to take a squeeze of the inscription after the process of cleaning it had been completed, and Lieutenant Conder has forwarded to the Palestine Exploration Fund two tracings of the squeeze corrected by a careful comparison with the original text. I communicated a revised translation of the inscription based upon these tracings to the *Athenæum* of August 13th, and pointed out at the same time that the recovery of the exact forms of the letters obliges me to bring it down to a later period than the age of Solomon. Unfortunately the application of the acid, by means of which the lime was removed, seems to have injured some of the characters; at all events several of those which were clearly visible when I copied the text do not appear in the squeeze at all, and Mr. Pilter informs me that “Dr. Guthe’s repeated washings” have made others of them more indistinct than they were last February.\*

Since the appearance of my letter in the *Athenæum*, I have carefully examined Dr. Guthe’s cast at Berlin. An article on the inscription has also been published by Prof. Kautsch, in the last number of the “*Zeitschrift des deutschen Palaestina-Vereins*,” containing statements which it is matter of astonishment should have been permitted to appear in the responsible organ of a scientific Society. In his perhaps not unnatural annoyance at the appropriation by an Englishman of an important inscription which he had regarded as the special property of the German Association, he has forgotten the courtesy due to a sister Society which has been in the field for years before the German Palestine Association was founded, as well as the candour and fairness we might expect from a scholar. Personal controversy and international jealousies are always undesirable, more especially when they involve two societies which are working for a common end, and I should have taken no notice of Dr. Kautsch’s remarks were it not for two or three assertions which concern the credit of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

Dr. Kautsch seems particularly indignant at my having charged him with being in too great hurry to vindicate the German Palestine Association. But I must again bring the same charge against him. At any rate, in no other way can I explain, for instance, his interpretation of my statement as regards the money sent by the English Palestine Exploration Fund for lowering the water in the pool of Siloam. As the Secretary of

\* Lieut. Conder’s interesting letter published in this *Statement* makes the fact quite plain.



the Fund is prepared to prove, Dr. Chaplin was authorised to draw £25 for the purpose, that being the sum estimated as necessary to complete the work. Similarly Dr. Kautsch more than once sneers at me for finding a *birâh* or "castle" in the inscription. If he had taken the trouble to read my article, he would have seen that I put a query after the translation, that I regarded it in my notes as more than doubtful, and that I finally withdrew it in the postscript in favour of Dr. Neubauer's conjecture! Dr. Kautsch further discovers that my copy of the inscription added next to nothing to his knowledge of it, and was but a very slight improvement upon the copy he had published in the preceding number of the German Journal. Other Semitic scholars will not be disposed to agree with him, as scarcely any Phœnician letters or Hebrew words can be recognised in his facsimile, and the only complete sentence Dr. Kautsch was able to give was derived from my letters in the *Athenæum* of February.

I need say no more on this distasteful subject, but will turn to the disputed readings as to which Dr. Kautsch and myself still differ. In line 5 he follows Mr. Shapira in reading *בניאתים . ואלף*. Apart, however, from the grammatical difficulty already urged by Dr. Neubauer against Mr. Shapira (*Athenæum*, August 6th, p. 176), neither Lieut. Conder's squeeze nor the Berlin cast show any trace either of ם or ך. On the contrary both have a point in the place where Dr. Kautsch puts his *mên*. This was very evident on the Berlin cast, as M. Halévy and others agreed with me in seeing. Consequently we must read *ביאתי*, for which I can find no other possible rendering than that which I have already suggested. There is certainly room for a *waw* before *אלף* in the break in the rock which occurs here, supposing this to have been subsequent to the engraving of the inscription, but I satisfied myself when on the spot that such was not the case, the break having existed before the letters were cut. The actual length of the tunnel, however, precludes Dr. Kautsch's reading, which would make it much longer than it really is.

In line 2, Dr. Kautsch reads *אמת* instead of *אמה*, and takes credit to himself for having doubted the philological "monster" *אמה*. But Lieut. Conder's tracings, as well as the cast, again testify against him. I see no sign of a *tau* in them, whereas they both have what looks like the lower part of a *hé*. At the time I copied the inscription, however, the whole *hé* was distinct, and in a matter of this kind, one, a large part of whose life has been passed in copying inscriptions in comparison with which the inscription of Siloam is as clear as daylight, may be allowed to speak with some confidence. Dr. Kautsch further disputes the *pe* I have read in the following word, and puts a doubtful *waw* in its place. The *pe*, nevertheless, was perfectly evident last February. Dr. Kautsch will not admit of any *he* at the beginning of the inscription, apparently

because it was copied by Mr. Piltner. I can assure him, however, that at least two letters exist here, though I was not able to make out their exact forms myself. His *ים* for *יום* "day" is ingenious, but not probable.

The translation which follows I have already given in the *Athenaeum* of August 13th (p. 208) before the appearance of Dr. Kautsch's article. It has been obtained by a comparison of Lieut. Conder's squeezes with my own copy of the inscription.

- 1 הן . (ה)נקבה : וזה . היה . דבר . הנקבה . בעוד  
(החצ)ב(ם . ה)עלו
- 2 הגרון . אש . אל . רעו . ובעוד . שלש . אמה . להפ.....(?)  
מא . קל . אש ק
- 3 רא . אל . רעו . כי . הית . ז(?)דה . בצר . מימן . קמ(ו).....(?)א . א  
הכו . בים . ה
- 4 נקבה . הכו . החצבם . אש . לקרת . רעו . גרון . אל .  
(ג)רון . וילכו
- 5 המים . מון . הכיץ . אל . הברכה . במאתי . אלף . אמה . ו...  
6 ת . אמה . היה . גבה . בצר . על . ראש . החצב ז(ה)

(1) "Behold the excavation! Now this is the history of the tunnel. While the excavators were lifting up

(2) the pick, each towards the other; and while there were yet three cubits to be broken through . . . the voice of the one called

(3) to his neighbour, for there was an excess(?) in the rock on the right. They rose up . . . they struck on the west of the

(4) excavation, the excavators struck, each to meet the other, pick to pick. And there flowed

(5) the waters from their outlet to the Pool for a distance of a thousand cubits; and (three-fourths?)

(6) of a cubic was the height of the rock over the head of the excavation here."

The word **זדה** in line 3 seems to be connected with **זרון, זוד, זוד**, the radical meaning of which is rather "excess" than "boiling over." Lieut. Conder's tracings, however, give **זבה** instead of **זדה**, which may be related to **זוב** "to flow." We must notice the spelling **הית** for **היתה**. The defective **מימן** for **מימין** is parallel to **אש** for **איש**; Dr. Kautsch's **יכ** for **יום** is far from likely, and no point occurs after the *men*. In line 2, **להפ** must be a hiphil infinitive, perhaps from **פיץ**, though the meaning of the latter does not suit the context very well.

The squeeze shows that my copy was substantially correct, except in line 5, where I read **מוציא** instead of **מוצא**, and in line 6. Here, however, I find that my first copy gave the right reading, which I corrected erroneously in my second and third.

But as regards the *forms* of the letters, the removal of the line proves



that I had gone far astray. My copy represents them as they appeared when blurred and hidden by the deposit which had formed over them, and, as is now clear, had wholly metamorphosed their true shapes. It now possesses only an historic interest, as showing faithfully what the inscription looked like when it was first discovered. As I stated in the *Athenæum* (August 13th), it is no longer possible to assign it to so early a date as the age of Solomon. The looped *ayin* disappears, though the origin of the loop formed by the line is evident. The letter has two small tags at the right hand ends of its horizontal lines (𐤀), which, by the way, are omitted in the facsimile published by Dr. Kautsch, and the calcareous deposit overflowed from the upper of these into the lower.

But while I must surrender the Solomonic date of the inscription, I find myself unable to accept Dr. Isaac Taylor's counter-hypothesis (see, however, his letter in the *Athenæum* of September 24th). We all agree that the age of an inscription must be determined by that of the most recent forms of the characters which it contains. But the question is what this age precisely is. Dr. Taylor's arguments, if strictly pressed, would make the inscription as late as the post-exilic period. We must remember, however, that the age of the shekels to which he appeals is doubtful, and furthermore that they are the product of an antiquarian revival which endeavoured to imitate faithfully an older style of writing. It is safer, therefore, to compare the inscribed seals. Nor can I admit that the three-barred *klath* is later than the two-barred one, although the latter is found on the Moabite Stone. But I believe that the inscriptions of Mesha and of Siloam represent two different forms of the Phœnician alphabet, the one being north Canaanite, and the other south Canaanite. A comparison of the characters of the Siloam inscription, as they now lie before us, with the alphabets given by Euting, proves that the inscription must fall between the eighth and sixth centuries B.C. This being so, I see no reason for rejecting Dr. Neubauer's ingenious suggestion mentioned in my previous article (*Quarterly Statement* for July, p. 153), which would refer the excavation of the tunnel to the reign of Ahaz. The force of my argument from the fact that, while the Pool of Siloam is given specific names in the book of Nehemiah, it is called simply "the pool" in the Siloam inscription, remains undiminished.

A. H. SAYCE.

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## II.

'AIN KARIM, July 16th, 1881.

ON the 15th instant, Lieutenant Mantell and I again spent three hours in the narrow passage leading to the Pool of Siloam, endeavouring to render more certain the decipherment of the interesting text which has lately been made so much more legible by the use of hydrochloric acid in remov-

ing the lime deposit from the rock. We are indebted to the courtesy of Dr. Guthe for exceptional facilities, and I hope that our joint production may be of some value in the determination of the true translation.

Our method was to produce a *facsimile* founded on a careful squeeze, and distinguishing the sculptured strokes from natural cracks or dents, by pencilling the former on the squeeze itself. We then compared the whole again with the text, reading letter by letter, and throwing the light on each letter in turn from every side. I have had no opportunity of comparing the result with Dr. Guthe's copy; and Professor Sayce's pamphlet on the subject has not reached me. There may, however, be advantages in thus forming an entirely independent copy, and I should be glad to have my attention directed to any points in our tracing (of which I enclose two copies) which may appear doubtful or incorrect. If Professor Sayce would kindly indicate any portions of the inscription which require re-examination, we will take a further opportunity of visiting the spot. Meantime, although the plaster cast has been ordered, and will be sent to England as soon as possible, it seems to me that in many instances it will be only possible to distinguish intentional and natural lines and strokes by examination of the text itself.

The following remarks occurred to me in the course of our work, and are here noted as being possibly of some use to those who have not seen the inscription.

The text consists of six lines, occupying a space of 23 inches by 7½ inches, on the lower half of the tablet. The letters are from half-an-inch to three-quarters of an inch in height. The first and second lines are injured on the right, and a large deep crack extends all down the tablet near the left hand extremity, breaking the three upper lines, and partly mutilating the fourth. The first line is illegible to the left of this fissure, the surface being rough and covered with cracks. The fifth line does not extend the whole length of the longer lines, occupying only about 16 inches.

There appear to have been originally about 180 letters, of which 130 are now more or less clearly recoverable. The text is thus not quite as closely written as the famous Marseilles tablet. The letters are carefully formed, and some of the minor peculiarities, such as the small hooks at the right hand extremities of the two horizontal strokes of the *Zain*, are repeated in each repetition of the letter. The size of each letter is also much the same on each repetition; the vertical lines are broad, but not deep, the horizontal strokes are narrow, but very sharply cut. The *facsimile* first published gives quite a false impression of the regularity and finish of the execution of the inscription.

All the letters of the Aramaic alphabet are represented with exception apparently of the *Teth* and the *Samech*, and perhaps also of the *Gimel*. The *Aleph* seems to approach much more closely to the form found on the early Jewish coins than to that on the Moabite Stone. The *Vau* also appears to have three short strokes as on the coins. The peculiar form of the *Zain* is very carefully reproduced on each repetition. The *Cheth*, which occurs at least twice, seems to have a form intermediate between that on



ON,

H JULY, 1881,

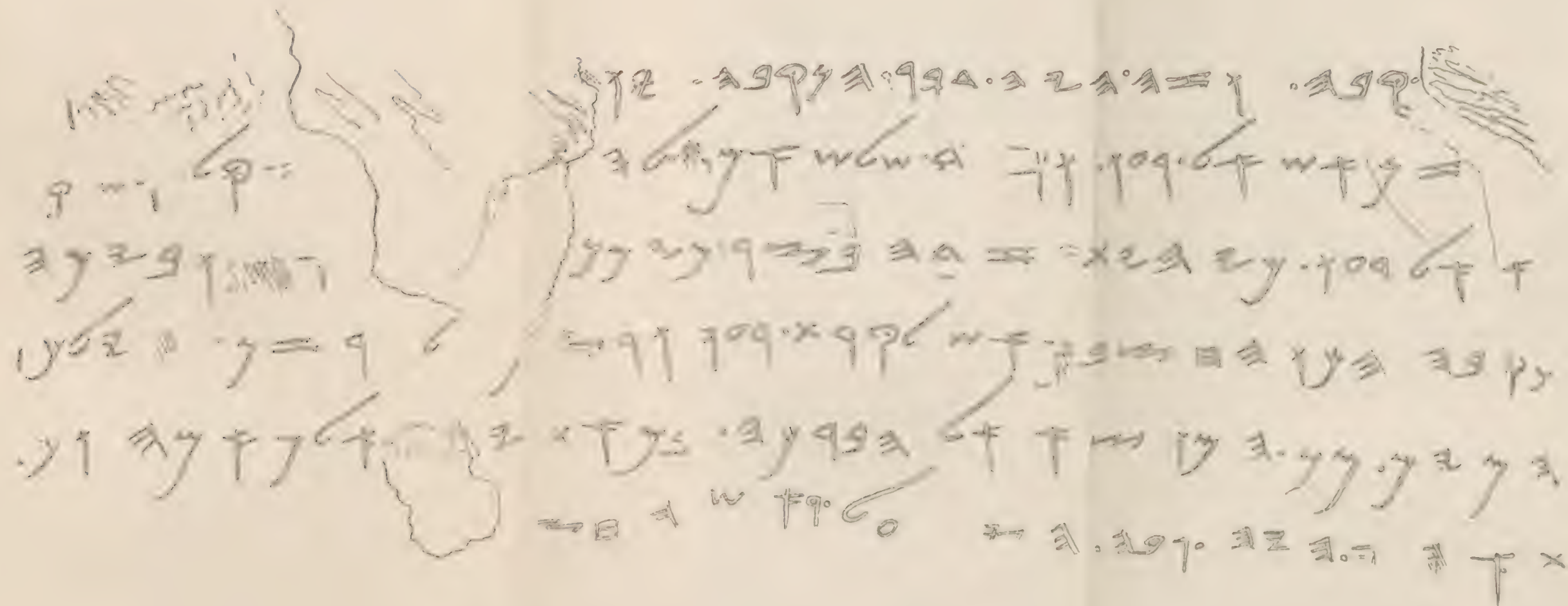
LL, R.E.

Handwritten notes in a cursive script, possibly a shorthand or a specific dialect. The text is arranged in several lines, with some characters resembling numbers and others resembling letters. A large, stylized flourish or signature is visible on the right side of the first line. The notes are written in dark ink on aged paper.

# SILOAM INSCRIPTION,

TRACING FROM A SQUEEZE, TAKEN 15<sup>TH</sup> JULY, 1881,

BY LIEUTS. CONDER AND MANTELL, R.E.







the coins and that on the Moabite Stone. The *Mem* and the *Nun* are drawn with square strokes, and long tails. The *Ain* has invariably a pointed ending towards the right. The form of the *Tau* is very peculiar, and quite different to that on the Moabite Stone, as is also apparently the shape of the *Koph*.

The letters are quite sufficiently well formed to make these differences apparent, and they may, I should suppose, serve as indications of the date of the text.

I enclose what I hope may be found to be the correct transliteration of the letters most clearly recoverable, into square Hebrew forms. It seemed very doubtful whether any letter ever preceded the *Nun* in the first word נקבה. In the second line the reading אמה seems probably correct, on account of the space between this word and the next, but the last letter is unfortunately partly destroyed. The word following seems quite clearly to read לה. The last words of the third line appeared to us to read ביימה and not בירה. The top of the letter is, however, damaged, so that it was difficult to determine between מ and נ, though the tail was too distinct to allow of its being easily read as ר.

The fifth line is the most perfect and most easily decipherable of the whole text, but we were unable to determine the existence of a *Yod*, shown in Professor Sayce's first published letter, the word apparently reading מוצא as in the Bible (2 Chron. xxxii. 30). The *Tau* in the word במאתי is not easily seen, though traces appear to exist. In the sixth line the two last letters of the first word, which has, I believe, been read תאהה, are also very indistinct. We have recovered twenty letters in this line. I am not as yet aware whether any of these form additions to those copied by Professor Sayce.

A point on which a learned opinion seems necessary is the form of the *Vau* and the *Caph*. The word which occurs three times in lines Nos. 2, 3, 4 respectively, has for its last letter a form somewhat resembling the *Vau* of the coins. In the word ברבה occurring in the fifth line, the form of the *Caph* is different from that above noticed, as the letter has a tail below the line. The same form occurs twice in the fourth line, and seems closely to approach the *Caph* of the Moabite Stone. The straighter form which I have supposed to be the *Vau* occurs eleven times at least in the text, and in one case (מוצא in the fifth line) is rendered *Vau* by Professor Sayce, while the form which I have taken to be *Caph* occurs only four times, and is so rendered by Professor Sayce in the word ילכך in the fourth line. If the distinction is a correct one, the word thrice occurring should read רען. The difference was, however, probably not visible before the inscription had been cleaned. The occurrence of the *Vau* would naturally be more frequent than that of *Caph*, and the letters thus noticed are in most instances very clearly cut.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Lieut. R.E.*



## III.

5th August, 1881.

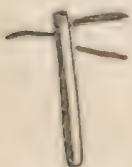
HAVING received on 1st instant, the *Quarterly Statement*, containing Professor Sayce's pamphlet on the inscription, and the notes of Dr. Isaac Taylor on the same, we revisited on the 4th instant the rock-cut channel, and again spent three hours in examining the text.

The result is that after several independent readings, we do not feel able to make any alteration in the copy which I sent home on the 19th ult., with the exception of one doubtful letter in the first line. It seems to us that this copy may be taken as representing all the letters clearly traceable in the present condition of the inscription; and although, when guided by Professor Sayce's copy, we were able in some cases to distinguish traces of other letters, we were not always able to make these agree entirely with the forms which he has given.

We are able only to add one letter to those given by Professor Sayce, namely a *Koph*, which appears pretty distinctly at the end of the second line. We still are obliged to omit 12 letters which are no longer traceable (to our eyes), and our copy differs in 18 letters from that of Professor Sayce, notably in two passages which occur in the third and the sixth lines. It must be remembered that I speak of the present condition of the text, as we had no opportunity of examining it very minutely before it was cleaned with acid. Dr. Guthe's copy, taken before this operation was performed, may however show letters not now traceable, although, as far as we can judge, the inscription has not been in any way damaged by the removal of the lime deposit.

In our recent visit we were obliged to stand each for an hour and a-half knee-deep in water; and we could not but admire the accuracy of Professor Sayce's results, obtained under conditions even more unfavourable than those of our last visit. The published copy is however not a *facsimile*, the spaces between the letters not being always the same as those given by the squeeze, and the form of many of the characters not being exactly that given by the text. The inscription occupies a space 26 inches long by 8 inches in height, the top being 14 inches from the upper surface of the tablet, and the bottom of the sixth line 5 inches above the lower border of the tablet, which is 27 inches square.

As regards the forms of the letters, I may add a few notes to those in my former communication.



The *Aleph* is written throughout in an uniform manner, and the shape does not appear to us to be exactly that given by Professor Sayce, which resembles the *Aleph* of the Moabite Stone, but rather the form of an inverted F with a spur—such as is found on Jewish coins.

The *Vau* appears also to be written throughout with a head formed by three strokes. We are unable to find a single instance in which the head of the letter remains, and in which only two strokes occur. In all the best preserved specimens the central stroke has at the end a cross stroke or *shoe*, which makes it specially conspicuous.



The *Zain*—as now seen very clearly, has also an uniform character, and is not formed as shown on Professor Sayce's copy, no curved line occurring to join the horizontal bars. The hooks at the right hand end of these latter I have already noticed in a former letter.



The *Tzadi* also does not seem to be formed as shown in Professor Sayce's copy. The letter is only found five times on the inscription, and in three cases it is imperfect. In the two perfect instances there is no loop joining the bars, but the latter resembles a W inverted with *shoes*.



These peculiarities have no doubt become clearer since the inscription was cleaned. The length of the stroke of the *Lamed*, and its inclined position, are also details which seem worthy of notice.

The form of the *Mem* is also an important consideration. I am not sure whether my copy sent home does not show the second *Mem* of the fifth line to have the zigzag form. I have however now carefully inspected this letter, which is well cut, and feel convinced that there is not a single instance of the zigzag form on the inscription. The cross strokes are very sharply cut, and although at a first glance the letters seem to have a W form for the head, yet when minutely examined they all prove to be cut with a bar and cross strokes. The *Nun* is also formed in a similar manner throughout.



We may now proceed to consider the differences which appear in the copy made from a squeeze by Lieutenant Mantell and myself, as compared with Professor Sayce's copy. The results, which are given below, are derived from four independent readings of the inscription, two taken by me, and two by Lieutenant Mantell. The position of the letters in our tracing recently sent home is obtained by means of the squeeze, and this serves in one or two instances to check the readings, and to determine the number of letters missing with tolerable certitude.

*First Line.*—At the commencement of the inscription the original surface of the rock is still preserved, though somewhat cracked. The first *Nun* is very imperfect, and we were quite unable to trace any distinct letters preceding it, though indications of what may have been a *He* might be conjectured to exist.

It is very doubtful whether one or two dots follow the word נקבה.



There are so many small holes in the stone that the dots between the words are in a great many cases very doubtful.

The *Daleth* in the word דבר is not very clear, but its form and size resemble those of the *Daleth* immediately beneath it in the second line, the horizontal stroke being very slightly curved.

The reading בער given by Professor Sayce appears to us to be still legible, but the third letter only is distinct, being a large and well formed *Vau*. The first and fourth letters seem to be unusually small.

The *Vau* at the end of the line has no head, and never apparently had one, the rock being quite smooth. We thought that we could distinguish traces of *Lamed* and *Ain* preceding it, as read by Professor Sayce, but their existence seems extremely problematical. There is room for two such letters, but to the right of them is a hole, and we were unable to trace the *Beth* shown by Professor Sayce immediately to the left of the great crack.

With these exceptions, the reading of the text in this line is remarkably clear, and (save as to the form of the letters) is the same as given by Professor Sayce. Our copy, however, supports Mr. Pilster's reading נקבה, and after carefully re-examining the first letter of this word, we felt sure that it could never have been a *Mem*.

*Second Line.*—The traces of a *He* will be found in our copy at the beginning of this line, and after minute examination, we were able to find the remains of a *Gimel* following it, and to distinguish a *Resh*, well formed, but much worn, to the left—thus confirming the reading דגרון. The last two letters, and the dot are quite clear.

After the word רע, there is a dot and a very clear *Vau*. Between this and the *Daleth* there is room for two large or for three smaller letters—as shown by Professor Sayce. The letters which he shows we were however unable to recognise, and the first two seemed to us most to approach בע, though so indistinct and confused by cracks as to be very doubtful. There would also seem to be the tail of a letter *Mem*, *Nun*, *Caph*, or *Pe* to the left of those two.

The *He* in the word *Amah* is, as I have previously noted, almost indistinguishable, from a crack in the rock. The next two letters are clear, but beyond these, where Professor Sayce shows פה, we are only able to trace what looks like the head of a *Vau*, and the loop of either a *Beth* or a *Resh* following it.

Beyond the great crack in this line, there is a *Koph* as shown by Professor Sayce, and to the right of this three strokes which seem most probably to have belonged to an *Aleph*. The *Lamed* after the *Koph* seems to us quite clear, as well as the *Shin* and the second *Koph* with a dot after it (this last letter is not given by Professor Sayce).

In all the distinct and several of the doubtful letters of this line, we are therefore able to confirm the readings of Professor Sayce.

*Third Line.*—The first *Aleph* should be preceded by a *Beth*, but there is now a small deep hole in the rock where this letter (marked as doubtful by Professor Sayce) would have occurred, and no trace of it is visible.

After the distinct word רעו we make a great difference from previous copies. It is to be hoped that our reading may render the translation of this puzzling passage easier. The words, according to us, should stand רעו . כי . הית : זדה . The *Caph* and the *Yod* seem very clear. The double stop after the *Tau* is not however very certain. Lieutenant Mantell was inclined to think that an *Ain* might have existed here, which Professor Sayce also shows with a query. The *Daleth* in the last word of the group is also not quite certain. There is a horizontal stroke beneath it, but the rock is smooth and well preserved, and no trace of a vertical stroke exists. Nor would the shape of the *Beth* thus formed, if it existed, be the same as that of other *Beths* in the inscription.

Professor Sayce has divided the letters מימנ further on in this line into two words by a dot, but we were unable to make certain of this division. The two letters which follow are much defaced, and the rock is covered with a network of small cracks in this part, which would make the cast almost entirely unintelligible. I was inclined to think that I could trace the *Koph* shown by Professor Sayce, and that it may have been followed by a *Beth*. Lieutenant Mantell would however give a *Resh* with part of the tail of another letter.

It will be for others to decide which reading suits the text best, and whether the words נקבה . כים can have originally been written here.

Beyond the great crack on the left, we read with Mr. Pilter רבימה ; and after a very close examination we could clearly determine that the last letter but one is not a *Nun*, but certainly a *Mem*, with the horizontal stroke and cross-bars. The only letter which we are unable to distinguish to the right of this word looks like the remains of an *Aleph*. There may have been a *Lamed* between this and the *Vau*, but we regard both these letters as highly problematical. There is room for a third letter before the *Vau*.

*Fourth Line.*—The second word is read חכו by Professor Sayce ; but the first letter of the word seems to us clearly to be a *He* and not a *Cheth*. There is a deep crack in the stone at this point, which, before the deposit was removed, would have given the left stroke of the *Cheth*, but as now seen, it appears to be clearly a natural and not a sculptured line. The surface of the stone being uninjured, we could ascertain that there had never been any "horn" on the left at the end of the bars of the *He*.

By the aid of the copy we are able to distinguish the *Ain* preceding the *Lamed* in the sentence גרון . על . גרון . The first *Zain* is however imperfect, and the second *Gimel* cannot be distinguished. The *Vau* succeeding these words is fairly clear, but only the middle stroke of the head can be seen, with its characteristic *shoe* on the end of the stroke. The final *Vau* at the end of the line we could not see clearly, but a trace of its vertical stroke may perhaps be recognised.

*Fifth Line.*—The second *Mem* has the same form as all the others in the text. We are quite unable to find any remains of the *Yod* given by Professor Sayce in ברוח, nor does there seem to be any space for it



between the *Tzadi* and the *Aleph*. The *Tau* in **בְּיַאֲתָרִי** seems to us to be very doubtful, though strokes exist which may have belonged to such a letter. It should be noted that between this word and the next there is more space than is shown in Professor Sayce's copy. The dot is at some distance from the *Yod*, but even then there is fully room for another letter before the *Aleph*. The surface of the rock is however injured in this place. The last two letters of this line appear to us to read **רַנ**, though the last may be a *Mem*, as it is very imperfect and indistinct.

*Sixth Line.*—The third letter read *Cheth* by Professor Sayce is very indistinct, and may have been a *He*. The letters **הִיָּה** appear to us to be now quite distinct, and unmistakable, although Professor Sayce reads quite differently. The letters **גְּבָה** also seem to us to be distinct, and the letter which follows seems more probably a *He* than a *Cheth*. The *Tzadi* which follows is imperfect, and the *Resh* or *Beth* next in order cannot be read as now seen. The final letter of the inscription should apparently be *Beth*, but the surface of the rock is here so damaged as to make it impossible to distinguish any of the three letters which Professor Sayce places after the last *Tzadi*, for there is a hole in the stone at this point.

Such is a summary of our observations, which have been pursued entirely without consideration of anything beyond the present appearance of the text. The main results which seem likely to be of some service are those which concern the forms of the letters, and the difficult readings of the third and sixth lines.

CLAUDE R. CONDER, *Lieut. R.E.*

#### IV.

I HAVE been favoured with a tracing of the squeeze of the Siloam inscription. In the last *Quarterly Statement* of the Palestine Exploration Fund I argued, in reply to Professor Sayce, that the Solomonic age of the inscription was on palæographic grounds quite untenable, and that it must be placed at least two centuries and a half later. In the *Athenæum* of August 13th, Professor Sayce surrenders his former opinion, and asks whether I still venture to uphold my own. In reply to this challenge I am bound to acknowledge that a date so early as the middle of the eighth century can no longer be maintained.

I argued for the earlier date on the ground that Professor Sayce's copy exhibited transitional forms of certain letters, notably of *aleph* and *mim*. In some instances the Moabite or ninth century forms were used, in others the sixth century or Eshmunazar forms. In the tracing all these earlier forms vanish. Both *aleph* and *mim* appear as we find them in the seventh century Phœnician inscription at Abu Simbel, while other letters, notably *koph* and *tsade*, approximate to sixth century forms. I cannot, therefore, now maintain that the inscription is earlier than the seventh century, nor do I think it can be later than the sixth. The closing years of the

Jewish monarchy might suit very well all the conditions of the problem, and it does not seem improbable that the conduit may have been constructed in preparation for one or other of the closing sieges, or actually during the last siege, after the aqueduct from Gihon had been cut. This would give 587 B.C. as the date of the inscription. See, however, Ecclesiasticus xlvi, 17; and 2 Chron. xxxii, 30.

ISAAC TAYLOR.

## V.

THE discovery of this inscription has excited no more attention and critical curiosity than it deserves. It speaks to us in the primitive Hebrew, the language of the past, and narrates a matter of the highest topographical interest, in the simplest forms of ancient orthography then in use. It will be our duty to interpret these forms, with all their defects, so as to have a correct conception of that little morsel of topographical history which the engraver of this inscription intended posterity should know and place on record. The following is the inscription:—

### TRANSLATION.

Behold the boring (tunnel). This is the history of the tunnel. While the excavators lifted the pick, each toward his neighbour, and while there were 3 cubits to the mouth (height of tunnel at the spot here described), the excavators came together (יחד = *yichad*, coming together) each unto his neighbour. They then measured (מדדה) and discovered (יערה) = *ya-arah*, discovered, became obvious) in the rock, that there was a *clearly-defined* (מן = *manah* in its ancient uncontracted form, meaning to point out, clearly define, and count out by reckoning up the measurements) *crookedness* (קמטין = *kameton*, wrinkled, crooked, corrugated, not going straight) in the direction (בירה = *barah*, direction, leading; *beh* is a preposition in this word) of the boring (*nakrah*). The excavators then eagerly worked, and each *met* (*likrath*) his neighbour, pick to pick. The waters then advanced (*ay-galachoo*) and flowed from the outlet towards the pool, from a distance of 1000 cubits from the *described boundary* (תארה — *tach*, boundary pointed out and described) of the tunnel they excavated at the head of the excavation here.

#### I. INFERENCE.—*Two branches.*

We infer, as a radical conclusion, that two gangs of men were employed in the excavation, and that they started from two opposite ends of the tunnel, and met somewhere in the length. Now the question we are about to raise is one that has never yet been assumed, nor has it ever been suggested in any publications on the subject. It has always been



assumed that the entire aqueduct from Virgin's Fount to the Pool of Siloam was one continuous construction by two gangs of men. We hold that the two gangs of men were not employed on the whole, but only on the Siloam branch which runs south. And that the two gangs formed one whilst constructing the branch running west from the Fountain. We hold the theory that the Siloam branch alone is the excavation referred to in this inscription, and that the upper or head branch of the Fountain running west is not included in this narrative. A careful reading of its clauses, and the general context also, confirm this theory. The last clause especially cannot be interpreted otherwise.

Then, again, the word  $\text{החלה}$ , in line 6, is not applied to the *lower end* of the tunnel, or to the Siloam Pool, it is applied to the other end of the tunnel where the excavators *began*; and this end the narrative calls the *raish*,  $\text{ראש}$  = "head of the excavation here." The "head" of the Siloam branch is therefore meant by this word. Certainly the "lower end" must mean the tail end, and not the head of a tunnel or stream. If, therefore, the word be admitted, it must refer to the *head* of the Siloam branch of the aqueduct. This much then is certain without further discussion. In fact, Professor Sayce has himself noticed this inherent difficulty. He says: "I must confess that the meaning of 'lower part' would be more suitable to the Siloam end of the tunnel than to the other, to which it refers."

Now a careful reading of the last clause will prove, beyond a doubt, that the double gangs of excavators worked together first as one body, and as one gang, in excavating jointly the Virgin's Fount first, giving it a wider, more open, and spacial appearance as an entrance. And this was the *first* excavation of these men, and was regarded as the *head* of the tunnel. This was carried directly west about 231 feet, with a roof of 6 feet, roughly estimated by Captain Warren. This was the first excavation to which the narrator refers, when he says:

"The waters advanced and flowed from the outlet towards the pool, from a distance of 1,000 cubits from the boundary of the tunnel *they excavated at the head* of the excavation here."

The inference is fairly drawn, that a tunnel had previously been made at the *head* or *beginning* of the Siloam branch, by these same men; and that this tunnel had a given limit or boundary. Now this *first* tunnel could be none other than the Virgin's Fount branch, which runs almost due west 231 feet, and 6 feet high. And the *boundary* referred to would be this limit of 231 feet. The Siloam branch must, therefore, begin from this limit, and the 1,000 cubits must be counted from this boundary of the first tunnel. After cutting this first branch at the *head* of the excavation in Siloam, the gang of men divided themselves into two independent gangs for the greater convenience of carrying out the *débris* of the cutting. It being intended that the two gangs should meet at some intermediate point. Thus we have fairly established the fact, that the last clause of this inscription conclusively proves that the tunnel referred to is that Siloam branch of the aqueduct on which the two gangs of men only were

thus engaged to meet each other; the inscription cannot refer to any other but the tunnel made by these men meeting together.

## II. INFERENCE.—*The Cubit.*

Metrologically the inscription seems to fix the length of the Hebrew cubit, or *ammeth*. The tunnel is 1,708 feet in length, according to Captain Warren. If this be the length of 1,000 cubits intended by the narrator, then the cubit will be equal to 20·496 inches. But the place where these two gangs of men *met* was 3 cubits high = 5·124 feet, and there is no such place in the whole length of the tunnel, except at the long vault in the Virgin's Fount branch. Hence the cubit cannot be 20·496 inches.

Then, again, we have seen that the two gangs met in the Siloam branch somewhere. The heights have been given by Captain Warren. For the first 350 feet the height sloped down from 16 feet at the entrance to 4 feet 4 inches, width 2 feet. At 450 feet the height fell to 3 feet 9 inches. At 600 feet the height was 2 feet 6 inches. At 850 feet it was only 1 foot 10 inches, and at 900 feet it was reduced to 1 foot 4 inches high. Just at this point of the narrowest cutting the height suddenly rises to 4 feet 6 inches, which height continues for a length of 150 feet, when at a distance of 1,050 feet, the height is again reduced to 2 feet 6 inches, and at 1,100 feet it was again only 1 foot 10 inches. At 1,150 feet the height averaged 2 feet to 2 feet 6 inches; at 1,450 feet the Siloam branch begins to turn towards the Virgin's Fount branch; and at 1,477 to 1,480 feet, the height suddenly rises in the open vault of the Fount branch to 6 feet.

Thus it will be seen the highest point in this Siloam branch is a space of 150 feet in length, where it averages 4 feet 6 inches. Now, if there be any likely spot where the two gangs met it will be at this high cutting. At 850 to 900 feet the height sinks down from 1 foot 10 inches to 1 foot 4 inches, then suddenly rises into a cutting of 4 feet 6 inches. In like manner at the other end of this same Siloam branch, from this central space of 150 feet with a height of 4 feet 6 inches, the other end also tapers off and lowers down to 1 foot 10 inches. Now, does it not seem reasonable to suppose that when the men got to a point where they expected to meet each other, they would widen their tunnel in order that the chances of meeting each other would be greater? And that where we find this space of enlargement at the middle of an aqueduct, there is the spot where they endeavoured to meet? We think it reasonable to make this inference. Professionally, as a civil engineer, we think this a very reasonable supposition, especially where the engineers were not supposed to be equal to the sappers and miners of modern times.

Let us summarize a little. If the Virgin's Fount branch be almost due west for about 230 feet, to the end of the passage with 6 feet in height, the Siloam branch will be  $1,708 - 230 = 1,478$  feet in length. But in this case the 1,000 cubits will be = 1,478 feet, or 1·478 feet to a cubit, which is equal to 17·736 inches per cubit. Let us test this value also. The



narrator of the inscription says the gangs were working, when they met, with a tunnel equal to 3 cubits; but the greatest height of this Siloam branch is near the middle, and equal to 4 feet 6 inches = 18 inches to a cubit.

Now, in an article on the "Sacred Cubit—Test Cases," October, 1879, *Quarterly Statement*, we then suggested that the ancient cubit was 17.70 inches, or  $\sqrt{3.14159} \times 10 = 17.7245$ ; or the full cubit rod of what Ezekiel calls "a cubit and a handbreadth" (ch. x. 5), consisting of 7 handbreadths = 20.6786 inches. And it would now appear that this Siloam branch of 1,000 cubits was = 1477 feet in length, or 17.724 inches per cubit; whilst the height of the place of meeting of the excavators was 4 feet 6 inches = 3 cubits of this length, as the narrator declares in the inscription. Hence the cubit used by the engineer and workmen was 17.724 inches in length. When the prophet Ezekiel said:

"A cubit is a cubit and a handbreadth."—EZEK. xliii, 13.

"In his hand a measuring reed of 6 cubits, by the cubit and a handbreadth."—EZEK. xl, 5.

The *extra handbreadth* was simply a handle by which to hold the cubit rod whilst measuring: the cubit was 6 handbreadths only, but the cubit-rod was 7 handbreadths. Hence almost every cubit rod found has measured 20.6786 inches with its *extra* handbreadths, and this simple fact has led to the conception that a cubit was 7 handbreadths = 20.6786 inches. The Egyptian cubit-rods were constructed similarly; they were a cubit and a handbreadth in length = 20.6786 inches, or 17.724 inches to the cubit.

S. BESWICK.

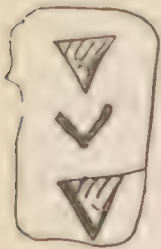
STRATHROY, ONTARIO, CANADA.

## VI.

I HAVE been much interested in the paper contained in the *Quarterly Statement* upon "the ancient Hebrew inscription discovered at the pool of Siloam," and particularly so in the idea that the discovery may define the length of the Hebrew cubit. My object in writing to you is to point out that further examination of the tunnel may possibly lead to the discovery of exact and definite data from which the exact length of the cubit measure used in its construction may be mathematically demonstrated. In addition to the tablet (or smoothed portion of rock) upon which the inscription is cut, Mr. Sayce says he "came across small portions which had apparently been smoothed, as well as hollows or niches in the face of them all." I suppose these niches are of triangular shape like the one said to be opposite the tablet. If so, I am inclined to form a different theory as to the formation of the triangular nich opposite the tablet than that which Mr. Schick suggests. A theory

which will also account for the existence of the other niches which are found at intervals in the walls of the tunnel.

To construct a tunnel from both ends, the starting point must be definitely marked somewhere, and careful measurement must be made along the course of the tunnel as the excavation proceeds. Now if the niches occur at regular intervals along the tunnel, it is more reasonable to suppose they each mark off a measured length, so that instead of remeasuring the whole distance whenever the amount of work done is required to be known, a measurement from the last mark would be sufficient. If the niches are large enough to hold a lamp, a double purpose may have been served in their construction. The triangular point would serve to indicate distance, and the light would serve to light the tunnel at intervals, by which facility in the removal of materials would be gained. Now suppose this theory be correct, what more natural thing than to inscribe upon the wall of the tunnel the length thereof near the last niche? Probably the ornamental finish described by Mr. Sayce as found under the middle of the bottom line may be a mark intended to direct attention to the marks on the opposite side of the tunnel. The character of the finish is a remarkable one, however, being composed of three figures, two like the triangular niches in shape, and one just like a surveyor's mark.



It is even possible that the inscription and the finish are intended to mark the exact spot from which the thousand cubits are measured. If another inscription is discovered at the other end of the tunnel much uncertainty will be removed, but without such an inscription a careful measurement of the distance between the niches may lead to remarkable results. As to the upper part of the tablet upon which the inscription is found being without lettering, this may arise from an intention to engrave upon it the name of the king who ordered the tunnel to be cut, or some other record, an intention never carried out. Or it may have been so left to draw attention to the other tablet formations which Mr. Sayce describes.

H. SULLY.

## LIFE, HABITS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE FELLAHIN OF PALESTINE. By REV. F. A. KLEIN.

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

### CONTINUATION.\*

The clothing of the Fellahin is extremely simple, but at the same time comfortable and suited to the climate. Their hair is worn quite short

\* The first part appeared in the *Quarterly Statement*, April, 1881.



except a tuft at the crown, and the first portion of the head covering consists of a white cotton skull cap. With people who have any tendency to cleanliness, this cap (*Takiyeh*) is washed every week, and for boys it is generally the only head gear. Over this they wear one or two felt skull caps, and then the *Tarbûsh* or Turkish fez, round which is wound the piece of stuff which completes the turban; this varies in colour and quality according to the religion, rank or taste of the wearer. Sometimes it is of unbleached cotton fringed and striped with red or a red and yellow silk *Kufeyeh*. The richer Christians use black cashmere, the Bethemites and upper class Mussulmen a strip of white muslin, whilst a descendant of the Prophet may be always known by his large green turban. In many neighbourhoods red cloth is worn, and the whole head covering is called a *Leffe*, from (*Luff* to wind round). The more important sheikhs wear particularly large and cumbersome *Leffes*. I knew one Christian sheikh in Nazareth who, whenever he changed an old turban for a new one, took the greatest care not only to have it the same size, but of exactly the same weight; if he found it lighter than his old one he added folds of cloth or extra felt caps, for he maintained that any change in the weight to which he was accustomed, gave him pains in his head. These weighty head dresses are rapidly giving place to the Turkish mode, and many of the upper classes who formerly took great pride in their ponderous *Leffes*, now wear what is called a *keshf*, a *tarbûsh* with a light *mendil* round it, or even only a *tarbûsh stambuti*.

The thick head coverings were certainly a great protection against the scorching rays of the sun, and in case of necessity they formed a very good pillow; I have often seen the Fellahin stretch themselves under the shade of an olive tree, and enjoy the most peaceful slumbers with nothing but a stone under their head. It was strangely suggestive of Jacob. The *Leffe* with its many folds served also as a receptacle in which important documents or letters could be safely bestowed. Another head-dress which Fellahin who are in the habit of mixing with the Bedawin often adopt, is the silk *Kufeyeh* or a bright coloured *mendil*, which is bound to the head with a woollen cord and falls over the neck and shoulders.

The body is covered with a coarse blue or white cotton garment down to the ankles, with wide sleeves reaching to the knees. This answers the purpose of shirt and coat combined, and is drawn in at the waist by a broad leathern belt fastened above the hip. For hard work or travelling the skirt is turned up, and the awkward sleeves are tied back between the shoulders. To wear the clothes almost trailing on the ground is a sign of opulence or else of arrogance and affectation. In speaking of the men of one or other of the principal Mahometan families people often make the remark that "they go ungirded in their houses."

A cloak called an 'Abba completes the Fellahin costume. It is a black or brown woollen garment of the most primitive and clumsy construction, it must have been in vogue as early as the days of the early Canaanites, for certainly it is no product of modern civilization. Some of the people spin their own 'abbas; they are made of a very thick piece of stuff of an oblong

shape, and sewn so that the front part and two holes for the arms are left open. It forms a garment as useful as it is inelegant. It protects them from rain and cold ; at night it serves as covering and bed, for the Fellaah retires to rest on a mat or on the bare ground, where wrapped in his 'abba he sleeps as soundly as we should on the softest mattress. Often in the inns I have seen rows of mummy-like figures lying close to each other on the ground fast asleep, and upon waking up they shook their coverings and put them on again as cloaks. If the Fellaah has to fetch food for the cattle, or to carry anything to market, he uses his 'abba as a sack ; if the Mussulman has to say his prayers whilst journeying, he spreads his 'abba on the ground and performs his devotions in the orthodox manner ; if there is no available manger or nose-bag for his camel, he lays his 'abba on the ground and shakes the fodder upon it ; finally he can make a little tent of it under which to take shelter when out in the fields. Only youths or beggars can do without this indispensable garment ; for a respectable Fellaah to appear minus his 'abba would be almost equivalent to going out naked. In winter many of them wear a sheepskin jacket with short sleeves, the woolly side turned inwards, and the outside smeared with ruddle. Stockings and socks are unknown luxuries ; they either go bare-footed or wear comfortable but queer looking shoes ; sandals are only met with on the other side of Jordan. But in the time of harvest, every one wears shoes on account of walking over the stubble, and at this period the shoemakers do a very good trade. Amongst people who are fairly well off the ordinary costume is of course often modified, and gives place to more of a town style, including shirts and the *Kumbäg*, a striped silk or cotton gown, also a short cloth jacket called a *Jubbeh*, and finely embroidered 'abbas, ornamental girdles and town-made shoes.

The women wear a blue or white robe with wide sleeves, and for fête days a silk gown striped in many colours with pieces of red or yellow cloth let in to the breast and sleeves. Their 'abba is shorter and narrower than the men's, and sometimes they wear a short jacket richly embroidered in gold ; the 'abba is generally dark red.

The shape of the cap varies according to the different districts. In Bethlehem they wear a sort of cloth coif ornament across the forehead with gold or silver coins according to the wealth of the wearer, and in Nazareth and the surrounding district, a padded head-dress coming down the sides of the face, and decorated with a number of silver coins (five piastre pieces), often as many as six or seven pounds' worth. These foolishly heavy decorations cause them to suffer a great deal from pains in the head and diseases of the eye, though once they have become accustomed to them, leaving them off has always a bad effect. I had an opportunity of assuring myself of this fact in Nazareth ; a woman there had exchanged the *smadi* for the light *sooki* which is worn in the towns (it consists of a small *tarbûsh* with a golden clasp, a *mendil* and only a few coins at the back), she got ophthalmia ; some others had sacrificed their coins through want of money, so that only their cloth coif remained ; and all of them suffered with pains in the head.



If a woman is in want of money, she cuts off a few coins, if she earns anything she stitches some more on, thus her head-dress forms a portable bank on which her capital is stitched. During a night attack the first thought of the women is to hide their *smade*. The Bedawin will often attack them and rob them of their head-pieces, and in some villages they have even been murdered on their way home from fetching water, only on account of their coins.

Amongst the Christians, a woman will often leave her *smade* or a portion of it to be expended in masses for the repose of her soul. A small chain or band fastens this ponderous head-covering under the chin, and sometimes from this hangs a second chain on which is suspended a large gold or silver coin as a neck ornament. The *mendil* or veil is worn over the *smad*, covering the head and neck, though not the face, but if any stranger appears the women at once cover their mouth and nose; a well behaved woman never appears in public without her *mendil*. Often riding through a village and passing near the huts, I have noticed the women without their veils, having taken them off, perhaps on account of the heat, or whilst combing their hair, but directly they became aware of my approach, the veils were on in a second. The *mendil* in some districts is white, and is often ornamented with a bright fringe and border as in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. In the Nâblus district it is red, and round about Nazareth black with yellow stripes. The beauty or ugliness of the women is alike hid by the veil, only just the top part of the face remaining visible. They all use *kohel*, which not only enhances the beauty of their eyes, but is also supposed to strengthen them. On very joyful occasions, and for weddings, they stain their fingers and feet with henna, and the old women also dye their hair with it when it is turning grey. Bracelets made of inferior silver, brass or silver rings and bangles for the ankles are the principal ornaments. In some parts the women dress better, wearing underclothes as well as the orthodox costume. The girls can be easily distinguished from the married women by their much simpler and lighter head-dress. The *smade* is only adopted after marriage.

Like all Orientals, the Fellah's chief wish is to have a number of male descendants. As a rule, the sons remain in their father's house, or at all events in the same village, and a father who is surrounded by his sons and his grandsons not only secures help and protection for his declining years, but also gains greatly in honour and influence. A clan (*hama'il*) numbering two hundred men, under the present state of government, can get anything they want much more easily than one mustering only fifty. The fathers are very proud of their sons, and the sisters take the greatest delight in hearing their brothers well spoken of. Such being the case, it may be imagined that there is great rejoicing over the birth of a son. All the relations and friends visit the father to offer their congratulations, adding the usual formula, "May that which has come to you be blessed," to which he joyfully makes answer, "May God also bless you." A cup of coffee is then offered to each guest, or among the Christians, wine and sweetmeats. The birth of a daughter creates no excitement, nor do the

friends offer congratulations ; nevertheless it has its bright side, for if every son adds to the family strength and influence, so each daughter is an addition to their capital, for on reaching a marriageable age, she is worth several thousand piastres. For instance, if a poor man has four daughters, they represent a capital of twelve thousand piastres, and should he be a poor man, the traders will give him credit on their account.

Immediately after birth, the children are rubbed with finely powdered salt. This process which is supposed to have the effect of hardening them is repeated for some weeks ; sometimes it does the child a great deal of harm. In Bethlehem, I remember seeing a fine boy who had nearly lost his sight through this senseless custom, the salt having got into his eyes. On the whole though, the experiment cannot do the children any real injury, for in spite of dirt, neglect, and exposure, they grow up hardy, and soon get accustomed to the rough life which lies before them. As infants they are certainly not fussed over ; even when only a few days old they are left swaddled and tied into a very primitive wooden cradle, where they have to remain whilst the mother goes about her household duties. If she has tried to protect the poor little creature from the flies and mosquitoes by throwing a *mendil* over his face, he is almost suffocated for want of air, but if left without, dozens of flies swarm round him and settle in clusters on his mouth and eyes ; at first he screams and struggles as much as his narrow quarters will allow, but escape being impossible, he submits to the inevitable. It has often surprised me to see the bigger children playing in the streets or sitting on the rubbish heaps without making the slightest attempt to brush the flies from their faces, so early do they become accustomed to the plague of the land. Still, in spite of their being brought up with so little comfort, there is no lack of maternal affection. In their own fashion, the women are dotingly fond of their children, and will endure the greatest privation, and make almost any sacrifice to further their welfare. Whilst caressing them they make use of the tenderest terms of endearment, apostrophising the child with such expressions as "My soul ! my Lord ! my Life ! Oh light of my eye !" and they sing them the softest cradle songs. They have a great love for all children, and would not willingly do one of them any harm. This is especially noticeable when they go out as nurses ; nothing can exceed their devotion and the patience with which they work or sit up at night if necessary. If anything, they carry their affection for their sons too far. Many a mother works hard or denies herself every comfort until her latest years, in order to enable her son to marry, and then to aid him in supporting his wife and children. The women suckle their children for three or four years. They consider that long nursing strengthens the child, and have several sayings to that effect, whilst they often give as the reason of a weak constitution, the fact of the sufferer having been weaned too soon. In such a climate this belief is perhaps not without foundation. If a mother dies, a neighbour will take the child until a nurse can be found, and only very rarely are they brought up on goat's milk. The children are early accustomed to eat bread, and are often



stuffed with the most unwholesome food. There is great joy on the appearance of the first teeth, for then, armed with a piece of bread, the child is left to crawl about in front of the door. If the mother has anything to do in the town or the field, she carries her child in a sort of sack on her back; and during the harvest, the cradle is often dragged into the fields. The children are spared much doctoring, a great deal being left to nature. For wounds, finely sifted red earth is mixed with water and applied in the form of a paste, or sometimes a bright red powder called zerakon. In bad cases of fever, they let blood by scraping the skin with a razor, and for inflammation of the gums whilst teething, they burn the under part of the tongue with a red hot needle. If these remedies fail, their power to help is at an end, and Allah alone can save. Many bad diseases of the eye might be prevented in the first instance by the simple use of a little clean water, but, unluckily, except for drinking purposes, the Fellah has the greatest dislike to making use of it.

A child having made his first effort at speech by acquiring the words father and mother, he next accomplishes the "abuk" or cursing of his father, and when he can seize hold of his father's beard and cry abuk, his parent greatly rejoices, and everyone predicts his future worth.

The children have literally no games, they tumble about the streets and squares, and in their way seem quite merry and contented. Directly they are old enough they begin to make themselves useful by taking the goats and donkeys to the pastures, and watching to prevent them straying into the vineyards or cultivated fields, and there the boys lie under the shade of an olive or fig tree quietly looking out, or sometimes whiling away the time by playing on a very primitive sort of pipe made of reed. When the fruit begins to ripen, they are set to watch the vineyards and fig-gardens in order to frighten away chance intruders by screaming and throwing stones. During the harvest they help to load and drive home the camels. The girls balancing a water pot on their heads, soon learn to fetch water from the well. They have also to collect fuel and dry it in the sun ready for the oven, to help their mother fetch wood, to tend the younger children, and directly they are strong enough, they learn to grind the grain, knead the dough, and help with the baking. In the neighbourhood of a large town, many children, both boys and girls, are employed by the builders, some come from a considerable distance, and remaining in the town all the week, only return home on Saturdays. They live chiefly on bread, eating with it onions, fruit, cheese, olives, or some such relish; meat they very seldom taste.

Until about fifty years ago, when foreign missions and societies began to take an interest in the welfare of the children, there were literally no elementary schools; but now, in all the towns, and in the larger villages, we find several of various denominations—Greek, Roman, Protestant, or Armenian—as well as the Government schools for Mahometans. Many of the Fellahin, convinced of the necessity of education, send their children regularly to one or other of these schools. Previously, only people who were well off sent their children to either a Christian or a Mahometan

school, where they were taught to read Arabic and perhaps to write a little. The Mussulman learnt to drone out the Koran, the Christians the Psalms; even now the Koran and the Psalms are respectively the first reading books. The salary of the schoolmaster was paid in kind, namely in bread and eggs, which the pupils brought with them every day, and to which they added a few piastres at the end of the month. Sometimes, when the children had reached a certain part of their text books, a backsheesh would be presented to the teacher, in acknowledgment of their progress. I have met old men who could repeat the whole of the Psalms or long portions of the Koran by heart, having learnt them in this way. The writing was done on a wooden tablet, but they seldom made as much progress in caligraphy as in reading or learning by heart; even now there are some villages (generally Mahometan) where not a creature excepting the *katib* or preacher could read or write, and occasionally not even he, so that if a letter comes which has to be read, or if anything has to be written, they are obliged to send to the next village, where the *katib* will just manage to spell out the contents, or to scrawl a few characters on paper. The Arabian schoolmaster's only method was to frighten his pupils into attention and a small amount of industry; to this end he used the rod and the "*falak*," a wooden thing to which the delinquent's feet were tied by a cord, whilst he lay on the ground to be belaboured by his teacher. Now and then I have seen this much-hated instrument hung up on the wall, in order to intimidate the children. In very exceptional cases a father would let his daughters learn to read, but this never happened in Mahometan families. Some of the Fellahin are very sharp-witted and teachable. A good supply of capable schoolmasters and careful school inspectors would soon be able to improve the state of the village schools, and to introduce a more progressive system. The children seldom remain at school later than their thirteenth year, by which time they are very often engaged, and sometimes even married, whereupon they assume the manly *lyfe*, and commence their calling in life. The majority of them take to agriculture, and find full occupation in tending the vineyards and fig-gardens, or in looking after the crops and the cattle. Others follow trades, but beyond becoming shoemakers, weavers, builders, or joiners, there is but little choice, and even in these they find scanty employment. In some villages there is not a single artisan. The weaver uses a very primitive loom, and makes the thick cotton material used for the *tob*; although a great quantity of European cotton is sold in Syria, the Fellah does not find it strong enough for this strange garment; in the same manner they weave the thick stuff for the *'abbas*, though the finer ones come from Damascus. A weaver who begins his work in good time, can easily make enough stuff for a garment during the day, and earn a fair profit for his work. The joiners make the wooden parts of the very simple ploughs and farm implements, and those who have advanced a little in their trade are able to put up the rough doors and window frames, but more difficult work would be beyond them. The iron portions of the plough and the various tools, are made either by the smith of the nearest



town or by gipsies (Naury), who travel about the country making nails, axe-heads, etc., and dwelling in black Bedawin tents. Only on the other side of Jordan do we find smiths in the smaller villages, and there the surname Haddad (smith or forger) is of frequent occurrence. For things which they can neither obtain in their own village nor in the neighbouring town, the Fellahin are dependent on journeymen mechanics—coppersmiths, silversmiths, gun-makers, pedlars, and coverlet makers, who travel from place to place accordingly as they find work. The pedlars and mattress-makers are generally Jews. Quack doctors and inoculators are also to be found travelling through the villages.

In Bethlehem there is a considerable industry in rosaries and ornaments made of mother-o'-pearl and the black *Nebeg musa* stone, through which trade many families earn a living, and some even become wealthy.

Again, in villages like Ram Allah and Lifta, many gain their living by keeping donkeys and carrying produce into the towns. Every morning one sees groups of these animals being driven to the market at Jerusalem, laden according to the season, sometimes with wood, fruit, or grain, at others with oil or water. In the evening they trot merrily home with much joking on the part of the drivers. Lifta is the great centre of the donkey drivers and water-carriers, and in Sâris and Kubebe there are a great many camel-drivers, who are chiefly employed in carrying wares between Jaffa, Jerusalem, and Nâbulus.

(To be continued.)

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## SOME REMARKS ON THE INTERPRETATION OF THE IMPRESSIONS ON THE VASE HANDLES FOUND AT THE FOOT OF THE TEMPLE WALL.

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AMONGST the many objects contained in the Museum of the Palestine Exploration Fund, perhaps none are marked with a greater interest, both in their historical and their religious associations, than some fragments of pottery, easily identified as vase handles, which were discovered some years since in the vicinity of the Temple wall at Jerusalem. Two or three of these fragments contain inscriptions, or rather impressions made in the clay when in process of manufacture, but although the Phœnician characters have been deciphered, I am not aware that up to the present any explanation of their meaning has been given which has recommended itself to the acceptance of Biblical archaeologists. The object of the present paper is to throw, if possible, some light upon this obscure but most interesting subject.

The characters found on these vase handles are Phœnician, and similar to

those on the Moabite Stone, the date of which is as nearly as possible 900 B.C. Judging of the probable date of this pottery, which was found at the south-eastern corner of Solomon's palace, and adjoining the foot of the Temple wall, and which must have been subsequent to the building of the Temple, and prior to the Babylonian captivity, we should expect that the words, like those in the Moabite inscription, would be similar to those found in the Old Testament records, and if so we are not likely to err in interpreting them in the same way.

The characters found on one of the vase handles transcribed into Hebrew, are as follows:—L ל, M מ, L ל, Ch כ, Ts צ, P פ H. ה, or in their entirety, L M L Ch Ts P H. To these letters we must now supply the vowel points. The subdivision of the words into L : M L Ch : and Ts P H is doubtless correct. Let us for the present postpone the consideration of the first word or letter L.

M L Ch may be read, following the Hebrew text of the Scriptures, as Moloch, Molech, or Melech. This word, however spelt, was the name given to one of the deities worshipped in Canaan, and is supposed to have been the sun-god regarded in his scorching or destruction aspect, and as such he was propitiated with human sacrifices by fire. Molech was also, especially by the Carthagenians, identified with the planet Saturn, which may explain the myth of Saturn devouring his children. The word when translated, is "king," as Baal means "lord," but in the Hebrew text the word Molech is generally supposed to be used to express the deity, Melech to express the title of king. The word Moloch occurs very rarely. Molech is, like Baal, almost invariably preceded by the definite article. There are several passages in the Old Testament where this word is translated king, in which there can be no doubt the deity was alluded to. For example, in Is. xxx, 33, "For Tophet is ordained of old. Yea for *the king* it is prepared, etc." The Hebrew text is Molech, but we know from other sources that it was in Tophet that the fearful rites of Molech worship were chiefly celebrated. 2 Kings xxiii, 10; Jer. vii, 31, etc.

The letters in this inscription may therefore be read Molech or Melech, and in the absence of anything else to guide us, might, with equal plausibility, be construed as the name of a deity or the title of an earthly monarch. Let us now proceed to consider the next word.

Ts P H is supposed to be Zepha, and this is further presumed to be a proper name. I question very much the accuracy of this conclusion. There is no record in history of a king so named, ruling either in the northern or southern kingdom, into which the Jewish Monarchy was split up by the revolt of the ten tribes, or in any of the adjacent States. I also think it very improbable that any king in those times, or indeed in any other, would have stamped his name and title on pottery intrinsically valueless. If he desired to mark it as royal property, it seems in the highest degree unlikely that he would adopt such a device or such an idiom. Let us cast about for a more probable solution of the mystery.

The Hebrew verb Zapha (Ts P H with the necessary vowel points



means "to look out, to view," and also "to shine," at least in the Arabic. It would be needless to cite passages in which it is used in the former sense, but we must refer to one because it is very much in point. At the parting between Laban and Jacob on Mount Gilead, they raised a heap of stones, and set up a pillar, and made a covenant to respect each other's possessions. Laban called the pillar "the Mizpah, for he said, the Lord watch (Jehovah itzeph) between me and thee when we are absent one from another." Gen. xxxi, 49. The verb is here employed to indicate the unceasing watchfulness of God, and a *par-tinomasia* is used to connect it with Mizpah, which comes from the same root, and signifies not only a pillar, but a watch tower. In the absence therefore of any indication that Ts P H is a proper name, it seems only reasonable to treat it as an ordinary translatable word, and all the more if we find that it is such a word as would in all probability be associated with the name given to the deity, and be expressive of one of his attributes. Molech was not an idol; though if we trust tradition, he was represented by a brazen image in the valley of Ben Hinnom, in whose outstretched arms the children were placed which were sacrificed to the terrible god. The early religion of the inhabitants of Palestine was simply nature worship. But the forces of nature were various. The unseen power whose efforts alone were manifest, might be exercised in a beneficial or in a destructive manner. The sun might by its genial warmth bring forth in abundance the fruits of the earth, or by its scorching heat utterly consume them. The generative power in nature needed the productive power as a counterpart, and if there was a king or lord of heaven, there was a queen or lady. The consort of Baal, or perhaps more correctly speaking the complement, was Baaltis. The Ashera (in the authorised version rendered "the grove") which was the symbol of the queen of heaven, invariably stood beside the altar which was raised to the king, and as we know, stood in the temple of Jerusalem at the time of King Josiah, by whom it was cut down. The Baalim and the Ashtaroth were numerous, but it is doubtful whether they were regarded as distinct deities or only as indicative of different manifestations of divine power. But however this may be, "the Molech," *Kar' égoxnp* "the king," was believed to view, *i.e.*, to look out of heaven constantly, and if it was desired to refer to this attribute, some form of the verb Tsapha would unquestionably have been used by an Israelite living at the era to which the pottery found in underground Jerusalem unquestionably must be referred.

It may perhaps be suggested that Molech Z P H is simply an illustration of a practice which was very common amongst the various races inhabiting the region which, for convenience sake, we will call Palestine. We mean that of calling themselves by names compounded of the name of the deity they desired to honour. A great number of Israelitish names were thus formed, and a very curious light they seem to throw on the religion of Israel prior to the Babylonian captivity. For example Joash (a compound of Jehovah) has a son named Jerubbaal (a compound of Baal), who becomes Judge over Israel, and is succeeded by his son Abimelech (a compound of

Molech). Saul called one of his sons Jonathan (a compound of Jehovah), and another Eshbaal; and Jonathan in his turn called his son Meribbaal. Saul's High Priest is in one place called Ahiah (a compound of Jehovah), (1 Sam. xiv), and in a subsequent one is called Ahimelech (1 Sam. xxii), which would almost lead to the notion that Jehovah and "the Molech" were at one time considered convertible terms. David called one of his sons Beeliadah (1 Chr. xiv, 7), but elsewhere (2 Sam. v, 16) his name appears as Eliada (a compound of El, Elohim or God). Hezekiah, Jeremiah, Isaiah, and many other names might be cited as compounds of Jehovah. The Carthaginians, it is needless to remind the reader, preserved the usage of their Phœnician ancestors, as illustrated in such names as Hannibal, Asdrubal, &c., names compounded of Baal.

May we not have here stamped on this jar handle a name compounded of Molech, and may not this stamp be that of the potter who made the jar or of the owner? The latter supposition may, I think, be summarily rejected. The modern usage of having crests or cyphers stamped on dinner plates when in the course of manufacture, or if in trade, of having the name and calling of the makers stamped on bottles and jars, was, so far as I am aware, unknown to the ancients. The possibility that it may be the potter's name demands, however, careful consideration, because if we have here simply the manufacturer's stamp, the discovery of these jar handles throws no light on the religion of Israel.

We have in the Old Testament one name which has an apparent if not a real analogy to Melech Z P H considered as a compound name. It is Zephaniah; the last syllable indicates a compound of Jehovah, but it is not so easy to speak with certainty regarding the first portion of the word. St. Jerome was of opinion that it was derived from the verb we have just been considering, Zapha, and accordingly interpreted the entire name as "speculator Domini," the watcher of Jehovah. This would have been a very fitting name for the prophet, of whose name St. Jerome supplied the etymology, but as he was named when he was a child, and as others who were not prophets held the name before him, we must examine his name irrespective of the qualifications of its possessor. Gesenius with more probability derives the name from Zaphan, "to hide," the true interpretation of the entire name being "whom Jehovah hides," that is "defends."

Those who accept the patristic etymology will see in Zephaniah the precise counterpart of Molech Zepha. The only difference being that one name is compounded of Jehovah, and the other of Molech. Those who prefer placing their reliance on Gesenius, must however still admit that there is no valid reason why a compound name should not have been formed with the verb Zapha as with the verb Zaphan.

Curiously enough there was a Zephaniah who was second priest in the Temple at the time of its destruction by order of Nebuchadnezzar (2 Kings xxv, 18), and the temptation is very great to identify his name with the inscription, and to conclude that as Ahiah (1 Sam. xiv) became Ahimelech (1 Sam. xxii), so the Molech Z P H or Melchizeph of the inscription became converted by the sacred historian into Zephaniah. But irrespective



of etymological objections to this solution, it seems to me in the highest degree improbable that vessels used in the service of the Temple were stamped with the names of any of the priests.

Thus far therefore our inquiry carries us no farther than this—Molech Z P H may be a compound name, and in that case the vase handle tells us no more than probably the name of the maker; or else Molech Z P H is a phrase which must be construed according to the meaning of the words comprising it. Let us however now proceed to consider that apparently insignificant portion of the inscription, the notice of which is purposely postponed.

The first letter is L  $\zeta$ . This is simply the preposition “to,” which is invariably used in the Old Testament writings. In 1 Kings xi, 7, which states that Solomon raised a high place to Molech, the precise letters are found in the Hebrew text as in this inscription, L M L Ch; and equally so in 2 Kings xxiii, 10, where an account is given of the defilement of Tophet by king Josiah in order “that no man might make his son or daughter to pass through the fire to *Molech*.”

Does not, however, the employment of the preposition “to” furnish the key to the right interpretation of the following words, and completely dispel any doubts whether, after all, we had only acquired possession of an old Hebrew trade mark? If Molech Z P H meant king Zepha, or if the two words together formed a proper name similar to Zephaniah, the employment of the preposition is unintelligible. But if the words be understood in their ordinary meaning, the employment of the preposition becomes at once obvious. If the vases or jars were employed in the service of Molech, what more natural than that they should have impressed on them at the time of their manufacture a stamp declaring that they were dedicated to the service of the deity, and at the same time conveying a warning that the ever watchful deity would take notice if they were stolen or appropriated to any profane use?

And this construction seems to find corroboration in the writings of St. Paul. He appears to have been familiar with the practice of “dedicating” vessels and the way of signifying their dedications by means of a seal. In his Epistle to the Romans (ix, 21) he asks, “Has not the potter power over the clay of the same lump to make one vessel to honour and another unto dishonour? What if God, willing to show His wrath, and to make His power known, endured with much long suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction, and that He might make known the riches of His glory on the vessels of mercy which he had afore prepared unto glory.” Pursuing the same train of thought in his Second Epistle to Timothy (ii, 19, 20), and using the same metaphor, he writes, “The foundation of God standeth sure having this seal, ‘The Lord knoweth them that are His;’” and then follows the allusion to the “Great house,” where were “not only vessels of gold and of silver, but also of wood and earth, and some to honour and some to dishonour.” The Apostle thus continues “If a man therefore purge himself from these, he shall be a vessel unto honour sanctified and meet for the master’s use, and prepared unto every good work.” The practice of

dedicating, nay of sanctifying vessels for the Temple, would seem to have survived down to the time of St. Paul, and it would also appear that in the case of earthenware vessels which, being intrinsically valueless, might in the service of the Temple be inadvertently used both for sacred or profane uses, it was the practice of the potter to impress upon those which were to be exclusively employed for sacred purposes a seal denoting their sanctification.

There are in the Museum two other handles, the impressions on which are not so legible. In both, however, it would seem that the introductory word is L. MLK ; and consequently according to this construction dedicated "To Molech."

The presumption that the impressions on the vase handles indicated the dedication of the vessels to a sacred use, is of course considerably strengthened if the inference be well founded that the figure resembling a dove with outstretched wings, which forms part of the impression, was the emblem of the sun-god.

How then must we read this inscription, and what light, if any, does it throw on the religion of Israel prior to the Babylonian captivity? What were these vases and this pottery, of which the relics were found in such quantities as to give rise to an idea on the part of Mr. Fergusson and others that they were the remains of a museum of crockery which had been collected by one of the kings of Judah? The conclusion appears to me irresistible that these vases were used in the service of the Temple, and that this is shown by the place where they were found, and the stamp which declares that they were dedicated "to Molech who views," "the All Seeing" or "Ever Watchful." That Molech worship, which was simply a worship of Baal, existed side by side even in the Temple at Jerusalem with the worship of Jehovah, is placed beyond all doubt by the records of the Books of Kings, and by the protests of the Prophets of the seventh and eighth centuries B.C. Tophet, in the valley of the son of Hinnom, was just outside the walls of Jerusalem, and there the sacrifice of children to Molech was perhaps only too common down to the very eve of the captivity. We are told that Manasseh, Josiah's immediate predecessor on the throne of Judah, sacrificed his son to Molech. But under Josiah, a great reformation was effected. The book of the Law was found in the Temple by Hilkiah the priest, and Josiah proceeded to carry out the instructions which he found therein. "And the king commanded Hilkiah the High Priest, and the priests of the second order, and the keepers of the door, to bring forth out of the Temple of the Lord all the vessels that were made for Baal and for the Grove" (the Ashera, the symbol of Ashtoreth, the consort or female side of Baal), "and for all the host of heaven, and he burned them without Jerusalem in the fields of Kidron, and carried the ashes of them unto Bethel" (2 Kings, xxiii, 4). Is it very improbable that in this broken pottery found at the foot of the Temple wall, we may have some of "the vessels of Baal" (as they would be termed by the historian) which were cast out of the Temple by order of Josiah, but which, from their fragile nature, intrinsic worthlessness and incombustibility, were not removed to



Kidron to be destroyed by fire? Nay, do not all the circumstances seem to indicate that these vessels were cast in Josiah's time on the spot where they have now been discovered? So long as the kingdom of Judah lasted, so long it is reasonable to assume that comparatively little alteration took place in immediate proximity to the Temple walls. But when the monarchy was overthrown, and the Temple was rifled and destroyed, the first layer would be formed of the *débris*, through which, after the lapse of two thousand four hundred years, deep shafts must now be sunk to reach the ground on which Josiah's contemporaries stood.

It is not however necessary to suppose that the fragments now found are those of the vessels which were destroyed by order of Josiah. The pottery used in the service of the Temple was, like all other pottery, fragile, and when broken was doubtless thrown out as useless. Those who accept the rendering given by Grotius of Zech. ii, 13, will perhaps recognize in the place where these fragments were found, "the pottery in the House of the Lord" that is in the precincts of, or adjoining the Temple where refuse was cast, and which was therefore an appropriate place for the thirty pieces of silver of which the prophet speaks.

The material point is that the fragments to which I have directed attention were parts of vessels used in the Temple in the service of "the Molech," and that they dated in all probability from the concluding years of the Jewish monarchy. Josiah survived his great attempt at reformation only a few years. Assyria having been threatened by Egypt, he was so ill advised as to interfere, and endeavoured to arrest the advance of the Egyptian army. A battle was fought at Meggido, where the Israelites were routed and Josiah slain. The bent of Hebrew religious thought, both among believers and unbelievers, invariably connected temporal prosperity or adversity as the case might be, with divine pleasure or divine resentment,\* and it was therefore not surprising that the terrible disaster at Megiddo and its consequences were attributed by the discontented people to their abandonment of the worship of the Baalim and the Ashtaroth. The kingdom of Judah was laid under tribute; many of the Israelites were carried into captivity beyond the Nile. Hence the bitter reproaches addressed to Jeremiah by the exiles in Egypt: "Since we left off to burn incense to the queen of heaven (ML Ch Th) and to pour out drink offerings to her" as "we and our fathers, our kings and our princes have done in the cities of Judah, and in the streets of Jerusalem, we have wanted all things, and have been consumed by the sword and by famine." (Jer. xliv, 17, 18.) At all events, on the death of Josiah, the Jews and their rulers appear to have acted on the assumption that the deceased monarch had committed a blunder. The former religion was re-established, so far as we can judge from the little that is told us by the sacred historian of Josiah's sons and grandsons, who in turn filled the throne of Judah. It is conveyed in the familiar refrain, "they did

\* This sentiment is very clearly exhibited in the inscription on the Moabite Stone.

evil in the sight of the Lord according to all that their fathers had done." Then came the crowning disaster. The siege and capture of Jerusalem by the Babylonian monarch. The spoilation of the Temple. The removal of all its treasures, and the carrying away into captivity of the bulk of the population. To the Jews the night seemed at its blackest, but still it was the harbinger of the dawn. When they returned from the Chebar to the Jordan, and proceeded to rear the walls of the second Temple, a new era was commencing; Baal, and Molech, and Ashtoreth had vanished never to return. The overthrow of the Babylonian empire by Cyrus gave the Israelites their liberty, and when Ezra proceeded to Jerusalem, "with the Book of the Law in his hands," his companions, like himself, were the staunch maintainers of that pure monotheism which was then firmly established in Judea, and has continued amongst the Children of Israel uncorrupted to the present day.

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## BIBLICAL RESEARCH.

### JANNES AND JAMBRES WITHSTANDING MOSES.

I HAVE received with great pleasure the statement of your Committee that "they desire that their Journal should become as much as possible a record of all discoveries connected with Biblical Research." Few Biblical names are more interesting than those of Jannes and Jambres, or Kamr(es) as the Select Papyri seem to call him. The two are named by St. Paul to Timothy as agents, in a general way, who "withstood Moses;" and if we find their names connected with that of Moses in pure Egyptian papyri, in other words, if the epoch of Moses is the epoch of Jannes, and the epoch of Jannes is the epoch of Seti II and Bai-n-Ra, then many an old stop-gap theory of a merely Egyptian chronology will have to make way for the chronology of the epoch of Moses, in which the Bible and the papyri are very closely intertwined.

Most unfortunately, the fifth Anastasi Papyrus, which I shall chiefly make use of, has been injured at the name of Kamr(es), and the name only occurs once; but we shall find him engaged with a James in a very important military business; a business the very object of which was to "withstand" a person named Moses. With respect to the reading of the name of Kamr(es) or Kamr, the authority of my lamented friend and former pupil, Charles Goodwin, is so great, that I am much pleased to see that he follows me so far as he goes, and differs from me only in saying nothing about the letter *r*. In the "Cambridge Essays," p. 262, he reads: "Ka Kam (Black Bull)." He agrees that Ka is a title; and therefore that the true name begins with Kam.

The passage to which I would first call your attention is in the fifth Anastasi Papyrus, beginning from plate 18, line 6. It contains a sequence of military orders from this Kamr(es) or Jambres. Happily we can here learn in a few lines a good deal about the man, and, to begin with, it is a great thing to know which side he was fighting for, in the anarchy around



him. On every occasion the scribes connected with him parade the grand titles of Seti II, and, with Jannes and Bek-n-Ptah, the three profess they will sing for Seti eternal songs; and "Oh," say they, "may he make for us myriads of festivals." Now in presence of Jambres who (as we shall soon see) could initiate the moving of troops in Edom, we have of course to ask ourselves was he a lieutenant of the Regent, Bai-n-Ra, or was Bai-n-Ra dead? Unless the latter was the case, I cannot in any degree picture the situation. Mr. Goodwin ("Society of Biblical Archaeology," vol. ii, part 2, p. 359) is astonished at the frantic loyalty shown to Bai-n-Ra (2nd Anastasi, p. 5). An explanation which merely supposes him to have been a king does not sufficiently account for the fact. This was in Goodwin's day the general opinion, which not only leads to nothing, but Miss Corbeaux had already forcibly pointed out the weakness of such a supposition. In fact it rests upon the moral impossibility that the great Rameses II should have dismembered the empire in his own lifetime. Seti II also and his children would not have dedicated royal statues to Bai-n-Ra had there been even a suspicion of treason resting on such a Bai-n-Ra as the conqueror at Prosopis. The fact that Seti and his children allowed these statues to be erected has doubtless been the chief reason why he has been thought to have been a king. But to this the answer is sufficient that, in gratitude for his great services, the statues were erected *during the lifetime of Rameses II himself*. In fact at Medinet Abou the statue of Bai-n-Ra was actually placed *before* that of his own father. This I should say instead of proving, clearly disproves that he can have been then considered as anything more than a regent. To sum up then, it seems most probable that Bai-n-Ra exercised royal functions for about five years, and that his death took place about this time, which event, coupled with the absence of his half-brother Seti II, in Æthiopia, brought forward Jambres, and was the principal cause of the rising of the Semites, which eventuated the Exodus. While alive, his mere name, and the tribute in corn which he wisely gave the Khita, would suffice to keep things tolerably quiet, but "après lui le deluge." The key of the situation seems to have been at Edom, and a regent friendly to the Semites, and pretending to be so to the Hittites, might do much from Edom which could not be done from Æthiopia.

Again, Jambres and his companions have made it quite clear in these papyri that they worshipped Amen-Ra, the great Theban god, but then it is equally clear that Bai-n-Ra, acting for his father Rameses, built a strong place, avowedly to connect Egypt with the foreign men of Jaha (2nd Anastasi, p. 1). Four deities are mentioned as patrons of the four sides of it. Amen could not of course be well left out, but the other three were Semitic, viz., Sutech, Ashteroth, and Sati. In the face of this solid fact, how can Ægyptologists have been so blinded by the early military successes of Rameses II as to forget what his glories led to, viz., tribute to the Khita in his own lifetime, and a general preparation for the Exodus soon after his death. Wonderful discoveries in this very month of August show us that the mummy of the great

Rameses, at some time not yet known, was inclosed in a plain sycamore case, and dropped into a ditch to hide it from foreigners.\*

After Bai-n-Ra's death the unity of Egypt depended upon the powerful and prosperous Khita, and the strategy of Jambres, so far as we know it, was equal to the occasion. The difficulty was first, to reinforce Zoar, the key of the position for defence against the Northerners; secondly, not to offend the Khita; and, thirdly, to keep a hold on his own Semitic troops. The device by which he secured the first and third desideratum was ingenious. He ordered a corps of loyal Midianites to Thuku or Edom, and kept in his own hands, as a pledge, the books containing the genealogies or roll call of the soldiers. This fact neither Goodwin nor Brugsch have perceived. It rests upon the following first part of the order I have been mentioning. (Anastasi 5, xvii, 6.) "Communication. When my letter gets to you, you are to bring the Midianites of the captivity to the plain in face of Tasak(arta), with an intimation given thus, viz., 'Ye (the Midianites) are not to carry away the genealogies of the people.' I will keep them in my hand in a written document. Then do you (viz., my officers) take notes, while you cause the people to pass along before their signaling officers, for the object of arriving at Thuku. I give you command to carry them across (viz., the genealogies) for the people; I who am Captain of Archers, Bull Kamr(es) of Thuku, to Captain of Archers Ani and Captain of Archers Bek-n-Ptah in the Palace."

This translation (in a primitive form) I gave in my Exodus Papyri, A.D. 1855. In 1858, Goodwin, reviewing me, did not see his way to giving his own version, as he would have been brought face to face with the problem of Jambres the Bull of Thuku. Brugsch too, in 1879, passes it over in silence. It is, in my opinion, the very key-note which harmonizes all around it.

In passing on to the next part of the paragraph we come to the sign of a stop. In such a case it is not certain that the coming paragraph must be connected with what we have just read. Nevertheless, the context seems to give us a connection, and if it were not for the tautalising gaps at the most important points, we should all probably agree that we have before us what seems to be an order to close in on the south, given to another officer, Amen-mesu, son of Bek-n-Ptah. Even if this part of the papyri were not otherwise interesting, it has achieved such notoriety that I ought not to pass it by without notice. Dr. Brugsch (Vol. II, "History," p. 358) has attributed its preservation to Divine Providence, and calls it the most precious memorial of the epoch. He follows Goodwin in considering that it refers to two runaway slaves. Now considering that a singular pronoun cannot agree with a plural noun, I consider that there was only one slave, who was a slave to two people, viz., Bek-n-Ptah and Amen-mesu, father and son, and that he was not running away, but carrying

\* September. They now say that the above mummy was that of Rameses XII.



messages ; and that the order refers to the movement of a large body of troops. The reason Goodwin must have had for what he must have considered an improvement upon my version, was doubtless that the preposition *m-sa* may mean *behind*. No doubt it may ; but then, on the other hand, it no less frequently means *by the side of*. An instance of this may be found at Plate 13, line 1, of this papyrus—"While I hold thy heart *near* me." I am astonished to find in Pierret's dictionary that the sense of *behind* is given exclusively. "Communication. Seeing that I have given orders in the halls of the Palace on the 9th of Epiphi at time of night by the side of the *servant for two*, and considering that I am about to start for Zoar of Thuku on the 12th, to tell them to pass to the south, and to give orders for the passage on the Epiphi, I arrived at the fortress. They told me they had taken the field to pass Ta-Anab, north of the Migdol of Seti I like Baal. My order is for you to go. I have arranged for everything that could happen." Surely the running away of a couple of servants (even if they were Moses and Aaron) cannot have necessitated the movements of large bodies of troops like this. The order then proceeds, "Dispatch with them the bearer of the roll-call : dispatch ever so many men with them. I have taken care for everything that could happen, and do you give signals for great numbers of people beside them."

The English of all this seems to be that the commander-in-chief, Jambres, having received information that a body of Semites were escaping, ordered Bek-n-Ptah, who was somewhere south, to allow them to cross his front (just as Marius did with the Teutons), but to take careful notes from his corps in observation.

As had been expected, they were found to be marching north, and Amen-Mesu, son of Bek-n-Ptah, was then consequently ordered to close up south. The "Servant for two" carried the necessary orders to the two corps, while Jambres took one more night's rest, and next day drove on towards Edom.

The next portion of the papyrus is a very curious, and very natural letter from the young Amen-mesu, whom we have seen to be in active service in the field, to his elderly father Bek-n-Ptah, at the depôt apparently of the troops employed. Instead of describing what he heard, and saw about him, he most dutifully, but most annoyingly says, "Prithee, send me word of thy condition." "Yea, not a man of those whom thou hast sent to visit me has told me concerning thy condition." "Moreover, send thou me some good loaves, and 50 small cakes ; the messenger brought 20 of them," etc. This translation is Goodwin's.

We next (Plate 21, line 8) have a letter which according to all rules ought to be of most particular importance, as it is from a royal scribe. Royal scribes were very great personages indeed, especially serving as generals, which this one did. His name was Rameses. He writes to one Avari, whom he orders to proceed to Bubastis, where he is to put the signals to work, and to report himself at the place agreed upon. He was not to go and stand at this place, and that place ; he was to go under command of the priest Rameses, where the military and royal Rameses

would join him at the breakage of the waters. "I am angry with you," he says, "beyond speech, your throwing away your business. I appoint you to work at the breakage, whatever state it is in."

Neither Goodwin nor Brugsch have said a word to this. This breakage of waters, however, cannot have been a small matter, so excited was the royal scribe. Whatever it was, it is probable he would seek to diminish its importance in his letters home. Bubastis was a central position between the fields of Zoan, the city of Rameses, and Tabnet, where so much was taking place, as shown in my last paper. My own view is that there must have been partial concentrations of the Hebrews with the mixed multitudes, previous to the grand march; and that the Egyptian scribes in these papyri give their account of the partial events here and there.

We must remember that the Nile would be at about its lowest on the first day of Abib, on and about B.C. 1291. A body in marching order might, I suppose, cut a dyke so as to cross over safely, while the downward water rushed out in the form of a wall on to the surrounding country. The gap would then tend to get filled up, and the royal scribe may have done no better than our own Duke of York at Walcheren.

In giving this description, the candid reader will remember that I am not professing to describe what did happen, but what the Egyptians said happened. The same caution applies to the name and deeds of Jannes. Six times is he named in these papyri, and the religious public has a right to ask of Egyptologists is this so?

Twenty-five years ago I showed the fact, and not one step of investigation into his history has been made; and now Professor Brugsch gives us the astounding transmodification of the letter *i* into *z*, and calls him Zani! This necessitates some examination into his individuality.

The honest Goodwin, as quoted above, names a Captain of Archers as "Ani." I confess there is a difficulty about this name, for facts are stubborn things. So in the days of Queen Elizabeth, there was a mighty Keltic man, named Shan, and to have called him John, without any explanation, might doubtless have led to some difficulty. Now the name in the papyri is written in four ways.

pp. 113 and 119.	1.	𐤀	𐤁	𐤀	𐤁	𐤀
pp. 117 and 140.	2.	𐤀	𐤁	𐤀	𐤁	𐤀
p. 119.	3.	𐤀	𐤁	𐤀	𐤁	𐤀
p. 78 (back).	4.	𐤀	𐤁	𐤀	𐤁	𐤀

To begin with, I consider that the double mark in 1 and 3 is a sign of reduplication, so that the name which Goodwin wrote above as "Ani," is really "Anni." Another thing to remark is that in page 117, the name



spelt as No. 2 is ordered to escort some obelisks, and in page 119 progress is reported by No. 3. Surely, therefore, the names 2 and 3 were *meant* to be identical. Which then of these names is nearest to the spoken name of the famous Jannes? Of course it will be said that I am prejudiced, but then St. Paul shows that there really was a man named as in No. 3. I retain then the opinion that I was right in my Exodus Papyri, twenty-five years ago. Dr. Brugsch's present opinion is absolutely incomprehensible. He reads No. 4 as Zani (*see* Vol. II, p. 127). If this were so, Jordan and Joppa should be read Zordan and Zoppa. I may as well mention here that the discoveries here attributed by Dr. Brugsch (II, 127) to Chabas were mine; as also was that of Baal-Zephon, in the 8th Anastasi, line 6, attributed here to Goodwin. The letter concerning the obelisks is valuable, in stating that Jannes and others were "of the king's children," brought up probably as Moses himself was, and I strongly suspect that the obelisks had been made for Rameses II, and were being appropriated by Seti II. Their transportation seems to be dated in the 13th year, and I know of no king but Seti II who could have had a 13th year at this time. If this is correct, it would be the very year of the return of Seti II from Ethiopia, when probably the mummy of Rameses II was lying in the ditch.

The next letter is very curious. It opens with a negotiation between Jannes and "the great man." I am aware that Pi-oer, which means "the great man," was also a proper name, but the real name appears at the end of the negotiation. The great man had demanded a census, which had evidently been agreed to (by Jambres, I suppose). The real fight was on a point of detail, which was clung to earnestly by each party for reasons which we may guess at, but cannot well know. The question was whether the names were to be called out and answered *ciâ voce*, or written on tickets. An answer was expected that those in the actual custody of Jambres might use tickets, while those who had escaped over to the great man might use their voices. I may as well say at once that the great man was Moses himself. This compromise was to be nominally rejected, but this was to be on the plea that Jannes knew nothing about the foreign names and signals. Moses however was to be considered as on an equality with the nobles (*i.e.*, the Egyptian nobles), and if a few more objections could be slipped in while the enemy listened, it would be held that he (*viz.*, Jannes) had done his best. Thus fruitlessly did Jannes and Jambres withstand Moses.

Here is the letter (plate XXV), "Communication. To wit. Seeing that I have sent the Captain of Archers, Jannes, captain of captains, to consult with the great man, it is because he had said to us, I demand a census of the people; and because (on his statement) we were to call out loud the name of each person who owned the name. Now let it be known to them I am not for the plan of calling out.

"I wish — and Mai of Thuku\* to give them tickets in writing.

\* Mai held the highly important post of head of those Midianites who remained loyal to Egypt on the defection of the mixed multitudes under Moses.

It is between himself and God if they do not give tickets in due form. Likewise if an answer should arrive to say, 'Let it be that the names should be called out for those in your custody, for you brought them there, then you are not to make a question of the correspondence of the name called out to the ticket written, and brought there. You are to say I am not capable of reckoning with you the signals of the Midianites, with their signal officers. Thou canst repeat them, for thou art among them of a verity. Lo thou art Moses of the Semites. Art thou not a noble? Thou wast brought from another place (viz., Midian, I suppose), to set thyself on an equality with the nobles. Thou hast learnt their words of command, the answering to their names. I give orders that — should be brought, — their language with the language of those who live in Egypt, for thou art of the race of the Midianites.

"In giving our instructions again, a few words. While you listen, do what you can. Yea, are not these things to be reckoned to you. Your kind Excellency will bear the burden."

DUNBAR J. HEATH.

ESHER, SURREY, *September, 5.*

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## THE PLACE OF STONING.

(Reprinted from the "*Athenæum*," by permission of the Proprietors.)

### I.

JERUSALEM, *August 17, 1881.*

THE discovery of an interesting tomb of the Herodian period in the rocky knoll to the west of Jeremiah's Grotto was recently announced in the columns of the *Athenæum*. Lieut. Conder suggests that this tomb may possibly be the "Sepulchre in the Garden" of the Gospel narrative. Whether or not the distinguished explorer is right in his conjecture will probably always remain an open question. I desire simply to call attention to one or two facts which will, I think, throw some light on the name "Place of Stoning," mentioned by Lieut. Conder in connection with the lately discovered "sepulchre."

It is well known that when Jerusalem was in the possession of the Crusaders the northern gate of the city (a predecessor of the present Damascus Gate) was known as the Gate of St. Estienne—St. Etienne—St. Stephen, from its proximity to a church of that name, situated outside the walls on the spot where, according to the traditions of that age, the proto-martyr had been stoned. From the account given in "*La Cité de Jérusalem*" (*vide* Appendix ii to vol. ii of Robinson's "*Biblical Researches*") it appears that the church of St. Stephen was built on the opposite side of the road to that on which stood the "donkey-house of the Knights Hospitallers," the ruins of which building were discovered by Col. Warren some years ago. Saewulf (p. 43, "*Early Travels in Palestine*," "*Bohn's Antiquarian*



Library") tells us that "the stoning of St. Stephen took place about two or three arbalist shots without the wall to the north, where a very handsome church was built, which has been entirely destroyed by the pagans." These notices evidently point to the "Place of Stoning," that is, the rocky knoll above mentioned, as the site of the mediæval church of St. Stephen, and it seems probable that one or other of the two or three rock-tombs on the spot may have been the last resting-place of Eudoxia, the empress of Theodosius II. A French guide-book for the use of Latin pilgrims to Palestine ("Guide Indicateur des Sanctuaires et Lieux Historiques de la Terre Sainte") states (p. 252), on the authority of William of Tyre and Albert Aquensis, that Eudoxia was buried in the church of St. Stephen, which she built.

It is remarkable how, during the lapse of centuries, the monkish traditions as to the place where Stephen was stoned varied. Arculf (A.D. 700) was shown the site of Stephen's martyrdom on Mount Zion ("Early Travels in Palestine," p. 5), Bernard the Wise (A.D. 867) mentions the place as on Mount Zion (p. 28), Saewulf (A.D. 1102), and the author of "La Citéz de Jérusalem" (A.D. 1187) place it north of the city, and Sir John Mandeville (A.D. 1322) on the east, over against the Valley of Jehoshaphat. The spot now shown to pilgrims as that where Stephen suffered is on the way from the St. Stephen's Gate of our days (during the Middle Ages it was the Gate of Jehoshaphat) to Gethsemane.

## II.

JERUSALEM, August 25th, 1881.

Having in my letter of the 17th called attention to a few historical notices concerning the mediæval church of St. Stephen, which is alleged to have been built by, and to have contained the tomb of, Eudoxia, and having also made some remarks on the vacillating character of the monkish traditions, I would now say a few words about the Jewish opinions respecting the "Place of Stoning." From various passages in the Talmud, especially Sanhedrin, fol. 23, 1, Bab. Sanhedr., fol. 42, 2, in explanation of

Leviticus xxiv, 14, we learn that the *בֵּית הַסֵּקִיָּלָה*, Beth Hasekeelah, was without the camp, or more correctly, "without three camps," *חוּץ לְגֵי מַחֲנֵה*, the first *מַחֲנֵה*, or camp, being the place of the Shechinah, *i.e.*, the Temple, the second the camp of the Levites, and the third, Jerusalem, the camp of Israel. In other words, the Place of Stoning was situated outside the city, always supposing the tribunal which condemned the malefactor to have been held within the city.

Maimonides, Sanhedr. xii, 3, p. 96, is of opinion that if the trial took place outside the city, then the place of execution was situated at a distance of *שְׁלֹשָׁה מִילֵין*, that is, three times the distance a person resident in the city was allowed to walk on the Sabbath from the place where the

tribunal sat. We are not, however, told in what direction from the city the place of execution lay. One local Jewish tradition considers the Convent of the Cross (el Mûsallabeh) to be situated on the site of the בית הסקילה, and another points to the ground above Jeremiah's Grotto with the precipice as the Place of Stoning. This is, perhaps, the Place of Stoning alluded to in the notice in the "Athenæum" mentioned in my letter of last week. The general opinion amongst those Jews of whom I made enquiries on the subject of the location of the Beth Hasekeelah, who did not seem to know anything of, and to whom I took care not to mention, the traditional sites I have just referred to, is that the Place of Stoning was situated outside the city and not far from the Damascus Gate, or rather the place now occupied by that gate.

The chief arguments in favour of the supposition that the place above Jeremiah's Grotto really was the Jewish Place of Stoning seem to be (1) the tradition; (2) its position outside the city; and (3) the adjacent precipice, though the last does not appear to have been an absolutely necessary adjunct to the Beth Hasekeelah, which, it seems, was a sort of scaffold ("ein Gerüst," Rabbinowicz, 'Einleitung in die Gesetzgebung und die Medicin des Thalmuds, aus dem Französischen übersetzt,' Trier, 1881) from ten to twelve feet high (*see* Lightfoot on Acts vii, 58), or twice a man's height.

If, therefore, we are able to identify the place above Jeremiah's Grotto with the ancient Jewish Place of Stoning, where after death the bodies of executed criminals were hung up by the hands (a proceeding suggestive of crucifixion), the question very naturally suggests itself as to whether this spot may not have been the Golgotha of the New Testament, conspicuous "afar off" (Mark xv, 40, Luke xxiii, 49), near a great high road leading up "from the country" (Mark xv, 21, Luke xxxiii, 26), and "nigh to" but "without" the city gate. Compare John xix, 20, with Hebrews xiii, 12.

This theory seems to have great probabilities in its favour, though, as I remarked in my former letter, it will probably always remain an open question as to whether the recently discovered Herodian tomb be the actual "Sepulchre in the Garden" or not.

J. E. HANANER.

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## SITE OF MEGIDDO.

ABERDEEN, 30th March, 1881.

ROBINSON identifies Megiddo with Lejjun, and Conder with Mujedda in the Jordan valley.

There is one important notice of Megiddo that seems not to have been taken into account in determining the site, 2 Kings ix, 27, "But when Ahaziah, the king of Judah, saw this, he fled by the way of the garden



house. And Jehu followed after him, and said, Smite him also in the chariot. And they did so at the going up to Gur, which is by Ibleam. And he fled to Megiddo, and died there." This seems to me absolutely to exclude Mujedda from identification with the Megiddo here mentioned. Jehu would come from the direction of Mujedda. It is not likely that Ahaziah would flee in that direction, but rather towards Jerusalem. This agrees with one of the places mentioned in the same verse—Ibleam. According to Conder's "Handbook," this is to be identified with Wady Belameh, south of Jenin. This is exactly the course that Ahaziah would likely take, but it is irreconcilable with Megiddo being either Lejjun or Mujedda.

There are three passages in the Bible which give definite indications regarding the site of Meggido.

1. Judges v, 19, "Then fought the kings of Canaan in Taanach by the waters of Megiddo." The obvious meaning of this is that the battle was fought in Taanach, and that Taanach was by or over the waters of Megiddo. Whether Taanach be a town or district, if the battle was fought south of Tabor, the only waters in which it could be fought are some of the sources of the Kishon. It is a question, however, whether the words may not be rendered "The kings of Canaan, in Taanach, by the waters of Meggido, fought." The Targum of Jonathan paraphrases the text thus, "then the kings of Canaan began war; in Taanach did they dwell, and extended even to the waters of Megiddo." Jonathan was probably well acquainted with Palestine, and felt the difficulty of connecting Taanach either with the battle between Barak and Sisera, or with the waters of Megiddo. The only other of the ancient versions whose author we may suppose to have known Palestine, the Syriac version, indicates a consciousness of the same difficulty. It drops Taanach altogether, and translates "The kings came and fought by the waters of Megiddo." Thus the passage, in the light cast on it by these two translations, rather opposes than favours the idea of any close connection between Taanach and Megiddo.

2. 2 Kings ix, 27. The flight of Ahaziah. The localities indicated here are the garden-house, or Beth Gur, the ascent of Gur near Ibleam, Megiddo. If the situation of Megiddo were once determined, it would determine the direction of the other places; or if the position of the other places were determined, it would determine the direction of Megiddo. Lieutenant Conder, in his "Handbook," where there is no theory to support, identifies Ibleam with Belumub, near Jenin, in which case Jenin might indicate the site of Beth Gur. In the last number of the *Quarterly Statement* he identifies it with Yebla. It is thus evident that mere similarity of name is not a sufficient guide. We must turn to other considerations to find out the direction of Ahaziah's flight. Jehu approached Jezreel from the direction of Mujedda. It is not likely that Ahaziah would flee in that direction, or that he would flee in a direction that would cut him off from his own kingdom, Judah. It is most probable that he would take the road for Jerusalem, and the natural road would be through

Samaria. The account in Chronicles says that he was hid in Samaria. Jehu, when he was on the way to Samaria, met the brethren of Ahaziah. It seems to have been then the recognized route for the princes of Judah to take in visiting their kinsmen in Jezreel. The whole connection of the passage would indicate Jenin as the road which Ahaziah took rather than Beit Jemm. It would be absurd to suppose that he went thence to Lajjun, but it is as difficult to see how he would go thence to Mujedda.

3. 2 Kings xxiii, 29. The battle between Josiah and Nechoh could hardly have taken place at Lajjun. Lieutenant Conder's objections to this seem unanswerable. But the corresponding passage in Chronicles speaks of the battle as taking place in the *valley* of Megiddo. Mujedda would be a good situation from which to attack an army wishing to cross the Jordan, as Lieutenant Conder points out. But to a non-military reader it appears not to be secure against an enemy coming up from Egypt, unless the heights to the west were also occupied, and if they were occupied, it is more likely that the battle would take place towards Jeniu.

With regard to the two sites, Lajjun and Mujedda, the former seems to have nothing to support it, the latter has its name. Biblical indications do not point to either, but rather to some point on the road, or near the road, from Jezreel to Samaria, where an army approaching from Egypt by the coast might be encountered.

4. The battle of Megiddo. We read in 2 Kings xxiii, 29, that Nechoh slew Josiah at Megiddo when he had seen him. And his servants carried him in a chariot dead from Megiddo, and brought him to Jerusalem." In 2 Chron. xxxv, 22, we read that he came to fight in the *valley* of Megiddo. There seems also to be little doubt that the reference, Zech. xii, 11, "the mourning of Hadad Rimmon in the valley of Megiddon"—is to the same event.

These are all the references we have to this battle in Scripture. If Nechoh's army followed the usual route by the plains, the only possible part of the plain of Eudraclon, in which the battle could have been fought would have been about the head, somewhere near Jenin. To a non-military reader Mujedda would not seem a very safe position unless the heights to the west were occupied, and if they were occupied, the battle would more likely be on the western side towards Jeniu. It is difficult, too, to conceive why Josiah should have allowed Nechoh to march all the way up the coast without attacking him.

But it is highly probable that this was not the route which Nechoh took. Herodotus (II, 159) informs us that he constructed a powerful fleet in the Mediterranean, which he used as he had opportunity; that he invaded Syria, and defeated the Syrians at Migdol. The natural inference is that he invaded Syria by sea. He was obviously anxious to avoid all quarrel with the king of Judah, and to strike a blow at the Assyrian power. The point from which he could most effectively do this with a fleet at his command was obviously Accia, and it is probable that this was the base of his operations. He would consider the kingdom of the ten tribes as part of the possessions of Assyria while Jenin laid claim to it.



Hence the conflict between the two. Migdol has been considered a corruption of Megiddo, but on the map there is a place marked el Mejdil, south of Accho, which an army advancing from the latter place would naturally occupy in going to encounter an army coming from Jerusalem. It may have been the head-quarters of the Egyptian army, and Hadad Rimmon that of the Jewish army, while the battle would probably take place between the two.

While the Bible does not supply data to enable us to determine with absolute certainty the site of Megiddo, all indications point to the plain of Erdraclo as being the valley of Megiddo.

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### REMARKS ON THE "JAM SUPH."

In the *Quarterly Statement* for April, p. 107, the writer of the "Notes on the Topography of Exodus" says, "It is remarkable that throughout the direct narrative there is no mention of a Jam Saph. Let us look at Exodus viii, v. 17, there we are told that God led them (the Israelites) not by way of the land of the Philistines, although it was near . . . but God led the people about (the original implies a circuitous route) the way of the wilderness, literally Jam Saph (there is no of); and verse 20 says God led them to the edge of the wilderness (clearly still the same as before, Jam Saph); there we find them encamped. The narrative then is continued in Chap. xiv. And God spake to Moses, 'Speak . . . that they turn and encamp before Pihahiroth between Migdol and the sea.'" Here we find the direction of their march altered, they are to turn. Now let me remark that the writer having stated that they had encamped on the edge of the wilderness, defined by Jam Saph, must in his continuation of the narrative when he speaks of the sea of necessity refer to that particular sea described as Jam Saph, and so I would say throughout the narrative, and this is confirmed by the repetition of Jam Saph in the song in chap. xv, and in v. 22 we have it stated that Moses brought Israel from Jam Saph.

Further, in Deut. xi, 4, we have these words of Moses in his exhortation to the people, "What He did unto the army of Egypt, and how He made the water of the Jam Saph to overflow them as they pursued after you." Other passages in the Old Testament clearly state that it was Jam Saph that was dried up (see Joshua ii, 10, iv, 23). Joshua xxiv, 6, relates Joshua's speech before his death. He was an eye-witness, and says it was the Jam Saph. Surely these places are rather too numerous to be accounted for, as Mr. Greville Chester does, by saying that the Jam Saph has crept into the text; can any one doubt with these passages before them that the Jam Saph was the sea where the miraculous preservation of the Israelites and destruction of their enemies took place? In the New Testament, Acts vii, 36, St. Stephen mentions ἐρυθρὰ θάλασση, the Red Sea. This alone would prove little; but on turning over the same passage

in the Syrian version I find this translated as in the Old Testament "Jam Suph." Some will perhaps say this is a mere tradition, but anyhow we have Scripture traditions stating that it was the Jam Suph. The Jam Suph is first mentioned in Exodus x, 19, in connection with the plague of locusts. An east wind brought the locusts, a west wind took them away and carried them into the Jam Suph. Surely the description here given seems well to answer to the position of the sea east of Egypt called the Red Sea.

G. F. S. STOOKE VAUGHAN.

## HIDING PLACES IN CANAAN.

### III. SAMSON AND THE ROCK ETAM.

DISTANCE was nothing to the roaming lion of Dan. Eager to prey on the Philistines, he went down to Ashkelon, though both Ekron and Ashdod were nearer to Timnath; at another time he carried away the gates of Gaza to within sight of Hebron. When therefore he wanted to be quiet, Samson might easily have sauntered quite as far from home in going down to the top (lit. fissure) of the rock Etam.

In seeking then for this hiding place of the famous Danite, we must not groundlessly assume that it was in the vicinity of his native Zorah, but be guided solely by the following conditions required in the Bible:—

A. The rock Etam is in Hebrew called a *sela*; therefore it was a precipitous rock or crag.

B. It was in the tribe of Judah, as also was Lehi.

C. It was probably near to Lehi, where the Philistines having gone *up* spread themselves, and also to an eminence called Ramath-Lehi, close to which was a spring called En-hakkore.

D. Its position was such, that it is said (1) that Samson went *down* (from Timnath or Zorah?) and dwelt in the top of the rock Etam, and (2) that the men of Judah went *down* to the same place and brought him *up* from the rock to Lehi.

In "Tent Work," the rock Etam is placed at Beit 'Atâb, and the identification is there thought satisfactory. It must however be rejected, as it fails to satisfy A; for though it may be said to be pre-eminently a *rock*—a knoll of hard limestone, without a handful of arable soil, standing above deep ravines, still it has no claim whatever to be considered a *sela* or *crag*, if we compare it with known instances, viz., Petra and the precipices of the passage of Michmash. Further, it is not clear how the springs to the north-west of Zorah could represent En-hakkore in Lehi, for they are situated far *below* Beit 'Atâb, in Dan, while Lehi was in *Judah*, and the men of Judah brought Samson *up* and *not down* from the rock to Lehi.

Any candidate for the honour of being the rock Etam, must pass the preliminary examination required by *sela*.



Accordingly it is unnecessary to sift the suggestions that Samson's retreat was in one of the caves near Deir Dubban or Beit Jibrin, until a genuine *sela* reveals itself in that neighbourhood.

No position for the rock Etam seems to me more likely or suitable than one in Wâdy Urtas. This valley becomes a romantic gorge as we descend eastwards to the great cave of Khureitûn. Here, if not nearer to Solomon's pools, are found magnificent *crags*, fully deserving the title of *sela*. As this part is in the desert of *Judah*, conditions A and B are already satisfied.

The Ramah of Samuel was certainly (as it seems to me) just to the west of Solomon's pools. We have then a *Ramah* (with a spring adjacent) not far distant from a *sela* in Wâdy Urtas to answer to the Ramah in Lehi. This latter name appears to me to have been that of the valley extending north-east towards Rachel's sepulchre.

With Lehi in this position, the Philistines would naturally be said to go *up* to it in search of Samson, probably intending also, at the expense of Judah, to recoup themselves for their burnt corn with the rich harvest in Lehi or (else) in the valley of Rephaim. With the same precision of language, the men of Judah would be said to go *down* towards Khureitûn, and to bring Samson *up* to Lehi.

This position for the rock Etam is not really at variance with the statement that Samson went *down* (from Timnath *!*) to the top of the rock, though the long *ascent* preceding the *descent* is not alluded to. David (1 Chron. xiii, 6) went *up* to Kirjath-jearim (from Jerusalem) to bring *up* thence the Ark of God (to Jerusalem). Why may not an *ascent* be passed over in silence in Samson's case, just as well as a *descent* in David's? Thus a *sela* in Wâdy Urtas further satisfies C and D.

The name Etam still survives in 'Ain 'Atan, near Solomon's pools, and a city Etam at one time apparently existed in this district (2 Chron. xi, 6); though "the rock Etam" does not seem to me *necessarily* to mean that the rock was near a city of this name.

An Etam also occurs in 1 Chron. iv, 2, immediately after the mention of Zorathites, while the Zareathites (*i.e.*, the people of Zorah) and Eshtaulites seem in II, 50-54 to be connected with Bethlehem. This contact of the tribe of Judah with Dan at Zorah may have influenced Samson (even if he were not by descent connected with the immigrants from Bethlehem) to take refuge in their country when it was expedient for him to leave his own.

Not improbably then, through information given by Judah, the secret fissure in the crag Etam became the celebrated hermitage of the great Nazarite. But whether this could possibly be identical with the still more famous cave of Adullam of after time, must depend upon the precise kind of *hole* or *fissure* really described by the Hebrew word rendered "top" in the A.V.

## THE NATIVES OF PALESTINE.

We have from time to time been able to give papers on the manners and customs of the natives of Palestine, which have been received with great interest. The Rev. James Niel, formerly incumbent of Christ Church, Jerusalem, has just produced a work on the same subject, in which he embodies his own observations while resident in the country. Many of them are extremely interesting and valuable as illustrations of the Bible. We are permitted to quote one or two passages from this book. The first extract is on the measuring of corn.

One of the characteristic sights of Palestine, shortly after the harvest has been gathered in, is the measuring out of wheat and barley, which sometimes takes place in the corn-market, but more frequently in the courtyard of the purchaser's house. All families at this time, that is, during July and August, lay up in store the wheat which will be required to provide bread for the use of the household throughout the ensuing year, and also barley sufficient for their horses, mules, and asses during the same period. Samples are procured either from the farmer or merchant, and when approved the whole quantity ordered is delivered to the purchaser bound up in sacks. A professional measurer is always present on these occasions, and in the presence of the seller and buyer, or their representatives, duly proceeds to ascertain the contents of each sack. This is done by meting out the grain in a circular wooden measure in the shape of our own bushel, but less deep, called in Arabic a *timneh*. The measurer seats himself cross-legged on the ground, and proceeds to shovel the wheat or barley, as the case may be, into the *timneh* with both his hands until it is partly full. Next he seizes the measure, and shakes it strongly from side to side, by means of two or three rapid half turns, without raising it from the ground, in order that the grain may settle into a smaller space. This quick shaking together of the corn is a striking part of the process, and is very effective in forcing it to occupy less room. He then fills it further, and repeats the shaking from side to side, going over the same thing again and again until it is full up to the brim. As soon as this is the case, he gently but firmly presses upon it with his hands, so as to drive it into a yet smaller space. Finally, having first made a slight hollow on the top, he takes some more handfuls of grain, and very skilfully constructs a cone of corn upon the flat surface of the *timneh*, which he has now filled. He continues carefully to build up this cone until no more grain can possibly be held, and that which he adds begins to flow over and run down. Upon this the measure is considered to be of full weight, and is emptied into the purchaser's sack. This is the universal method by which grain is now meted out, and the price is always quoted at so much per *timneh*.

These professional measurers are often dishonest, taking bribes from seller or buyer, and in this case are very skilful in cheating either party as it suits their purpose. If it is to their interest to do so, while apparently going through the ordinary process, they can so contrive as to bring the contents of the measure to half a *rotlle*, or three pounds less than the proper quantity, involving a loss



to the purchaser of over 6 per cent. On the other hand, their dishonesty more commonly favours the merchants and townspeople, who buy from the poor *fellaheen*, the peasants. The cunning of the measurers in this way is said to be brought to the highest degree at *Nablous*, the ancient Shechem. If one of them in that town is bribed by the buyer of wheat, not only does he bring his measure to take up the largest possible quantity, but in raising it after it is flowing over, he secretly lifts up with the hand supporting the bottom of the measure a considerable quantity of grain, which is so swiftly and adroitly done as to escape the observation of the *fellah* who is selling it.

I have taken means carefully to ascertain the capacity of the Palestine *timneh*. It is true, different kinds of wheat differ in weight. The following measures give the contents in the case of the best quality. A *timneh* filled up to the brim, without being shaken or pressed, weighs six *rottles* and one-sixth, or just thirty-seven pounds. The same *timneh*, not only filled to the top but running over, that is, piled up above in the shape of a cone, also without being pressed and shaken, weighs seven *rottles* and one-third, or forty-four pounds. When, however, the measure in question is not only filled till it flows over, but is, at the same time, shaken together and pressed down, it holds just eight *rottles*, or forty-eight pounds.

No doubt it is to this simple and familiar custom that our Blessed Lord alludes, when He speaks under an allegory of the recompense of those liberal souls who shall assuredly themselves be made fat. "Give, and it shall be given unto you; good measure, pressed down, shaken together, running over, shall they give into your bosom [that is into the capacious natural pocket formed by that part of the loose Eastern shirt which is above the girdle]. For with what measure ye mete it shall be measured to you again" (Luke vi, 38; Matthew vii, 2; Mark iv, 24). The above facts lend far more power and definiteness to our Saviour's graphic illustration than we should at first sight have supposed it to contain. There is no less than eleven pounds' difference in weight between a "measure" filled to the brim, as we should fill it here, and one such as I have described filled according to the bountiful method of Bible lands, when it is "pressed down, shaken together, running over." In this latter case no less than about 30 per cent. is added to its worth!

The next extract illustrates a remarkable passage in Ezekiel (xxiv, 7, 8) with other passages.

A practice to be constantly noticed throughout Syria is that of hiding any blood, which may happen to be spilled on the ground, by covering it over with the surrounding soil or dust. If while you are on a journey a *Bedaween* of your escort only so much as cuts his hand, or suffers from bleeding at the nose, he is very careful to let the blood fall upon the earth, without leaving any stain upon his clothing or person, and he then and there buries it out of sight by scraping over it the sand or dust of the desert before he proceeds on his way. The reason which they give for this observance I have not been able to discover. Most probably it comes from the thought in Numbers that blood pollutes the land if left to lie upon it (Numbers xxxv, 3) and from the plain direction in the case of the huntsman who caught any beast or fowl, to "pour out the blood thereof, and cover it with dust" (Leviticus xvii, 13). It is reasonable to

suppose that this direction, like many other matters contained in the Law, embodied and sanctioned an already well-known and universal practice. Very likely it arose from anxiety lest any blood appearing upon the ground might by any possibility be construed to represent some act of violence, and thus, in the language of Scripture, "cause fury to come up to take vengeance." This, in a land where the law of blood-revenge causing endless sanguinary family feuds is so stringent, may well be no imaginary fear. In any case, it is deeply interesting to mark its observance at the present day. It would seem to be referred to in the strong figurative language of several passages, notably that where Job in the bitterness of his soul cries (Job xvi, 18),

"Earth, cover not thou my blood."

A very striking Scripture in connection with this Eastern usage is that in Ezekiel, where God foretells the judgments coming upon Jerusalem at the hands of the Chaldeans. These judgments are declared to be a retribution for the reckless violence and cruelty that had openly stalked through her streets. "For her blood is in the midst of her; she set it upon the bare rock; she hath not poured it upon the ground to cover it with dust. That it may cause fury to come up to take vengeance, I have set her blood upon the bare rock, that it should not be covered" (Ezekiel xxiv, 7, 8). There is here a force of meaning that might at first sight be overlooked. Jerusalem, as I shall have occasion elsewhere to explain at length, is essentially a rock city. The rock crops up to the surface in every part of it. In ancient times, before the rugged slopes and precipices of limestone and indurated chalk were choked up and covered over, as they are now, by mountains of *débris*, it appeared, as at the fortress of Jebus, with its walls resting on rock scarps in some places fifty feet high. Hence one of its proud titles was "The Tableland Rock."

## CITY OF DAVID.

PLYMOUTH, *March 24th*, 1881.

*The Editor, "Quarterly Statement" of the Palestine Exploration Fund.*

SIR,—Will you allow me to point out in reference to the question whether the "City of David" was on Ophel, as contended by the Rev. W. F. Birch; that on page 229 of the number for October 1880, Lieutenant Conder maintains, that "these royal sepulchres on Ophel are identical with the "field of burial of the kings" (2 Chron. xxvi, 23), where Uzziah was buried," and are a "*place distinct from the Royal Cemetery in the City of David.*"

Now if the two passages in which account is given of the burial of Uzziah, be compared together, it will be seen that the place where Uzziah was interred, was *in the City of David*. They are as follow:—

2 Kings xv, 7.

"So Azariah (Uzziah) slept with his fathers; and they buried him with his fathers *in the City of David*: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead."

2 Chron. xxvi, 23.

"So Uzziah slept with his fathers, and they buried him with his fathers in the field of the burial which *belonged to the Kings*; for they said, he is a leper: and Jotham his son reigned in his stead."



Two other passages (one of which shows the distinctness of the two places of sepulture) confirm the view that *both* were "*in the City of David.*" They are—

2 *Kings* xvi, 20.

"And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and was buried with his fathers *in the City of David*: and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead."

2 *Chron.* xxviii, 27.

"And Ahaz slept with his fathers, and they buried him in the city, *even* in Jerusalem: but they brought him not into the sepulchres of the Kings of Israel; and Hezekiah his son reigned in his stead."

In this latter passage the "sepulchres of the Kings of Israel" are evidently equivalent to the "sepulchres of David," whose existence on *Ophel* Mr. Conder says on same page (229, lines 6 and 7), cannot be denied.

It *follows* therefore, I venture to think, that the "City of David" wherein these kings were buried, must have been on *Ophel*.

Yours truly,

H. B. S. W.

# LIST OF DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS.

JUNE 21st, TO SEPTEMBER 30th, 1881.

*a* denotes Annual Subscriber.

\* \* \* If any omission or mistake be observed in the following lists, the Secretary will be very glad to be informed of it, and will rectify the error in the next *Quarterly Statement*.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>a</i> C. J. Alexander, Esq...	1	1	0				
<i>a</i> Capt. Anderdon, Esq.	1	0	0				
<i>a</i> F. H. Anson, Esq. ..	1	0	0				
C. Ashton, Esq. ..	1	0	0				
<i>a</i> T. H. Aston, Esq. ..	0	5	0				
<i>a</i> Rev. Canon Badecock ..	1	1	0				
<i>a</i> Rev. C. W. Barclay ..	1	1	0				
<i>a</i> Dr. Behrends ..	0	10	6				
<i>a</i> Walter Bernard, Esq., M.D...	1	1	0				
<i>a</i> E. R. Blackett, Esq. ..	0	10	6				
<i>a</i> Rev. W. R. Blackett ..	0	10	6				
<i>a</i> J. S. Blackett ..	0	10	6				
<i>a</i> Mrs. Blackett ..	0	10	6				
<i>a</i> Ven. Archdeacon Boutflower	2	2	0				
<i>a</i> Miss Bromhead ..	1	1	0				
<i>a</i> Rev. J. S. Broad ..	0	10	6				
<i>a</i> Rev. E. Browell ..	1	1	0				
<i>a</i> J. Brown, Esq. ..	1	1	0				
<i>a</i> R. Clayton Browne, Esq. ..	1	1	0				
<i>a</i> Rev. W. Bruce ..	0	10	6				
<i>a</i> George Burns, Esq. ..	7	0	0				
<i>a</i> Rev. D. M. Bynner ..	0	10	6				
H. Charlewood, Esq. ..	5	0	0				
<i>a</i> J. L. Cannon, Esq. ..	0	5	0				
<i>a</i> J. Cass, Esq. ..	0	5	0				
G. C. ..	5	0	0				
<i>a</i> W. C. ..	1	1	0				
<i>a</i> H. J. Clarke, Esq. ..	0	10	6				
<i>a</i> Miss E. Coleridge ..	1	1	0				
<i>a</i> Mrs. Collisson ..	1	1	0				
B. H. Collins, Esq., 1880 and							
1881 ..	4	0	0				
<i>a</i> Rev. J. Compston ..	0	5	0				
<i>a</i> Miss Copley ..	1	1	0				
<i>a</i> Mrs. Crewdson ..	1	1	0				
<i>a</i> R. P. Cuff, Esq. ..	1	0	0				
Mrs. Davies ..	2	0	0				
Miss Donaldson (don.) ..	3	3	0				
				Brought forward	51	12	6
				<i>a</i> T. O. Dudfield, Esq. ..	0	10	6
				<i>a</i> James Duncan, Esq. ..	2	2	0
				<i>a</i> Lord Ebury ..	2	2	0
				G. M. E. (don.) ..	100	0	0
				<i>a</i> Mrs. T. W. Franklyn ..	2	0	0
				<i>a</i> Mrs. Fremlin ..	2	0	0
				John Gadsby, Esq., 1880 and			
				1881 ..	2	2	0
				<i>a</i> W. Garnett, Esq. ..	1	1	0
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				Bishop of Goulburn, 1879 to			
				1881 ..	3	3	0
				<i>a</i> Rev. Thomas Grant ..	0	10	6
				<i>a</i> Col. M. R. Haig ..	1	0	0
				<i>a</i> H. Hankinson, Esq. ..	0	10	6
				G. Harris, Esq. ..	1	1	0
				<i>a</i> Rev. J. H. Harrison ..	1	1	0
				<i>a</i> Rev. W. J. Heale ..	1	1	0
				<i>a</i> Col. Hebbert ..	0	10	6
				Rev. T. C. Henley ..	1	1	0
				<i>a</i> Dowager Lady Herschel ..	1	0	0
				<i>a</i> Mrs. Hindé ..	1	0	0
				<i>a</i> Miss Hislop ..	0	5	0
				<i>a</i> S. Hobbs, Esq. ..	1	1	0
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				<i>a</i> J. R. Hutchinson, Esq. ..	1	0	0
				Lady Elizabeth Knox	0	10	0
				Lanark Parish Church	2	13	9
				<i>a</i> Miss Legg ..	0	10	6
				<i>a</i> Hon. and Rev. A. Legge ..	1	1	0
				<i>a</i> Bishop of Liverpool ..	1	1	0
				<i>a</i> D. Lumsden, Esq., 1880 and			
				1881 ..	2	0	0
				<i>a</i> A. W. M'Donell, Esq. ..	1	1	0
				<i>a</i> F. Mackinnon, Esq., 1880 and			
				1881 ..	20	0	0
				Carried forward	209	1	9
Carried forward	51	12	6				



LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward	209	1	9	Brought forward	238	4	1
aRev. D. Macaulay .. ..	1	0	0	Prof. J. H. Shayer .. ..	0	13	6
aMiss MacInnes .. ..	0	10	0	aRev. R. Shepherd .. ..	0	5	0
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aMitchell Library .. ..	0	10	6	aJ. Spencer, Esq. .. ..	0	10	0
aMrs. E. H. Mitchell .. ..	1	1	0	Lady Stirling .. ..	0	10	0
aRev. J. H. Moore .. ..	1	0	0	aJ. P. Stilwell, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
aW. W. Morrell, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	aRev. Thomas Stothert .. ..	0	10	6
aNorth and East Ridings Pro-				H. S. (don.) .. ..	3	0	0
vincial Grand Lodge, York-				aE. Strickland, Esq. .. ..	0	10	0
shire .. ..	1	1	0	aMrs. Sutton .. ..	0	10	6
Rev. O. Olseen .. ..	0	10	6	aRev. L. Taylor .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. G. D. W. Ommanney .. ..	1	0	0	aCapt. Taylor .. ..	0	10	6
aG. Parkinson, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. Archer Thompson .. ..	1	1	0
G. B. Perry, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0	aC. W. Tibbits, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
aMiss Pim .. ..	2	2	0	aRev. R. A. Tindall .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. Joshua Priestley .. ..	0	10	0	aRev. J. S. Tyacke .. ..	1	1	0
aMiss Prince .. ..	1	1	0	H. Vaughan, Esq. .. ..	10	0	0
Richmond Chapel Sunday				aR. Walker, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
School, Liverpool .. ..	1	3	8	aDr. Whitla .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. Dr. Ritchie .. ..	1	1	0	Miss Wight .. ..	2	2	0
aJas. Robertson, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0	Mrs. C. W. Willis .. ..	1	1	0
aCapt. H. Rogers .. ..	1	0	0	aRev. Dr. Wickes .. ..	0	10	6
aJ. Rountree, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	aRev. J. S. Wilson .. ..	1	0	0
aRev. W. Sanday .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. W. J. Wingate .. ..	0	10	6
aJ. A. Saunders, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	Mrs. Wolf .. ..	5	0	0
aRev. Prof. Sayce .. ..	1	0	0	aH. K. Wood, Esq., 1880 and			
aS. Scott, Esq. .. ..	2	2	0	1881 .. ..	2	2	0
aRev. G. H. Scott .. ..	0	10	0	aMrs. Worsley .. ..	1	1	0
aA. Semple Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aJ. W. Wright, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0
aRev. E. J. Selwyn .. ..	1	1	0	Jas. Young, Esq., LL.D. .. ..	5	0	0
aMiss Sharpe .. ..	0	10	6				
Carried forward	238	4	1	Total .. ..	285	15	5

LOCAL SOCIETIES.

*Acknowledged in detail under special heading.*

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward	285	15	5	Brought forward	351	0	5
Bath .. ..	2	2	0	Lichfield .. ..	2	15	6
Birkenhead .. ..	6	5	0	Manchester .. ..	11	9	0
Brighton .. ..	4	6	6	Norwich .. ..	2	2	0
Chelmsford .. ..	8	8	6	Plymouth .. ..	5	2	6
Falmouth .. ..	16	11	0				
Greenock .. ..	26	11	0		372	9	5
Lincoln .. ..	1	1	0	From other sources	880	15	8
Carried forward	351	0	5	Total .. ..	1,253	5	1

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BATH.

	£	s.	d.
July 16.—Smith, Esq.			
aRev. C. R. Davy ..	2	2	0

BIRKENHEAD.

	£	s.	d.
July 1.—By cash ..	6	5	0
Rev. P. R. Robin ..	2	2	0
Rev. W. J. Wingate	1	1	0
S. Stitt, Esq. ..	1	1	0
H. Bell, jun., Esq.	1	0	0
Rev. Canon Feilden	0	10	6
Rev. W. R. Prichard	0	10	6

BRIGHTON.

	£	s.	d.
July 14.—By cash ..	1	11	6
Sept. 22.— „ ..	2	15	0
Rev. W. S. Fowler	1	1	0
Rev. T. Calvert ..	0	10	6
G. Lowe Reid, Esq.	2	2	0
Ven. Archdeacon Hannah	1	1	0

CHELMSFORD.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
July 6.—By cash ..	6	12	0				
Aug. 26.— „ ..	6	12	0				
Sept. 16. „ ..	0	15	6				
Rev. H. F. Johnson, LL.B. ..	0	10	6	aMr. S. Turner ..	0	10	6
aR. H. Crabb, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aMr. H. Coleman ..	0	10	6
Rev. G. B. Hamilton ..	0	10	6	aMr. L. S. Reeve ..	0	10	6
aT. Tidbald, Esq. ..	1	1	0	aMrs. Holgate ..	0	10	6
Miss A. Seabrook ..	0	10	6	aJ. A. Spawel Bayley, Esq. ..	0	10	6
Editor of the "Chelmsford Chronicle" ..	0	10	6	aF. G. Hunt ..	0	10	6
aEditor of the "Essex Weekly News" ..	0	10	6	aC. Shearman, Esq. ..	0	5	0



LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

FALMOUTH AND CORNWALL.

Sept. 5. By cash .. .. .			£16 11s.				
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Edward Banks, Esq. ..	0	10	6	Brought forward	9	7	0
Rev. S. H. P. Bennett ..	0	5	0	A. Lloyd Fox .. .. .	1	1	0
Edmund Carlyon, Esq. ..	2	2	0	Rev. George Hext .. .. .	0	10	6
Rev. G. Lemon Church ..	0	10	0	Mrs. Hodge .. .. .	0	10	0
W. Duncalf, Esq. .. .	0	5	0	Miss Hustler .. .. .	1	0	0
Miss Enys .. .. .	1	0	0	Mrs. Peter .. .. .	0	10	6
Rev W. Fooker .. .. .	0	10	6	Rev. Wm. Rogers .. .. .	1	0	0
Miss Fox .. .. .	1	1	0	Canon Rogers .. .. .	0	10	0
Robert Fox, Esq. .. .. .	1	1	0	Sir P. P. Smith .. .. .	1	1	0
Francis Edward Fox, Esq. ..	1	1	0	Colonel Tremayne .. .. .	1	1	0
R. Reynolds Fox, Esq. ..	1	1	0				
	<hr/>				16	11	0
Carried forward	9	7	0				

GREENOCK.

Sept. 12. By cash .. .. .			£26 11s.				
	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
James Stewart, Esq., M.P. ..	1	1	0	Brought forward	16	16	0
Hugh W. Walker, Esq. ..	1	1	0	Donald MacDonald, Esq. ..	1	1	0
Alex. Scott, jun., Esq. ..	1	1	0	John Marquis, Esq., Liverpool	1	1	0
Robert Binnie, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	James Miller, Esq., Rothesay	1	1	0
Abram Lyle, Esq. .. .. .	1	1	0	Rev. Alex. Walker, Millport..	1	0	0
William McClure, Esq. ..	1	1	0	Colin S. Caird, Esq. .. .. .	1	0	0
Robert Little, Esq. .. .. .	1	1	0	Mrs. Andrew Carmichael ..	1	1	0
John Macgregor, Esq. ..	1	1	0	D. D. Adamson, Esq... .. .	0	10	6
Edward Blackmore, Esq. ..	1	1	0	George R. MacDougall, Esq... .	0	10	6
Thomas Prentice .. .. .	1	1	0	William Letham, Esq. .. .. .	0	10	0
Alexander Currie, Esq. ..	1	1	0	John H. Carmichael, Esq. ..	0	10	0
John M. Hutcheson, Esq. ..	1	1	0	Thomas Carmichael, Esq. ..	0	10	0
James Morton, Esq. .. .. .	1	1	0	Thomas Kirkwood, Esq. ..	0	10	0
D. McDougall, Esq. .. .. .	1	1	0	R. Howie, Esq. .. .. .	0	10	0
Robert Kerr, Esq. .. .. .	1	1	0	.. (for 1879) .. .. .	0	10	0
D. MacEachran, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0				
	<hr/>				27	1	0
Carried forward	16	16	0				

LINCOLN.

	£	s.	d.
Miss Waldo Sibthorp .. .. .	1	1	0





LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

LECTURES AND MEETINGS.

REV. HENRY GEARY.

Place.	Date.	Proceeds.		
		£	s.	d.
Ealing ..	March 24 ..	8	1	0
Torquay (two) ..	April 6 ..	24	13	9
Plymouth (two) ..	" 7 ..	11	7	0
Clifton, Bristol (two) ..	" 8 ..	14	12	6
Romsey ..	March 28 ..	0	7	0
Southampton ..	" 29 ..	1	11	6

DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS FROM THE LECTURE  
LISTS.

EALING.

				£	s.	d.
aJ. N. Mitchell, Esq. ..	..	..	..	1	1	0
aBishop of Antigua ..	..	..	..	1	1	0

PLYMOUTH.

				£	s.	d.
aCapt. Inkip ..	..	..	..	0	10	0
aH. Greenway, Esq. ..	..	..	..	0	10	6
aJ. W. Bunnett, Esq. ..	..	..	..	0	10	6
aE. James, Esq. ..	..	..	..	0	10	6
Miss Bragg ..	..	..	..	0	5	0

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SEPTEMBER 20TH TO DECEMBER 13TH, 1880.

*a* denotes Annual Subscriber.

\* \* \* If any omission or mistake be observed in the following lists, the Secretary will be very glad to be informed of it, and will rectify the error in the next *Quarterly Statement*.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>a</i> B. Anderson, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	Brought forward..	37	15	0
<i>a</i> Miss G. M. Archer .. ..	0	5	0	<i>a</i> Rev. A. J. Everett .. ..	0	10	6
Miss Ashcraft .. ..	0	2	6	<i>a</i> Rev. W. Farrer .. ..	2	2	0
<i>a</i> Rev. W. H. Askwith .. ..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Rev. H. Fisher .. ..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. L. R. Ayre .. ..	1	1	0	J. F. Fordham, Esq. .. ..	5	5	0
<i>a</i> W. Baker, Esq. .. ..	0	5	0	<i>a</i> Rev. H. D. French .. ..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> R. Baron, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	W. Galbraith, Esq. (don.) .. ..	2	10	6
<i>a</i> W. Beaumont, Esq. .. ..	2	0	0	Rev. H. Geary (lectures) .. ..	8	17	10
<i>a</i> St. Bee's College .. ..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Rev. J. B. Goldberg .. ..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> James Benham, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Mrs. Goldberg .. ..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> R. Blair, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Miss Goldstone .. ..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Archdeacon Boutflower .. ..	2	2	0	<i>a</i> H. Goodman, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0
<i>a</i> Jno. Brewster, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Mrs. G. C. Gorham .. ..	0	10	0
<i>a</i> Rev. J. Ingham Brooke .. ..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> J. Gould, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> W. F. Browell, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	R. Govett, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0
<i>a</i> Rev. Canon Brownlow .. ..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Rev. S. Gray .. ..	0	10	0
<i>a</i> Rev. J. W. Brooks .. ..	1	0	0	<i>a</i> J. J. Greaves, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> G. Burns, Esq. .. ..	5	0	0	<i>a</i> Rev. J. R. Gregg .. ..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Misses Capel .. ..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Mrs. Guise .. ..	1	0	0
<i>a</i> Rev. W. B. Caparn .. ..	0	10	0	<i>a</i> F. W. Hitchin-Kemp, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. S. M. Cash .. ..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Miss A. Hodgson .. ..	0	10	0
<i>a</i> A. Cator, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0	E. T. Holden, Esq. .. ..	2	2	0
<i>a</i> Rev. W. Champernowne .. ..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> J. Hollings, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Mrs. W. Chester .. ..	1	0	0	<i>a</i> Mrs. C. Kemble .. ..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Rev. G. J. Chester .. ..	0	10	6	Rev. J. King (lectures) .. ..	1	0	6
<i>a</i> Dr. Cooke .. ..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> C. J. Lacy, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
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<i>a</i> Mrs. Cruikshank .. ..	1	0	0	<i>a</i> Hon. and Rev. Augustus			
<i>a</i> J. Cudworth, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	Legge .. ..	1	1	0
<i>a</i> Rev. C. H. Davis .. ..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Rev. R. Lovett .. ..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Maj.-Gen. Sir H. C. B. Daubeny .. ..	1	1	0	<i>a</i> Luke Mackey, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Wm. Dawson, Esq. .. ..	2	2	0	<i>a</i> Mrs. Macpherson .. ..	0	10	6
<i>a</i> A. Elliot, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Jas. McCorkell, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
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<i>a</i> Mrs. Evans .. ..	2	2	0	<i>a</i> Mrs. Maxwell .. ..	1	1	0
				<i>a</i> Capt. H. Moody .. ..	1	1	0
Carried forward..	37	15	0	Carried forward..	82	9	10



LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
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aJ. Mordy, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	aS. Scott, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
aHerbert M. Morgan, Esq. ..	0	10	6	aRev. Alfred C. Smith.. ..	0	10	0
aMiss Rose Muspratt .. ..	0	10	6	aRev. J. G. Smyth .. ..	2	2	0
aRev. F. Newth .. ..	1	1	0	aMajor Speid .. ..	1	1	0
aRev. W. Niven .. ..	0	10	0	aMiss A. M. Stephens .. ..	0	10	0
aS. H. Officer, Esq. .. ..	5	5	0	aRev. C. E. Steward .. ..	1	1	0
aMiss Partridge .. ..	1	1	0	aMark Stirrup, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
aForrester Paton, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	aJ. A. Strachan, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
aCapt. Patrie .. ..	0	10	6	aHenry Sulley, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
Miss E. E. Petit .. ..	1	1	0	aLord Talbot de Malahide ..	1	0	0
aRev. E. V. Pigott (1880-81)	2	2	0	aRev. Roderick Terry .. ..	1	1	0
aG. Pritt, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. R. A. Tindall .. ..	0	10	6
aColonel Puget .. ..	1	1	0	aHon. Otway Toler .. ..	1	1	0
aRev. C. A. Raymond .. ..	0	10	6	aH. Trevor, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
aRev. C. L. Reynolds .. ..	1	1	0	aG. R. Wales, Esq. .. ..	0	10	0
aRev. Canon Ridgway .. ..	0	10	6	aW. Walker, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
aF. Ridoutt, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	R. Walters, Esq. (don.) ..	3	0	0
aJno. Rountree, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	Rev. C. Watson .. ..	10	0	0
aMrs. Routh .. ..	1	0	0	aF. A. Williamson, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aRev. Lacey H. Rumsey .. ..	0	10	6	aJ. G. Wilson, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
aMessrs. Rutherford Bros. ..	1	0	0	aMrs. Worsley .. ..	1	1	0
aL. E. Scarth, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. W. Wynne-Willson ..	1	1	0
Carried forward..	104	18	10	Total..	136	3	10

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward .. ..	136	3	10
Aberdeen .. ..	22	13	0
Brighton .. ..	12	10	11
Chichester .. ..	4	6	0
Cork .. ..	11	17	6
Eastbourne .. ..	3	3	0
Exeter .. ..	13	8	0
Hull .. ..	9	19	0
Manchester .. ..	15	3	6
Plymouth .. ..	9	0	0
From other sources .. ..	560	5	0
	<u>798</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>

SUPPLEMENTARY LIST.

	£	s.	d.
Dec. 15. Rev. H. Geary .. ..	25	0	10
„ R. Howie, Greenock .. ..	0	10	0
„ Shrewsbury .. ..	7	12	0
„ Mrs. Guys (per A. Lloyd-Fox) ..	1	0	0
„ J. N. Cuthbertson .. ..	2	2	0
„ Bishop of Bath and Wells .. ..	2	2	0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

LOCAL SOCIETIES.

ABERDEEN (Ladies' Association.)

Collected by Miss Thompson, 5, Golden Square.

December, 1880.

	£	s.	d.
aJohn Crombie, Esq., Balgownie Lodge .. .. .	1	1	0
aO. L. Stephen, Esq., 5, White Hall Yard, London, S.W.	1	1	0
aGeorge Thompson, Esq., 5, Golden Square .. .. .	1	0	0
aGeo. Thompson Yost, Esq., Bingham .. .. .	1	0	0
aDavid Stewart, Esq., 259, Union Street .. .. .	1	0	0
aTheodore Crombie, Esq., Govan .. .. .	0	10	6
aMrs. Stephen Thompson, 30, Hamilton Terrace, London	0	10	6
aMrs. Cornelius Thompson, 17, Albyn Place, Aberdeen..	0	10	6
aMrs. J. Crombie, jun., Danestone .. .. .	0	10	6
aMrs. Catto, Wallfield .. .. .	0	10	6
aJames Rose, Esq., 5, Rubislaw Terrace .. .. .	0	10	6
aW. Henderson, Esq., Devanah .. .. .	0	10	6
aAlex. Webster, Esq., M.P. .. .. .	0	5	0
aMiss Beard .. .. .	0	5	0
aMiss Thompson, 5, Golden Square .. .. .	0	5	0

Collected by Mrs. Kirby, 15, Dee Street.

aCol. Kirby, 15, Dee Street .. .. .	1	1	0
aMajor Ross, 1, Albyn Place .. .. .	0	10	6
aJames Gebbie, Esq. .. .. .	0	10	6
aDavid Mitchell, Esq., 24, Adelphi .. .. .	0	2	6
aStodart J. Mitchell, Esq., 24, Adelphi .. .. .	0	5	0
aMrs. Kirby, 15, Dee Street .. .. .	0	5	0

Collected by Miss Mary Forbes, 6, Mackie Place.

Misses Fiddes, Union Street .. .. .	0	2	6
aMiss Gordon and W. Gordon, Esq., 35, Albyn Place ..	0	5	0
aRev. Prof. Forbes, D.D., 3, Westfield Terrace .. ..	0	10	6
aMiss Thurburn do. do. .. .. .	0	5	0
aAlex. Thurburn, Esq., Keith .. .. .	0	5	0
aRev. John Calder, New Manse, Old Aberdeen .. ..	0	10	0
aMiss Spence, 2, Castle Hill .. .. .	0	10	0
aMiss Fraser, 252, Union Street .. .. .	0	5	0
aRev. Henry Cowan, St. Swithin Street .. .. .	0	10	6
aMrs. Simpson, 8, Golden Square .. .. .	0	10	0
aMiss Chalmers, St. Swithin Street .. .. .	0	5	0
aMiss Chalmer, St. Swithin Street .. .. .	1	1	0
aMrs. J. F. White, 269, Union Street .. .. .	0	10	6
aJames Stephen, R.N., 155, Crown Street .. .. .	0	10	6
aMrs. Duthie, 20, Albyn Place .. .. .	0	10	0
aMrs. Maclure, 18, Rubislaw Terrace .. .. .	0	10	0
aWilliam Hunter, Esq., 14, Adelphi .. .. .	0	10	6
aRev. Prof. Milligan, D.D., University, Old Aberdeen	0	10	6
aMrs. Macpherson, 25, Albert Street .. .. .	0	10	6
aMiss Farquharson, 18, Albert Street .. .. .	0	5	0
aJohn Smith, Esq., Advocate, Queen's Gate .. .. .	1	1	0

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LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

ARBROATH.

1880.

			£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
Alex. Gordon .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0	W. Salmond .. .. .	..	..	0	5	0
W. Salmond and Sons..	..	..	1	1	0	Alex. Ferguson.. .. .	..	..	0	5	0
James Shanks .. .. .	..	..	0	10	6	G. W. Laird .. .. .	..	..	0	5	0
D. Fraser and Sons .. ..	..	..	0	10	6	Alex. Petrie, sen. .. ..	..	..	0	2	6
W. K. Macdonald .. .. .	..	..	0	10	0	Geo. Sturrock .. .. .	..	..	0	2	6
James Muir .. .. .	..	..	0	10	0	Rev. James Howat .. ..	..	..	0	2	6
Geo. Lyon .. .. .	..	..	0	5	0						
F. Webster .. .. .	..	..	0	5	0						
									5	15	6

BRIGHTON.

<i>Receipts.</i>			£	s.	d.	<i>Payments.</i>			£	s.	d.
G. Lowe Reid, Esq. .. ..	..	..	1	1	0	Postage, Commission, &c. ..	..	..	0	9	7
Rev. T. Calvert .. .. .	..	..	0	10	6	Transmitted Dec. 10, 1880 ..	..	..	12	10	11
Miss Bovill .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0						
J. N. Winter, Esq. .. ..	..	..	1	1	0						
Miss Cobham .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0						
Misses Carr .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0						
Mdlle. de Paris.. .. .	..	..	1	1	0						
Rev. T. Moseley .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0						
Mrs. Soames .. .. .	..	..	1	0	0						
Miss Cruso .. .. .	..	..	0	10	0						
N. Turnbull, Esq. .. ..	..	..	1	1	0						
Rev. H. H. Methuen .. ..	..	..	0	10	0						
G. W. King, Esq. .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0						
S. Clarke, Esq. .. .. .	..	..	1	1	0						
									13	0	6
									13	0	6

CHICHESTER.

Dec. 2.—By Cash .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	£4	6	0	
Per Mrs. H. Smith:—									
Rev. G. Langdale.. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6	
Mrs. Luttmann Johnson ..	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6	
Mrs. Campbell .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6	
Mrs. E. B. Pigott .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6	
Mrs. Durnford .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6	
Miss Newland .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6	
Mrs. H. Smith .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	6	
Miss Elliott .. .. .	..	..	..	..	..	0	2	6	
Rev. Prebendary Bowles (donation)	..	..	..	..	..	0	10	0	
							4	6	0

CORK.

Nov. 13.—By Cash .. .. . £11 17 6  
 Subscriptions from Oct. 1880, to Oct. 1881:—

			£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
O'Donovan, Lissard .. ..	..	..	2	0	0	— Pigott, Esq. .. .. .	..	..	1	0	0
Mrs. Hunt .. .. .	..	..	1	0	0	Charles C. Haines, Esq. ..	..	..	1	0	0
Miss A. Hunt .. .. .	..	..	1	0	0	Rev. John Conolly .. ..	..	..	0	10	0
Miss N. Hunt .. .. .	..	..	1	0	0	Rev. Horace T. Fleming ..	..	..	0	10	0
Miss Reeves .. .. .	..	..	1	0	0	J. Seymour Romilly, Esq. ..	..	..	0	10	0
Miss Perry Sheares .. ..	..	..	1	0	0	Henry S. Perry, Esq., Hon.	..	..	1	0	0
H. J. Weldon, Esq. .. ..	..	..	0	7	6	Sec. .. .. .	..	..			

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

EASTBOURNE.

Dec. 8.—By Cash .. .. .	£3 3 0		
		£	s. d.
Rev. H. R. Whelpton, St. Saviour's, Eastbourne (1879)		1	1 0
Rev. G. R. Green, Blackwater House, Eastbourne (1879)		1	1 0
Ditto for 1880 .. .. .		1	1 0
		<hr/>	
		3	3 0
		<hr/>	

EDINBURGH.

Collected by Miss Dalgleish, 8, Atholl Crescent, Edinburgh,  
for the Palestine Exploration Fund, 1880.

		£	s.	d.
Mrs. Harvie Brown, Dunipace House, Larbert .. .. .		0	10	6
Rev. Mr. Logan, Culross .. .. .		0	10	6
Dr. Craig MacLagan, 5, Coates Crescent, Edinburgh .. .		0	10	6
Dr. Duncan, 8, Ainslie Place, Edinburgh .. .. .		1	0	0
Rev. Dr. Stuart, 7, Northumberland Street, Edinburgh..		0	10	6
Harry Young, Esq., Cleish Castle, Kinross .. .. .		0	10	6
Mrs. Hastie, Luscar House, Dunfermline .. .. .		1	0	0
Laurence Dalgleish, Esq., 22, Coates Crescent, Edinburgh		0	10	6
John J. Dalgleish, Esq., 8, Atholl Crescent, Edinburgh..		0	10	6
Mrs. Dalgleish, .. .. .		0	10	6
Miss Dalgleish, .. .. .		0	10	6
O. A. McVean, Esq., Woodside, Ashton, Chester .. .. .		0	10	6
Dr. Dow, Dunfermline .. .. .		0	10	6
Mrs. Millar, Ballahish, Muckart .. .. .		0	2	6
A Friend .. .. .		0	2	6
Mrs. Lang, and Miss Duncan .. .. .		0	7	6
		<hr/>		
		8	8	0
		<hr/>		

EXETER.

Nov. 19.—By Cash .. .. .	£13 8 0		
		£	s. d.
Bishop of Exeter .. .. .		5	0 0
Precentor Cook .. .. .		1	1 0
Rev. P. L. D. Acland (1879-80) .. .. .		2	2 0
Mrs. Corfe .. .. .		1	1 0
Rev. W. David .. .. .		1	1 0
Rev. A. H. Hamilton .. .. .		1	1 0
Rev. Ch. Ch. Turner .. .. .		1	1 0
Mrs. A. Mills .. .. .		1	1 0
		<hr/>	
		13	8 0
		<hr/>	



LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

HULL.

J. D. BELL, M.D. (Hon. Local Treasurer, Hull).

<i>Dr.</i>				<i>Cr.</i>	
1880. To Subscriptions:—	£	s.	d.	1880. By Disbursements:—	£ s. d.
J. E. Wade .. .. .	1	1	0	By Cash paid Messrs. Leng &	
J. Pearson-Bell, M.D. .. .. .	1	1	0	Co. for 1879 .. .. .	0 6 0
Miss Bromby .. .. .	0	10	6	By do. paid, Messrs. Leng &	
Rev. J. Byron, M.A. .. .. .	0	10	6	Co.; printing, postages, &c.,	
Charles Copland .. .. .	0	10	6	1880 .. .. .	0 15 0
Rev. J. Ellam .. .. .	0	10	6	By Balance .. .. .	9 19 0
George Hardy .. .. .	0	10	6		
Thos. Holden .. .. .	0	10	6		
W. J. Lunn, M.D. .. .. .	0	10	6		
Wm. Parker .. .. .	0	10	0		
Miss E. Radford .. .. .	0	10	6		
Henry Soulby, M.D. .. .. .	0	10	6		
Mrs. Stamp .. .. .	0	10	6		
C. S. Wake .. .. .	0	10	6		
Samuel Watson .. .. .	0	10	6		
W. M. Clarke .. .. .	0	10	6		
H. Preston .. .. .	0	10	6		
W. Botterill .. .. .	0	10	6		
Miss Singleton .. .. .	0	10	6		
	11	0	0		11 0 0

MANCHESTER.

Oct. 13.—By Cash .. .. .	£4	3	0
Nov. 4. „ .. .. .	6	16	6
Dec. 1. „ .. .. .	4	4	0

PLYMOUTH.

Oct. 16.—By Cash .. .. .	£5	1	6
Nov. 3. „ .. .. .	3	13	6

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
H. Evers, Esq. (1879) .. .. .	0	5	0	Thos. Goard .. .. .	0	5	0		
aJno. Windeatt, Esq. .. .. .	2	2	0	W. C. Nicholson .. .. .	0	5	0		
aJ. W. Shelly, Esq. .. .. .	1	1	0	Rev. H. A. Greaves .. .. .	0	5	0		
aJno. Shelly, Esq. .. .. .	0	10	6	Henry Evers (1879) .. .. .	0	5	0		
H. B. S. Woodhouse .. .. .	1	1	0	„ (1880) .. .. .	0	5	6		
Mrs. Woodhouse, for Jeru-				Smaller sums .. .. .	0	12	0		
salem Fund .. .. .	0	10	6	J. Tucker .. .. .	0	5	0		
Collected by H. B. S. Wood-				W. T. Hutchens .. .. .	0	5	0		
house:—				H. A. W. .. .. .	0	5	0		
W. Augear .. .. .	0	2	6	S. W. .. .. .	0	5	0		
J. Carkeet .. .. .	0	2	6	W. King .. .. .	0	2	6		
W. Babb .. .. .	0	5	0	Thos. Pitts, jun. .. .. .	0	5	0		

LECTURES AND MEETINGS.

REV. HENRY GEARY.

Place.	Date.	Proceeds.		
		£	s.	d.
Hitchin .. .. .	Oct. 12 .. .. .	5	2	8
St. Mark's College, Chelsea	„ 16 .. .. .	3	3	0
Felsted School .. .. .	„ 20 .. .. .	10	0	0
Uppingham (School).. .. .	Nov. 3 .. .. .	10	0	0
„ (Town) .. .. .	„ 4 .. .. .	1	12	0
Brighton .. .. .	„ 11 .. .. .	22	0	4
Shrewsbury (2 lectures)	„ 23 .. .. .	12	13	10

Donation from Lecture Lists:—

Shrewsbury Branch of Church of England Sunday School Institute.. .. .	1	10	0
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## NOTE ON THE BALANCE SHEET.

The Balance Sheet appended shows a considerable falling off in subscriptions. This was to be expected in a time which was entirely occupied with the publication of results.

The expenditure, tabulated, is as follows :—

On Maps and Memoirs, &c.	..	..	48·73	per cent.
Management	..	..	28·09	„
Returned contribution, printing, &c.	..	..	23·18	„









LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward	89	8	0	Brought forward	157	15	0
aCh. Ch. Mutual Improvement Society, Folkestone ..	2	2	0	Mrs. Dykes .. ..	5	0	0
aRev. T. W. Carr .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. W. H. Davey .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. R. W. Church .. ..	1	0	0	Herbert Dalton, Esq... ..	10	0	0
aMrs. Cornish .. ..	1	1	0	aBishop of Dover .. ..	1	1	0
aR. H. Cooke, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. John Dymock .. ..	0	5	0
aJ. E. Cooper, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. W. W. Dickenson .. ..	2	2	0
aH. Courtier, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	aMiss Enys .. ..	1	0	0
aRev. J. L. Carrick .. ..	1	1	0	aW. R. Ellis, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
Spring Hill School .. ..	2	0	0	aMiss Orr Ewing .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. R. Callender, 1880-81	1	1	0	aW. Ewing, Esq. .. ..	0	10	0
aMrs. Callender .. ..	1	1	0	aW. Ewart, Esq., M.P. .. ..	1	0	0
aMrs. G. B. Crewdson.. ..	1	1	0	aW. Quartin Ewart, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0
aW. Cooke, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0	aJ. Eden, Esq. ... ..	1	1	0
aMiss Cheetham .. ..	1	1	0	Rev. F. J. Eld (10 years) .. ..	5	15	0
aMrs. Cheetham .. ..	1	1	0	aAndrew Elliott, Esq... ..	0	10	6
Rev. W. W. Clarke .. ..	2	0	0	Rev. W. Edwards .. ..	1	4	11
aW. Codd, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aMiss Ann Everard .. ..	1	1	0
aGen. A. C. Cooke .. ..	1	0	0	aMiss C. Edwards .. ..	5	5	0
aMrs. A. H. Corsbie .. ..	2	2	0	aMrs. Fremlin .. ..	2	0	0
aRev. A. J. Cachemaille .. ..	0	10	6	aMajor Farquharson .. ..	0	10	0
aRev. H. Caddell .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. A. R. Faussett .. ..	1	1	0
aW. Church, jun., Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	aJ. Fildes, Esq... ..	1	1	0
aJ. Fenn Clarke, Esq... ..	1	1	0	aC. F. Fellows, Esq. .. ..	5	0	0
aJ. A. Cooper, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. F. H. Freeth .. ..	1	1	0
aGeneral Cracklow .. ..	2	2	0	aRev. M. T. Farrer .. ..	5	0	0
aRev. A. Carr .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. J. T. Fowler .. ..	1	1	0
aG. C. Courthope, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	Rev. Canon France-Hayhurst	5	0	0
aMrs. G. H. Cockburn .. ..	0	10	6	aRev. A. M. Foster .. ..	0	10	6
aMiss Corrie .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. A. Fuller .. ..	0	10	6
aMiss G. M. Corrie .. ..	1	1	0	aGeneral Forlong .. ..	1	1	0
aW. H. Camlin, Esq. .. ..	2	2	0	aRev. R. W. Fiske .. ..	0	5	0
aJohn Chapman, Esq... ..	1	1	0	aE. Flecker, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. Geo. Christian .. ..	1	1	0	aD. W. Freshfield, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
aLord Clermont .. ..	10	0	0	aRev. A. Furneaux .. ..	1	1	0
aRev. G. B. Carr .. ..	0	5	0	aR. Foster, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0
aJ. Caudwell, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	aRev. G. H. Fielding .. ..	0	10	6
aMiss Chambers .. ..	0	10	6	aRev. G. R. Fleming .. ..	2	2	0
aRev. C. P. Clarke .. ..	1	1	0	aG. P. Griffith, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
aSir A. Cotton .. ..	0	10	6	aMrs. Greenfield (a/l. 1s.)	6	1	0
a— Campbell, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0	aRev. A. G. Girdlestone .. ..	0	10	6
aThomas Chapman, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aJ. V. Gregory, Esq. .. ..	0	10	0
aMrs. C. Drummond .. ..	1	1	0	aE. W. Gere, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
aCaptain Drummond .. ..	1	0	0	aP. H. Gosse, Esq. .. ..	2	2	0
aE. A. Drummond, Esq. .. ..	2	2	0	aMrs. George .. ..	1	0	0
aRev. G. W. Dalton, D.D. .. ..	1	1	0	aWilliam Gibb, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
aMiss Deacon .. ..	1	0	0	J. Gilchrist, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0
aRev. R. Drake.. ..	2	2	0	aSir Daniel Gooch, Bart. .. ..	1	1	0
aM. Dutan .. ..	0	10	6	aJ. Graham, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0
aT. H. Dalzell, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aCol. Gawler .. ..	1	1	0
aRev. T. Dalton .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. A. B. Grimaldi .. ..	1	1	0
G. D. W. Digby, Esq. .. ..	2	10	0	aMiss Garnett .. ..	1	0	0
aMrs. Davis .. ..	1	0	0	aMiss Garratt .. ..	0	10	6
aJ. Duncan, Esq. .. ..	0	10	0	aMrs. Germon .. ..	0	10	6
				J. Eustace Grubbe, Esq. .. ..	5	0	0
Carried forward	157	15	0	Carried forward	250	17	5

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.
Brought forward	250	17	5
aRev. R. B. Girdleston ..	1	1	0
aT. Greer, Esq., M.P. ..	0	10	6
aR. Howie, Esq. ..	0	10	0
aMrs. Huish ..	1	1	0
aRev. F. Host ..	2	2	0
aRev. S. Hawtrey ..	2	2	0
aT. Hanson, Esq. ..	2	2	0
aMrs. E. F. Holland ..	0	10	0
aC. F. Hinton, Esq. (all 1s.)	2	2	0
aRev. J. Hewetson ..	1	0	0
aMiss Haines ..	1	1	0
aDr. Hutchinson ..	1	1	0
aJ. G. Hasse, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aMrs. Hopkins. ..	1	1	0
aA. H. Heywood, Esq. ..	5	5	0
aMrs. Huish ..	1	1	0
aS. H. Hodgson, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aB. A. Heywood, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aO. Heywood, Esq. ..	5	0	0
aR. Henderson, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aRev. Melsup Hill ..	1	1	0
aMiss Amelia Hunter ..	1	1	0
aGeneral Halliday ..	1	1	0
aMiss A. M. Hoare ..	1	1	0
aT. J. Hankinson, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aRev. H. Hall Houghton			
a (£1 1s.) ..	10	0	0
aJ. Hilton, Esq. ..	3	3	0
aC. R. Hall, Esq. ..	0	10	0
aHiram Hitchcock, Esq. ..	1	0	0
aR. G. Hobbes, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aMiss Halton ..	0	10	6
aMiss Hardy ..	1	0	0
aRev. R. Henderson ..	0	10	6
aCol. G. B. Heastey ..	1	0	0
Rev. W. Inge ..	1	1	0
aL. Jaques, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aR. R. Kalley, Esq. ..	0	10	0
aR. L. Kirby, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aF. W. Hitchin-Kemp, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aWilliam Kay, Esq. ..	0	10	0
aRev. Professor Ker ..	0	10	6
aJ. Kirkpatrick, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aRev. J. Kinross ..	1	0	0
aLieut. Kitchener, R.E. ..	1	0	0
Dean of Lichfield ..	5	5	0
aRoyal Library Stuttgart ..	0	10	6
aRev. W. R. Linton ..	0	10	6
aRev. W. B. Lowther ..	1	1	0
aDr. Long ..	3	0	0
aRev. John Lyth ..	0	10	6
aC. H. S. Leicester, Esq. ..	1	1	0
Dean of Lincoln ..	5	5	0
aRev. W. H. Lance ..	1	0	0

Carried forward 331 7 11

	£.	s.	d.
Brought forward	331	7	11
aRev. T. Ladds. ..	1	1	0
aR. Lovett, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aRev. Thos. Leishman, D.D. ..	1	0	0
aLady Low ..	1	0	0
aW. H. Leighton, Esq. ..	2	2	0
aMrs. Lorimer ..	1	1	0
aDr. Lortet ..	0	11	9
aG. B. Lloyd, Esq. ..	5	0	0
aLichfield Ladies' Association. ..	3	6	0
aW. Middlemass, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aRev. J. W. Marsh ..	0	10	6
aMiss Macwhirter ..	1	1	0
aW. M. H. Milner, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aRev. V. Musgrave ..	1	0	0
aRev. W. Morton ..	0	10	6
aD. McBrayne, jun., Esq. ..	1	1	0
aRev. H. Munn ..	0	10	6
aCol. MacKenzie ..	1	0	0
aMiss McDowall ..	0	10	6
aW. Markham, Esq. ..	0	2	6
aMiss Mosman ..	0	10	0
aSurgeon-Major Mantell ..	1	1	0
aMiss Martin ..	1	1	0
aS. Symons Martyn, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aH. J. Martyn, Esq. ..	0	10	6
Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart. ..	20	0	0
In memory of Judith Lady			
Montefiore ..	20	0	0
aRev. G. H. Mullens ..	1	1	0
aH. Morris, Esq. ..	1	0	0
aBishop of Moray and Ross. ..	1	1	0
aC. H. Millar, Esq. ..	2	2	0
aJ. McKinnell, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aRev. F. H. Murray ..	1	1	0
aJ. O. Mitchell, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aR. M. Middleton, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aRev. J. Marshall ..	1	1	0
aT. B. Martin, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aW. B. Maingay, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aRev. A. R. Maddison ..	1	1	0
aGen. Maclagan ..	1	1	0
aRev. R. Macpherson ..	0	10	6
aL. F. Moran, Esq. ..	1	0	0
aF. R. Napier, Esq. ..	1	1	0
aJ. Noble, Esq. ..	2	0	0
aRev. W. O. Newnham ..	1	1	0
aBishop of Nelson ..	1	1	0
aRev. G. Newmann ..	0	10	6
aMrs. Norris ..	2	2	0
aRev. W. Trevor Nicholson ..	0	10	6
aR. M. Norman, Esq. ..	1	0	0
aJ. R. Ohlson, Esq. ..	0	10	6
aMrs. Ormond ..	0	10	0
aF. Ohlson, Esq. ..	1	1	0

Carried forward 425 1 2



LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Brought forward	425	1	2	Brought forward	602	15	5
aMrs. Orlebar .. ..	1	1	0	J. Stilwell, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
aH. M. Ormerod, Esq. ..	10	0	0	L. E. Scarth, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
Rev. Dr. Pusey .. ..	15	15	0	aRev. R. A. H. Stroud .. ..	0	10	0
aD. Prigg, Esq., 1879-80 ..	1	0	0	aCol. Smyth .. ..	1	1	0
aRev. Canon Pearson .. ..	1	0	0	aRev. G. Studdert .. ..	1	1	0
aJ. H. Plowes, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aT. C. Squance, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. J. Penrose .. ..	1	0	0	aMiss E. Secretan .. ..	0	10	6
aH. F. Pease, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aM. W. Strang, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
aA. Peckover, Esq. .. ..	3	10	0	aC. E. Stuart, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. G. T. Pilcher .. ..	2	2	0	aRev. W. J. Stracey .. ..	1	1	0
aJ. R. Pilling, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	aH. Stoddart, Esq. (a 10s. 6d.)	1	11	6
aRev. W. Peterson .. ..	0	10	0	aRev. W. J. Smith .. ..	0	10	6
aD. M. Peebles, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0	aRev. W. H. Sewell .. ..	0	10	0
aMiss Peard .. ..	1	1	0	aMrs. Stevens .. ..	3	3	0
Miss Peacho .. ..	100	0	0	aRev. H. Smith .. ..	1	1	0
aW. A. Parlanc, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	aDr. Sandreezki .. ..	0	10	0
aA. Pope, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0	aRev. A. W. Stearne .. ..	3	3	0
aC. Eyre Parker, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aMrs. Snepp .. ..	0	10	6
aE. M. Parker, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aF. F. Tuckett, Esq. (all. 1s.)	2	1	0
aH. Peto, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0	aMrs. Todd .. ..	0	10	6
aHonble. Mrs. Clara Paley ..	0	10	6	Miss Tufnell .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. J. Pryor .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. A. Taylor .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. G. Robson .. ..	0	10	6	aJ. W. Taylor, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
aMrs. Rouse .. ..	0	5	0	aRev. W. T. Turner .. ..	2	2	0
aRev. W. A. Rouse .. ..	0	12	6	aSir Charles Trevelyan .. ..	1	1	0
aMiss Relton .. ..	1	1	0	aMrs. Taylor .. ..	0	10	0
aRev. A. M. Rendell .. ..	1	1	0	aR. Taylor, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
aA. J. Robertson, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	aMrs. Wyndham Tufnell .. ..	1	1	0
aDr. Rogers .. ..	1	0	0	aJames Thin, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
aJ. N. Robertson, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aM. G. Tait, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
aW. H. Rylands, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	Lady Tite .. ..	5	5	0
aJ. Robertson, Esq. .. ..	0	2	6	aMrs C. Tufnell .. ..	0	10	6
aJ. F. Rawdon, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	aMiss Taylor .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. C. Robinson .. ..	0	10	6	aRev. R. U. Todd .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. O. Read .. ..	1	1	0	aJ. W. Tonge, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
aW. D. Robinson Douglas, Esq.	1	0	0	aTheological Seminary, Rochester	0	10	0
aArthur Russell, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	aN C. White, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
aW. Ross, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0	aMrs. E. S. Wilkinson. .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. W. P. Rorison .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. F. E. Wigram .. ..	5	5	0
aRev. Fleming Stevenson .. ..	1	1	3	aMrs. Welland .. ..	1	0	0
aMiss Sutherland .. ..	0	10	6	aJ. W. Wayman, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
aJ. C. Sharpe, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	Charles Wilson, Esq. .. ..	2	2	0
aW. Sykes, Esq. .. ..	0	5	0	aMiss Williams. .. ..	1	1	0
aRev. C. Scott .. ..	0	10	6	aC. F. G. Westacott, Esq., col-			
aH. Stokes, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0	lected. .. ..	0	12	6
aRev. R. Steel .. ..	1	1	0	aW. H. Wright, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
aCol. Stuart .. ..	1	1	0	aT. V. Walton, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
aRev. R. Scott .. ..	1	1	0	Rev. H. G. Watkins (a 1l. 1s.)	4	1	0
aR. J. Snape, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0	aRev. F. M. Wyndham .. ..	0	10	6
aWilliam Standering, Esq. ..	2	2	0	aW. A. Wood, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
aEugene Stock, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	aF. Woodward, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
aHenry Stear, Esq., 1881-85 ..	5	5	0	aRev. W. H. Walford. .. ..	10	0	0
aJ. A. Saunders, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	aM. W. Woolnough, Esq. .. ..	0	10	0
aW. Spottiswood, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0	aRev. E. Wilson .. ..	0	10	6
Carried forward	602	15	5	Carried forward	672	6	5

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

			£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
Brought forward			672	6	5	Brought forward			682	11	5
aDr. Vaughan .. ..	..	..	1	1	0	Miss Yates .. ..	..	..	1	1	0
aSir. R. Wilbraham ..	..	..	1	1	0	aCol. Yule .. ..	..	..	2	0	0
aMiss Ward (a 1l. 1s.)	..	..	6	1	0	aW. B. Young, Esq. ..	..	..	1	1	0
aG. F. Watts, Esq. ..	..	..	1	1	0	aMrs. Baring Young ..	..	..	1	1	0
aMiss Yates .. ..	..	..	1	1	0						
Carried forward			682	11	5	Total			687	14	5

LOCAL SOCIETIES.

			£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
Brought forward ..			687	14	5	Brought forward			826	5	5
Shrewsbury .. ..	..	..	3	0	0	Huddersfield .. ..	..	..	18	11	7
Manchester .. ..	..	..	31	10	0	Hitchin .. ..	..	..	5	4	6
Tunbridge Wells ..	..	..	3	11	0	Cardiff .. ..	..	..	22	1	0
Richmond .. ..	..	..	4	14	0	Brighton .. ..	..	..	4	13	0
Clifton .. ..	..	..	2	10	0	Dunfermline .. ..	..	..	8	3	0
Chelmsford .. ..	..	..	1	3	6	Aberdeen .. ..	..	..	13	19	6
Bodmin .. ..	..	..	2	1	0	Edinburgh .. ..	..	..	100	0	0
Cheltenham .. ..	..	..	24	0	0						
Oxford .. ..	..	..	18	16	0				998	18	0
Whitby .. ..	..	..	2	15	0	Lectures .. ..	..	..	29	6	5
Leeds .. ..	..	..	30	7	0						
Ipswich .. ..	..	..	6	3	6				1,028	4	5
Weston-super-Mare ..	..	..	8	0	0	From other sources ..	..	..	201	6	4
Carried forward			826	5	5						
									1,229	10	9

BODMIN.

			£	s.	d.
J. S. Pethybridge, Esq.	..	..	0	10	0
Mr. R. Dawe .. ..	..	..	0	10	6
Mr. J. P. Skinner ..	..	..	0	10	6
S. Hicks .. ..	..	..	0	10	0
			<hr/>		
			2	1	0

BRIGHTON.

<i>Receipts.</i>			<i>Payments.</i>								
			£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
Rev. F. T. Hill .. ..	..	..	1	0	0	Transmitted, <i>March 10th</i> , 1881			4	13	0
Henry Hebbert, Esq. ..	..	..	1	1	0						
C. Bellingham, Esq. ..	..	..	0	10	0						
H. C. Malden, Esq. ..	..	..	1	1	0						
Rev. C. E. Douglass ..	..	..	1	1	0						
			<hr/>						<hr/>		
			4	13	0				4	13	0



LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

DUNFERMLINE.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Thomas Alexander, Esq. ..	1	0	0	James Macfarlane, Esq. ..	0	10	6
George Birrell, Esq. ..	0	10	6	Messrs. W. & J. McLaren ..	0	10	6
Rev. James Brown, Lochgelly	0	5	0	Rev. Alexander Mitchell, D.D.	0	2	6
Rev. Mr. Crawford, Limekilns	0	2	6	Miss Redford, Cuttlehill House	0	10	6
John Duncanson, Esq... ..	0	5	0	William Reid, Esq. .. ..	0	5	0
Rev. Andrew Graham, Cross-				John Ross, Esq. .. ..	0	10	0
gates .. .. .	0	5	0	Patrick F. Soutar, Esq. ..	0	10	6
William Inglis, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6	Andrew Wallace, Esq... ..	1	0	0
Daniel Lamond, Esq. .. ..	0	5	0				
John Landale, Esq. .. ..	1	0	0				
					8	5	0

EDINBURGH.

John Hoyes, 7, Ainslie-place ..	2	0	0	Miss Mackenzie, 16, Moray-			
Mrs. Mill, 35, Howe-street ..	1	0	0	place .. .. .	0	10	0
Mrs. Gallaway, 58, Great King-				R. E. Scott, 25, Melville-street	0	5	0
street .. .. .	1	0	0	Rev. Dean Montgomery, 17,			
A. Hamilton, 35, Queen-street	1	1	0	Atholl-crescent .. .. .	0	5	0
J. T. Black, 6, North Bridge ..	0	10	6	Miss Wyld, 11, Lennox-street	1	0	0
Sir Robert Christison, Bart., 40,				James Watson, 45, Charlotte-			
Moray-place .. .. .	2	2	0	square .. .. .	1	1	0
W. F. Burnley, 24, Ainslie-				Rev. W. Makellar, 8, Charlotte-			
place .. .. .	1	0	0	square.. .. .	1	0	0
J. T. Brown, Gibraltar House	1	1	0	Wm. Bryce, M.D., 31, Charlotte-			
Rev. Dr. H. Bonar, 10, Palmer-				square.. .. .	1	1	0
ston-road .. .. .	1	0	0	Miss Hunter, 5, Great Stuart-			
Rev. Dr. A. A. Bonar, Glasgow	0	10	0	street .. .. .	0	10	0
W. Leckie, 11, Carlton-terrace	1	0	0	Mrs. Miller, St. Margaret's-			
Mrs. Arch Stewart, 10, Ettrick-				road .. .. .	0	10	0
road .. .. .	0	10	6	T. Chalmers Hanna, 7, Magdala-			
John Watson, 2, Oswald-road..	1	1	0	crescent .. .. .	0	5	0
T. C. Burrow, Buckstone House,				Rev. Dr. Mair, 7, Abbotsford			
Burton, Westmoreland ..	0	10	0	Park .. .. .	0	10	0
John Kennedy, 71, Great King-				William Lees, 12, Morningside-			
street .. .. .	1	0	0	place .. .. .	0	5	0
Rev. W. Turner, 5, St. Andrew-				D. Davidson, Woodcroft ..	0	5	0
square .. .. .	0	10	6	E. K. Johnston, 12, Church-			
Horatius Bonar, W.S., 15, Hill-				hill .. .. .	0	10	0
street .. .. .	0	10	6	E. F. Johnston, 12, Church-			
T. B. Johnston, Edina Works,				hill .. .. .	0	10	0
Easter-road .. .. .	1	1	0	P. M. Ker, 12, Church-hill ..	0	10	0
E. Caird, 15, Belgrave-crescent	1	1	0	C. Jarratt, 12, Church-hill ..	1	0	0
John R. Norrie, 4, Upper Gray-				R. S. Wyld, LL.D., 19, Inver-			
street .. .. .	0	10	6	leith-row .. .. .	0	10	0
J. Macandrew, 16, York-place	0	5	0	James Syme, 10, Buckingham-			
Wm. Dickson, 38, York-place..	1	1	0	terrace .. .. .	1	0	0
Miss Falconar, Falcon Hall ..	1	0	0	Mrs. Grainger Stewart, 19,			
Miss Mackenzie, 16, Moray-				Charlotte-square .. .. .	1	1	0
place .. .. .	0	10	0	Mrs. George Brown, 10,			
F. Brown Douglas, 21, Moray-				Douglas-crescent .. .. .	0	10	0
place .. .. .	0	10	0	Mrs. Morison, 12, Randolph-			
John Macnair, 33, Moray-place	0	10	0	crescent .. .. .	1	0	0
T. G. Murray, 11, Randolph-				Mrs. Maitland, 9, Walker-street	0	5	0
crescent .. .. .	1	0	0	Mrs. and Miss Paterson, 3,			
Misses Mure, 10, Darnaway-				Coates-crescent .. .. .	0	10	0
street .. .. .	0	10	0	Mrs. Meek, 21, Rutland-square	0	2	6





LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

EDINBURGH LADIES' AUXILIARY.

Collected by Miss Dalgleish, 8, Atholl Crescent.

John Macfie, Esq., Hope-terrace, Whitehouse Loan, Edinburgh	£ s. d.	C. A. McVean, Woodside, Ash- ton, Cheshire.. ..	£ s. d.
Miss Clayton .. ..	0 10 0	H. Young, Esq., Cleish Castle, Kinross .. ..	0 10 6
John J. Dalgleish, Esq., 8, Atholl-crescent, Edinburgh	0 10 6	Dr. Dow, Comely-park House, Dunfermline.. ..	0 10 6
Mrs. Dalgleish, 8, Atholl- crescent, Edinburgh.. ..	0 10 6	L. Dalgleish, Esq., 22, Coates- crescent, Edinburgh.. ..	0 10 6
Miss Dalgleish, 8, Atholl- crescent, Edinburgh.. ..	0 10 6	Dr. Duncan, 8, Ainslie-place, Edinburgh .. ..	1 1 0
Mrs. Harvie Brown, Dumipace- house, Larbert .. ..	0 10 6	Mrs. Millar .. ..	0 2 6
Dr. Craig MacLagan, 5, Coates- crescent, Edinburgh.. ..	0 10 6	Mrs. Lang and Miss Duncan ..	0 7 6
Rev. Dr. Stuart, 7, Northum- berland-street, Edinburgh ..	0 10 6	Miss E. C. Stuart .. ..	0 2 6
Mrs. Hastie, Lusear House, Dunfermline .. ..	1 0 0		
			8 19 0

HUDDERSFIELD AUXILIARY.

	For the Year 1877.	For the Year 1878.	For the Year 1879.	For the Year 1880.	Totals.
	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.	£ s. d.
Allen, Mrs. .. ..	—	—	1 0 0	—	1 0 0
Barker, Henry .. ..	—	—	1 1 0	1 1 0	2 2 0
Brooke, Edward .. ..	1 1 0	1 1 0	1 1 0	1 1 0	4 4 0
Brooke, J. A. .. ..	—	—	1 1 0	1 1 0	2 2 0
Brooke, Thomas .. ..	—	—	1 1 0	1 1 0	2 2 0
Feugley, C. .. ..	—	0 10 6	0 10 6	0 10 0	1 11 0
Hughes, Mrs. (the late) ..	—	—	0 5 0	0 5 0	0 10 0
Hughes, Miss .. ..	—	—	—	0 5 0	0 5 0
Mellor, Wright .. ..	—	1 1 0	1 1 0	—	2 2 0
Parratt, H. L. .. ..	—	—	1 1 0	1 1 0	2 2 0
Wilson, Rev. G. E. .. ..	—	—	0 10 6	0 10 6	1 1 0
	1 1 0	2 12 6	8 12 0	6 15 6	19 1 0

Account of Mr. A. Jubb, the Local Agent, for expenses  
in distribution of publications, &c. } 0 9 5

18 11 7

IPSWICH.

B. Binyon, Esq. .. ..	£ s. d.	Mr. R. Miller .. ..	£ s. d.
W. Brown, Esq. .. ..	1 1 0	Rev. J. N. Turnock .. ..	1 0 0
J. C. Cobbold, Esq. .. ..	1 0 0		0 10 6
Rev. S. Garratt.. ..	1 1 0		
Miss Lacon .. ..	1 1 0		
	0 10 0		6 3 6





LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

MANCHESTER.

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
December 17, 1880	..	3	13	6	1881.				
January 18, 1881	..	8	8	0	aRev. W. J. Smith	..	0	10	6
February 11, 1881	..	11	0	6	aRev. W. F. Birch	..	1	1	0
March 11, 1881..	..	5	5	0	aG. Robinson, Esq.	..	1	1	0
„ 12, 1881..	..	1	11	6	aF. W. Grafton, Esq., M.P.	..	2	2	0
		<hr/>			aJ. Jackson, Esq.	..	0	10	6
		29	18	6	aJohn Robinson, Esq.	..	2	2	0
1880					aJohn Lowe, Esq.	..	1	1	0
aHerbert Birch, Esq.	..	1	1	0	aErnest Bellhouse, Esq.	..	1	1	0
aMiss Sharp	..	0	10	6	aMrs Cruso	..	1	1	0
aMiss J. E. Sharp	..	0	10	6	aH. Calvert, Esq.	..	0	10	6
aJ. H. Grafton, Esq.	..	1	1	0	aRev. J. J. Scott	..	0	10	6
aJ. A. Eastwood, Esq.	..	0	10	6	aJ. O. Andrew, Esq.	..	1	1	0
		<hr/>			aW. Slater, Esq.	..	1	1	0
Total	..	3	13	6	aR. W. Barnes, Esq.	..	0	10	6
		<hr/>			aWalter Bellhouse, Esq.	..	1	1	0
Remitted previously	∴	62	19	0	aJames Barlow, Esq.	..	1	1	0
		<hr/>			aJ. R. Barlow, Esq.	..	1	1	0
Total for 1880..	..	66	12	6	aT. Rymer, Esq.	..	1	1	0
		<hr/>			aC. P. Allen, Esq.	..	1	1	0
		<hr/>			aG. Gauthorp, Esq.	..	0	10	6
		<hr/>			aRev. J. W. Consterdine	..	0	10	6
		<hr/>			aH. B. Jackson, Esq.	..	1	1	0
		<hr/>			„ (Eastern Expedition)	..	1	1	0
		<hr/>			aG. H. Goldsmith, Esq.	..	1	1	0
		<hr/>			aE. Harcastle, Esq.	..	1	1	0
		<hr/>			aOliver Heywood, Esq.	..	1	1	0
		<hr/>			aRev. Canon Stowell	..	0	10	6
		<hr/>					26	5	0

RICHMOND.

1880.		Nov. 29. Miss Corbett, Suffield Lodge, Richmond		..	0	10	0		
Nov. 8. Miss Du Buisson, Wandsworth Common	..	0	10	6	Dec. 20. Henry Douglas, Esq. 10, Park Hill, Richmond	..	0	10	6
Nov. 12. Mrs. Cooke, The Terrace, Richmond	..	1	1	0	<hr/>				
Nov. 20. Lady Augusta Onslow, Down Terrace, Richmond	..	2	2	0	To cheque herewith on Messrs. Barnetts & Co.	..	4	14	0

TUNBRIDGE WELLS.

General Hutchinson, Howrah House	..	1	0	0	Miss Gordon, Lansdowne-road	0	10	0	
Mrs. Randall, Lansdowne-road	..	1	0	0	W. F. Browell, Esq.	..	1	1	0
		<hr/>					3	11	0

LIST OF CONTRIBUTIONS.

WESTON-SUPER-MARE.

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
Miss A. Rodham	.. (1880)	1	1	0	Rev. William S. Tomkins..	1881	0	10	6
Miss M. S. Tomkins	.. "	0	10	6	Rev. D. Wheeler	.. "	0	10	6
Rev. Henry G. Tomkins	.. "	0	10	6	Miss Wills	.. "	0	5	0
Rev. William S. Tomkins	.. "	0	10	6	Miss Haslewood, 7, Victoria-		0	5	0
Rev. G. Buckle, ..	.. "	0	10	6	buildings	.. (1881)	0	5	0
Rev. T. Birkett..	.. "	0	5	0	Mrs. Cookson, Westgate-villa		0	10	6
Rev. D. Wheeler	.. "	0	10	6	(1881)	.. "	0	10	6
W. Ash, Esq. ..	.. "	0	10	0	Mrs. Henry Hawkes, Savile-		0	10	0
Mrs. H. Matheson	.. "	0	5	0	villa	.. (1881)	0	10	0
Mrs. Mullings ..	.. "	0	5	0			8	0	0
Rev. W. Hunt ..	.. "	0	5	0					
Do. ..	.. (1881)	0	5	0					

LECTURES.

REV. HENRY GEARY.

Place.	Date.	Proceeds.
		£ s. d.
Marlborough College .. ..	Dec. 4, 1880 ..	15 7 0
Tunbridge Wells (2 lectures)	" 9 " ..	34 0 6
Speldhurst .. ..	" 10 " ..	2 13 5
Leigh, Tunbridge .. ..	" 30 " ..	5 0 0
Exeter (2 lectures—snow) ..	Jan. 18, 1881 ..	4 4 8
Torquay (2 lectures—snow)	" 19 " ..	0 11 0
Clifton (2 lectures, not given through snow, but tickets sold) .. ..	" 20 " ..	2 6 0
Weston-Super-Mare .. ..	" 21 " ..	5 16 0
St. Thomas's, Portman-square	" 28 " ..	5 8 3
Huddersfield .. ..	Feb. 11 " ..	9 2 2
Croydon .. ..	March 1 " ..	12 7 9
Faversham .. ..	" 16 " ..	5 11 0
Ealing .. ..	" 24 " ..	0 0 0

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Mrs. Litton .. ..	..	1	1	0			23	9	6
Rev. T. Fenn .. ..	..	1	1	0					
Canon Bell .. ..	..	1	1	0					

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Miss Ware .. ..	..	0	5	0				
Mr. Bird .. ..	..	0	10	6				
		2	16	6				



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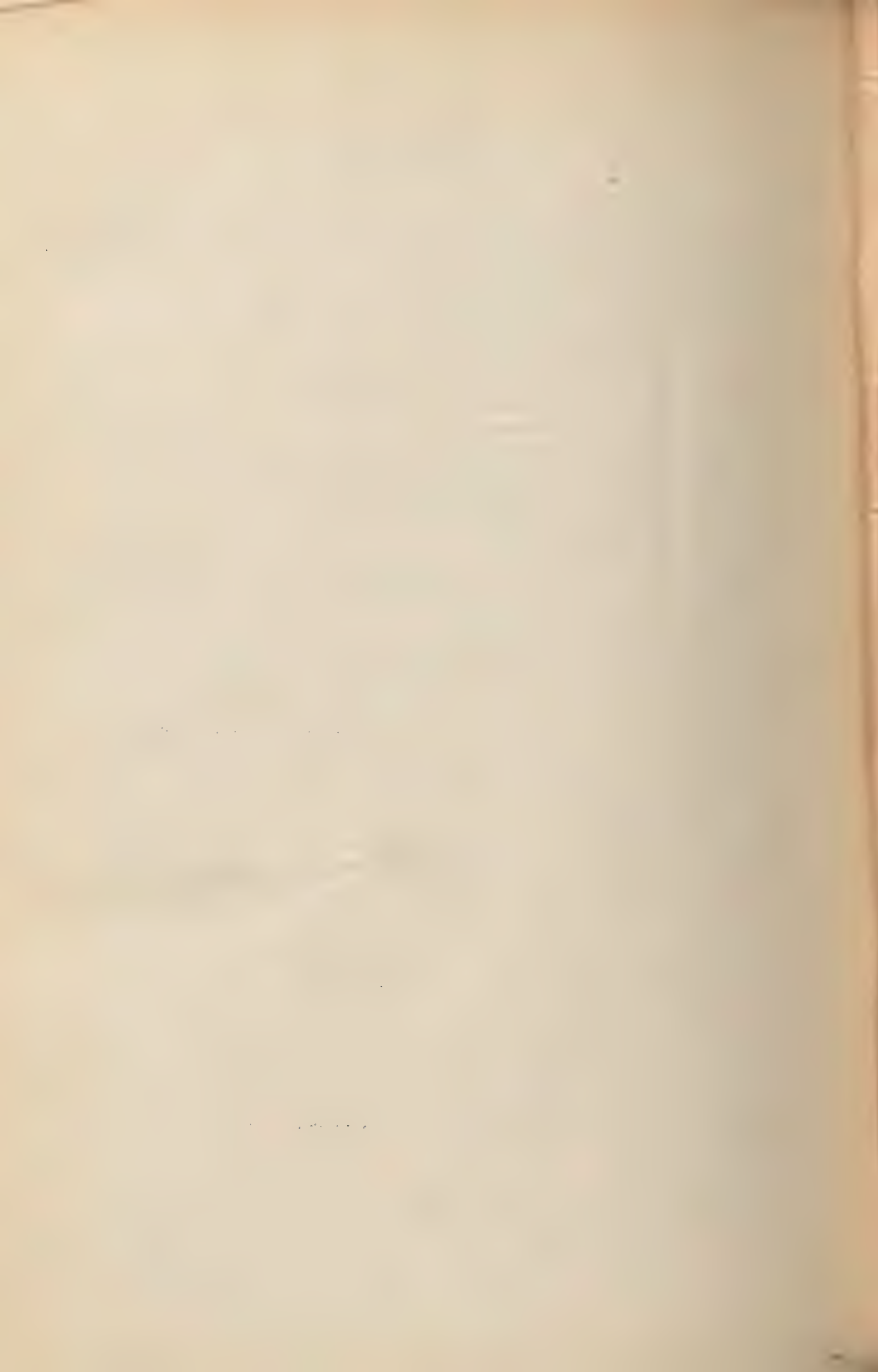
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<i>a</i> Rev. Dr. Hermann Adler, jr.	1	1	0	<i>a</i> B. Crewdson, Esq. ..	1	1	0
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Erskine Beveridge, Esq. ..	2	0	0	<i>a</i> E. S. Eley, Esq. .. ..	1	1	0
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Carried forward	98	0	0	Carried forward	261	9	6



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a sub. .. ..	1	1	0
aDean of Lichfield .. ..	2	2	0
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aMrs. Pattenson .. ..	0	10	6
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aCaptain Perry.. ..	0	10	0
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aCaptain Petrie .. ..	0	10	6
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aR. J. Pressly, Esq. .. ..	0	10	6
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aMiss Purcell .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. D. Playfair .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. R. Powell .. ..	0	10	6
aRev. W. H. B. Proby .. ..	1	1	0
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aRev. G. Robson .. ..	0	10	6
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a	Miss Wakeham	..	..	5	5	0	a	Sydney Lawrence, Esq.	..	..	1	1	0
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a	Lt.-Col. Ward	..	..	1	1	0	a	Rev. Isaac Taylor	..	..	1	1	0
a	Rev. H. R. Ware	..	..	1	0	0	a	Rev. J. J. Bonar	..	..	1	0	0
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	William Whitehead, Esq.	..	..	1	0	0	a	Rev. H. Bothamley	..	..	1	1	0
a	Colonel Sir C. W. Wilson	..	..	5	0	0		Miss Cranage	..	..	0	7	0
a	Rev. Herbert Wilson	..	..	0	10	6	a	Sir W. Ramsay Fairfax, Bart.	..	..	2	0	0
r	Rev. F. E. Williams	..	..	1	0	0	a	F. L. Gooch, Esq.	..	..	1	10	0
a	Rev. C. W. Worledge	..	..	0	10	0	a	Sir E. Fry	..	..	1	1	0
a	Lady A. C. W. Wynn	..	..	0	10	6	a	Rev. J. Bannatyne	..	..	2	2	0
	Sir Moses Montefiore, Bart...	..	..	10	0	0	a	Rev. H. Stobart	..	..	1	0	0
Carried forward			501	14	6	Total			..	..	517	19	0

LOCAL SOCIETIES.

*Acknowledged in detail under special heading.*

				£	s.	d.					£	s.	d.	
Brought forward			517	19	0	Brought forward			641	18	1			
Ayr	..	..	..	2	16	8	Ledbury	..	..	..	4	14	6	
Aberdeen	..	..	..	14	2	10	Leeds	..	..	..	5	0	0	
Adelaide	..	..	..	15	15	9	Manchester	..	..	..	2	2	0	
Bolton	..	..	..	11	4	4	Norwich	..	..	..	14	19	6	
Burnley	..	..	..	1	10	6	Reigate	..	..	..	2	2	0	
Belfast	..	..	..	14	2	0	Southampton	..	..	..	29	5	6	
Bath	..	..	..	10	7	0	Stroud	..	..	..	9	18	5	
Broadstairs	..	..	..	0	15	0	Weston-super-Mare	..	..	..	2	8	0	
Clifton	..	..	..	1	1	0	Rev. H. Geary, Lecture account	..	..	..	7	0	9	
Cardiff	..	..	..	34	10	0				719	8	10		
Frome	..	..	..	10	17	6	From other sources			354	2	6		
Guildford	..	..	..	6	16	6	Total			..	..	1073	11	4
Carried forward			641	18	1									

ERRATUM IN GENERAL LIST OF QUARTERLY STATEMENT FOR APRIL.

For "A. Peckover," read as follows:—

				£	s.	d.
a	Alexander Peckover	..	..	0	10	0
a	Miss P. H. Peckover	..	..	0	10	0
a	Jonathan Peckover	..	..	0	10	0
"	"	(Special Donation)	..	2	0	0

3 10 0

Also for "E. Budgett," read "J. S. Budgett, Esq." .. 10 0 0



LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

ABERDEEN.

June 15.—By cash .. .. . £14 2s. 10d.

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
<i>a</i> Rev. John Robson, D.D., 30, Carden-place .. .. .	0	10	6		Brought forward	7	18	6	
<i>a</i> Mr. James Henderson, 1, Car- den-terrace .. .. .	0	10	6		<i>a</i> Rev. Wm. Mearns, D.D., Manse of Ayne .. .. .	1	1	0	
<i>a</i> Francis Edmond, LL.D., 5, Albyn-place .. .. .	1	0	0		<i>a</i> George Milne, Esq., McCom- bie's-court .. .. .	0	10	6	
<i>a</i> Mrs. Edmond, .. .. .	1	0	0		<i>a</i> C. J. Burnett, Esq., Chanonry, Old Aberdeen .. .. .	0	10	6	
<i>a</i> Mrs. Johnson, Kimmunday, Skene by Aberdeen .. .. .	0	5	0		<i>a</i> Rev. Mr. Bannatyne, 5, Rubis- law-place .. .. .	0	10	6	
<i>a</i> Dr. Stewart, Heathcot, Aber- deen .. .. .	0	10	6		<i>a</i> M. .. .. .	0	2	6	
<i>a</i> Rev. John Davidson, D.D., Manse, Inverurie .. .. .	0	10	6		<i>a</i> T. .. .. .	1	0	0	
<i>a</i> Robert Gerard, Esq., 97, Union-street .. .. .	0	10	6						11 13 6
<i>a</i> Alex. D. Milne, 40, Albyn-place	0	10	6		By two Lectures delivered by Rev. Dr. Robson on 24th March and 14th April .. .. .	5	2	8	
<i>a</i> Mrs. McKinnon, Queen's Cross	0	10	6						16 16 2
<i>a</i> Miss Fenwick Bisset .. .. .	2	0	0		Less expenses of two Lectures ..	2	13	4	
									14 2 10½
Carried forward	7	18	6		Total .. .. .	14	2	10½	

LADIES' ASSOCIATION.

March 14.—By cash .. .. . £13 19s. 6d.

		£	s.	d.			£	s.	d.
<i>a</i> Miss Scott, Ruthrieston Lodge	0	5	0		Brought forward	8	6	6	
<i>a</i> Mr. J. Murray Garden, 145, Crown-street .. .. .	0	10	6		<i>a</i> Alex. Cochran, Esq., 152, Union-street .. .. .	0	5	0	
<i>a</i> T. Marr, Cliff House, Cults ..	1	1	0		<i>a</i> Robert Smith, Esq., of Glen- millan .. .. .	0	10	6	
<i>a</i> Rev. J. A. Maclymont, 4 Albert-street .. .. .	0	10	6		<i>a</i> Rev. J. Mitfort Mitchell, 14, Albyn-terrace .. .. .	0	5	0	
<i>a</i> Dr. and Mrs. A. D. Davidson, 224, Union-street .. .. .	0	15	0		<i>a</i> Mrs. Parr, 12, Carden-place ..	0	5	0	
<i>a</i> Wm. Smart, Esq., 1, Lang- stane-place .. .. .	0	10	6		<i>a</i> James Chalmers, Esq., West- burn .. .. .	0	10	6	
<i>a</i> Mrs. Yeats, Beaconhill, Mur- tle .. .. .	1	1	0		<i>a</i> Mrs. Hargrave, Canada .. .. .	0	10	6	
<i>a</i> George Jamieson, Esq., 39, Albyn-place .. .. .	0	10	6		<i>a</i> Mrs. Ogilvie Forbes, Boyndlic Cottage, Frasersburgh .. .. .	0	5	0	
<i>a</i> Francis Agston, M.D., 156, Union-street .. .. .	0	10	6		<i>a</i> The Misses Millar, 158, Crown- street .. .. .	0	10	0	
<i>a</i> Mrs. Murray, Black Neuk, Brig o' Balgowrie .. .. .	0	10	6		<i>a</i> Rev. Prof. Christie, D.D., University, for 1881-1882 ..	1	1	0	
<i>a</i> P. Esslemont, Esq., 17, Silver- street .. .. .	0	10	6		<i>a</i> Mrs. Nicol, Murtle House, near Aberdeen .. .. .	0	10	0	
<i>a</i> David Easton, Esq., Union- buildings .. .. .	0	5	0		<i>a</i> Miss Mary Forbes, 6, Mackie- place .. .. .	0	10	0	
<i>a</i> Rev. Prof. Black, University	0	10	6		<i>a</i> P.S., per do. .. .. .	0	10	0	
<i>a</i> Prof. Stevenson, M.D., 261, Union-street .. .. .	0	10	6		<i>a</i> Miss Steuart, Sunny Bank ..	0	10	6	
<i>a</i> Jas. Aitken, Esq., 27, Union- place .. .. .	0	5	0						14 9 6
					Less Collector's fee .. .. .	0	10	0	
Carried forward	8	6	6						13 19 6

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

AYR.

June 21.—By cash .. .. .	£2 16s. 8d.
	£ s. d.
Aytoun, Miss .. .. .	0 10 0
Currie, D. .. .. .	0 5 0
Douglas, Campbell .. .. .	0 10 6
Flint, John .. .. .	0 10 6
Murdoch, R. D. .. .. .	1 1 0
	<hr/>
	2 17 0
Less for P.O. Order.. .. .	0 0 4
	<hr/>
	2 16 8

BATH.

May 27.—By cash .. .. .	£ 3 2 0
June 16.— „ .. .. .	7 5 6
Mrs. Stainforth .. .. .	1 0 0
Miss Bruce .. .. .	1 1 0
Miss G. Bruce .. .. .	1 1 0

Rev. J. Buttanshaw .. .. .	£ 0 10 6	Brought forward	£ 4 14 6
Miss Buttanshaw .. .. .	0 10 6	J. S. Bartrum, Esq. .. .. .	0 10 6
C. Timins, Esq. . . . .	0 10 6	Miss Darlot .. .. .	0 5 0
J. Johnston, Esq. .. .. .	0 10 6	R. T. Gore, Esq. .. .. .	0 10 0
Rev. Treby. Wood .. .. .	0 10 6	Rev. T. P. Methnen .. .. .	1 1 0
General Eden .. .. .	0 10 6	Rev. R. Drummond .. .. .	0 10 0
Miss Holme .. .. .	0 10 6		<hr/>
Miss A. Holme. . . . .	0 10 6		7 11 0
Rev. H. H. Cornwood .. .. .	0 10 6	Less commission .. .. .	0 6 0
	<hr/>		<hr/>
Carried forward	4 14 6		7 5 0

BELFAST.

May 7.—By cash .. .. .	£9 7s. 6d.
May 23.— „ .. .. .	4 14s. 6d.

<i>a</i> Rev. W. D. Killen, D.D, Col- lege Park .. .. .	£ 0 10 6	Brought forward	£ 3 3 0
<i>a</i> Rev. J. G. Murphy, LL.D., College Park .. .. .	1 1 0	<i>a</i> John Megaw, Esq., 23, Col- lege-square, S. .. .. .	0 10 6
<i>a</i> Rev. Hans Woods, Lisburn- road .. .. .	0 10 6	<i>a</i> Wm. Valentine, Esq., J.P., Glenavana, Whiteabbey .. .. .	0 10 6
<i>a</i> Rev. George Bellis, D.D., 22, University-square .. .. .	0 10 6	<i>a</i> James Hind, Esq., J.P., Liso- nard .. .. .	0 10 6
<i>a</i> Thomas Gaffikin, Esq., 7, Queen's-elms. . . . .	0 10 6		<hr/>
	<hr/>		4 14 6
Carried forward	3 3 0		



LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

BELFAST—Per the President of Queen's College.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
<i>a</i> The President of Queen's College, Belfast .. .. .	2	2	0	Brought forward	5	5	0
<i>a</i> Sir James Hamilton, Bangor, Co. Down (subscriptions for 1881-4, in advance) .. .. .	2	2	0	<i>a</i> Rev. Thomas Hamilton, Brookvale House .. .. .	0	10	6
<i>a</i> Rev. Dr. Busby, 16, University-square .. .. .	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Wm. Young, Esq., J.P., Fenaghly, Cullybackey .. .. .	2	2	0
<i>a</i> Rev. Dr. Watts, College Park .. .. .	0	10	6	<i>a</i> Henry Pringle, Esq., Clonby House, Clones, Ireland .. .. .	1	0	0
				Mr. David McCloy, 10, Brougham-street .. .. .	0	10	0
Carried forward	5	5	0		9	7	6

BISHOPS WALTHAM.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Rev. A. B. Burton, Westmeon Rectory, Peterfield .. .. .	0	10	6	Brought forward	1	1	0
Rev. W. E. Medlicott, Swanmore Vicarage, Bishops Waltham .. .. .	0	10	6	Rev. H. R. Fleming, Corhampton Vicarage, Bishops Waltham .. .. .	0	10	6
				Mr. James Padbury, Bishops Waltham .. .. .	0	10	6
Carried forward	1	1	0		2	2	0

CARDIFF.

June 3.—By cash .. .. . £34 10s.

With the following list.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Rees Jones, Esq., Halswell-terrace .. .. .	1	1	0	John Fry, Esq., Hill-side, Penarth .. .. .	1	1	0
Messrs. Collin and Co., Bute Docks .. .. .	1	1	0	Richard Cory, Esq., Halswell-terrace .. .. .	1	1	0
Messrs. Nixon, Taylor and Co., Bute Docks .. .. .	1	1	0	John Cory, Esq., Jaiudre Hall, St. Mellon's .. .. .	2	2	0
Messrs. Powell, Duffryn and Co., Bute Docks .. .. .	1	1	0	E. J. Howard, Esq., Bute Docks .. .. .	1	1	0
Messrs. D. Davis and Sons, Bute Docks .. .. .	1	1	0	Bickerton Pratt, Esq., 4, Park-place .. .. .	0	10	6
Messrs. Jones, Heard, and Ingram, Bute Docks .. .. .	1	1	0	Wm. Taylor, Esq., M.D., Crockherbtown .. .. .	0	10	6
				Wm. Adams, Esq., Park-place	1	1	0

For January, 1881.

	£	s.	d.		£	s.	d.
Messrs. Thomas, Riches and Co., Bute Docks .. .. .	1	1	0	J. P. Ingledeew, Esq., Crockherbtown .. .. .	1	1	0
David Davis, Esq., Maesy Hynon, Aberdare .. .. .	1	1	0	John Moore, Esq., 18, Windsor-place .. .. .	0	10	6
Lewis Davis, Esq., Ferndale, Pontypridd .. .. .	1	1	0				

DUBLIN.

Rev. Maxwell Close .. .. . £2 0 0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

GUILDFORD.

April 22.—By cash .. .. . £6 16s. 6d.

			£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
Captain Campbell .. .. .			0	10	6	Brought forward			4	4	0
J. R. Capron, Esq. .. .. .			0	10	6	Mrs. O'Connell.. .. .			0	10	6
Lt.-Gen. E. A. Foord .. .. .			0	10	6	Rev. F. Paynter .. .. .			0	10	6
E. Futvoye, Esq. .. .. .			1	1	0	R. J. Shepard, Esq. .. .. .			0	10	6
Colonel Man .. .. .			0	10	6	D. Williamson, Esq. .. .. .			0	10	6
Mrs. Mangles .. .. .			0	10	6	Mrs. W. Williamson .. .. .			0	10	6
Miss Mayo .. .. .			0	10	6						
Carried forward			4	4	0				6	16	6

LEEDS.

March 28th.—By cash .. .. . £5 0 0

			£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
J. Wilson, Esq., Scarcroft-hall, Leeds. .. .. .			1	1	0	Commission .. .. .			0	18	10
Rev. W. F. Pierson, Settle .. .. .			1	1	0	P.O.O. .. .. .			0	0	5
Miss Stansfeld, Settle .. .. .			1	1	0	Remitted to London. <i>March</i> <i>23rd, 1881</i> .. .. .			3	15	3
C. H. Charlesworth, Esq., Settle			1	1	0						
Rev. E. Bittleston, Stainley .. .. .			0	10	6						
			4	14					4	14	6

MANCHESTER.

June 8.—By cash .. .. . £2 2s.

			£	s.	d.
αRev. S. Y. Bradshaw .. .. .			0	10	6
αC. H. Johnson, Esq. .. .. .			0	10	6
αMrs. Gillmore .. .. .			0	10	6
αMr. G. W. Rigg .. .. .			0	10	6
			2	2	0

NORWICH.

May 5.—By cash .. .. . £14 19s. 6d.

			£	s.	d.				£	s.	d.
The Very Rev. the Dean of Norwich .. .. .			2	2	0	Brought forward			7	7	0
Rev. Hinds Howell .. .. .			0	10	6	E. K. Harvey, Esq. .. .. .			1	1	0
Rev. R. P. Kidd .. .. .			0	10	6	Rev. W. Hudson .. .. .			0	10	6
Rev. C. R. Manning .. .. .			0	10	6	Rev. W. W. Clarke .. .. .			1	1	0
Rev. H. Ormerod .. .. .			0	10	6	Rev. F. Hildyard .. .. .			0	10	6
J. J. Winter, Esq. .. .. .			1	1	0	Mrs. Hildyard .. .. .			0	10	6
G. C. Eaton, Esq. .. .. .			0	10	6	Rev. H. Petley.. .. .			0	10	6
R. Geldart, Esq. .. .. .			0	10	6	Rev. W. F. Greeny .. .. .			0	10	6
H. S. Patteson, Esq. .. .. .			1	1	0	Rev. W. N. Ripley .. .. .			2	2	0
Rev. R. W. Kennion .. .. .			1	1	0	Rev. W. R. Collett .. .. .			1	1	0
Carried forward			7	7	0	Mrs. Jas. Colman .. .. .			1	1	0
									16	5	6



LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

STROUD.

				£	s	d.					£	s	d.	
J. H. Carpenter, Esq., Cains-	£.	s	d.											
cross .. .. .	0	10	6					Brought forward	4	14	6			
S. J. Coley, Esq., High-street..	0	10	6					Mrs. Thomas, Wick-st. house..	1	1	0			
W. Cowle, Esq., Park-house ..	0	10	6					Rev. R. G. Walker, Whitehall	0	10	6			
W. H. C. Fisher, Esq., Roweroft	0	10	6					Rev. J. Wilkinson, Brimscombe	0	10	6			
James Harper, Esq., Ebley ..	0	10	6					L. W. Winterbotham, Esq.,						
Thomas Lancaster, Esq., Bown-								Roweroft .. .. .	1	1	0			
ham-house .. .. .	1	1	0					Collection at Bedford-street						
W. H. Marling, Esq., Stanley-								School room .. .. .	1	0	0			
house .. .. .	1	1	0					John Libby, Esq. .. .. .	0	10	6			
T. S. Osborne, Esq., Lower-st.	0	10	6											
Carried forward	4	14	6									9	18	6

WESTON-SUPER-MARE.

May 13.—By cash .. .. . £2 8s.

				£	s	d.					£	s	d.	
Dr. Roxburgh .. .. .	£	s	d.					Expenses .. .. .	0	6	0			
Miss Clark, Aldbourne-villa ..	0	10	6					Cheque inclosed .. .. .	2	8	0			
Miss McAdam .. .. .	0	2	6											
C. Pooley, Esq... .. .	0	5	0											
Mrs. Dalton, Bristol-road ..	0	10	0											
Mrs. Temple, Bristol-road ..	0	2	6											
Rev. M. O. Stevens, Anlaby ..	0	10	6											
Miss Lunell, Chiculdah ..	0	10	6											
	2	16	6									2	16	6

LECTURES AND MEETINGS.

				£	s	d.	
Abergavenny .. .. .				(collection)	6	17	1
Bolton .. .. .				"	30	17	0
Cardiff .. .. .				"	7	2	2
Romsey .. .. .				"	3	14	6
Southampton .. .. .				"	25	7	6
Newport .. .. .				"	4	17	0

LIST OF SUBSCRIPTIONS.

THE FOLLOWING DONATIONS AND SUBSCRIPTIONS WERE ALSO RECEIVED.

ROMSEY.

	£	s.	d.
Right Hon. the Lady Ashburton, Melchet (Don.)	25	0	0
Ditto ditto (Ann.)	5	0	0
Rev. E. L. Berthor .. .. . (Don.)	0	5	0
aA. B. Cotton .. .. .	1	1	0
W. F. Lawrence, Esq. .. .. .	1	1	0
C. G. Stuart Menteth, Esq. .. .. .	1	1	0
W. S. Portal, Esq. .. .. . (Don.)	5	0	0
Rev. H. C. Hawtry, 1880-81 .. .. .	1	1	0

SOUTHAMPTON.

	£	s.	d.
aH. T. Earl, Esq. .. .. .	0	10	6
Rev. Thos. Carrick .. .. . (Don.)	0	10	6
Rev. A. C. Blunt, 1880-81 .. .. .	2	2	0

NEWPORT, MONMOUTH.

	£	s.	d.
Henry John Davis, Esq., Tivoli, Stow Hill ..	0	10	6
William Graham, Esq., Oakfield, Clyther Park ..	0	10	6
	1	1	0
Miss Horncastle, Oakfield, Caeran Park (don.) ..	0	5	0

ABERGAVENNY.

	£	s.	d.
Rev. — Vigors, Llanvencath Rectory, near Abergavenny ..	0	10	6
Rev. J. Rees Jenkins, Wordswell House, Abergavenny ..	0	10	6

SUPPLEMENTARY (not in above)—

	£	s.	d.
H. Bell, Esq., jun. .. .. .	1	0	0
Rev. Canon Feilden .. .. .	0	10	6
Rev. R. W. Prichard .. .. .	0	10	6

BIRKENHEAD.

July 1.—By cash .. .. . £6 5s.  
(Too late for acknowledgment in General List.)

With the following list.

	£	s.	d.
Rev. P. R. Robin .. .. .	2	2	0
Rev. W. J. Wingate .. .. .	1	1	0
S. Stitt, Esq. .. .. .	1	0	0



## LIST OF HONORARY SECRETARIES AND LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS.

---

- ALLOA : Rev. Alexander Bryson and Rev. Daniel M'Lean.
- ABERDEEN : Rev. Prof. Milligan, D.D. *Hon. Sec.* Ladies' Association, Miss Mary Forbes.
- ADELAIDE : Rev. W. R. Fletcher.
- AMBLESIDE : Rev. H. B. Rawnsley, Wray Vicarage.
- ANSTRUTHER : W. H. Mackintosh, Esq.
- AYR : Robert Murdoch, Esq.
- BASINGSTOKE : Rev. W. Marriner.
- BATH : Rev. T. P. Methuen.
- BEDFORD : Rev. Canon Haddock.
- BELFAST : Rev. the President of Queen's College.
- BIRKENHEAD : Rev. J. T. Kingsmill, St. Aidan's College.
- BISHOP'S WALTHAM : Rev. H. R. Fleming.
- BLACKBURN : Herbert Birch, Esq., and Rev. A. B. Grosart.
- BLAIRGOWRIE : W. S. Soutar, Esq.
- BODMIN : S. Hicks, Esq.
- BOLTON : George Monk, Esq.
- BRECON : Richard Mills, Esq.
- BRIGHTON : Rev. C. E. Douglass.
- BROADSTAIRS : Rev. J. H. Carr.
- BROMLEY : Rev. W. J. Devereux.
- BURNLEY : Alfred Strange, Esq.
- BURY : *Hon. Treas.*—Rev. Canon J. Hornby ; *Hon. Sec.*—Rev. W. Walmsley.
- CAMBRIDGE : W. M. Hicks, Esq., M.A., St. John's College ; G. T. Bettany, Esq., M.A., Gonville and Caius.
- CANADA : Toronto.—Subscriptions are received by the Hon. G. W. Allan.
- CARDIFF : W. Adams, Esq., 53, Crockherbtown.
- CHELMSFORD : Rev. G. B. Hamilton.
- CHELTENHAM : Dr. E. Wilson.
- CHESTER : Rev. J. Davidson.
- CHIPPENHAM : A. T. Keary, Esq.
- CITY AND COUNTY OF CORK : H. S. Perry, Esq., Monkstown.
- CLIFTON and BRISTOL : Rev. C. H. Wallace.
- CROYDON : J. W. Janson, Esq.
- DARLINGTON : J. P. Pritchett, Esq.
- DEVONPORT : J. Venning, Esq.
- DORCHESTER : Rev. Handley Moule.
- DUBLIN : Denis Crofton, Esq. and Rev. G. T. Stokes.

## LOCAL ASSOCIATIONS.

- DUNDEE: Robert Mackenzie, Esq.; *Hon. Treas.*—Alex. Scott, Esq.
- DUNFERMLINE: Rev. A. Graham, Crossgates.
- EASTBOURNE: Rev. H. R. Whelpton.
- EDINBURGH: Rev. W. Lindsay Alexander, D.D., William Dickson, Esq., F.R.S.E. and T. B. Johnston, Esq., F.R.G.S., 16, So. St. Andrew Street.
- EGHAM: Rev. Horrocks Cocks.
- EXETER: Rev. Prebendary Acland, Broad Clyst, and Rev. W. David.
- FALMOUTH, for the County of Cornwall: A. Lloyd Fox and W. P. Dymond, Esq.
- FARNWORTH:
- FLEETWOOD: G. Curwen, Esq.
- FROME: Philip Le Gros, Esq., J. P., North Hill House.
- GATESHEAD:
- GAZA: J. G. Pickard, Esq.
- GLASGOW: Rev. W. P. Dickson, D.D., Rev. Donald Macleod, D.D., and A. B. M'Grigor, Esq., LL.D.
- GREENOCK: D. MacDonald, Esq.
- GUILDFORD: Major-General E. A. Foord, R.E.
- HASTINGS: J. E. Liddiard, Esq.
- HEREFORD: Rev. F. S. Stooke-Vaughan.
- HERTFORD: W. M. Armstrong, Esq.
- HITCHIN: J. Pollard, Esq.
- HUDDERSFIELD: Henry Baker, Esq.
- HULL: J. P. Bell, Esq.
- IPSWICH: Rev. J. R. Turnock.
- IRELAND:—DUBLIN: *Hon. Secs.*—Rev. G. T. Stokes, Blackrock; Denis Crofton, Esq. *Treasurers.*—The Munster Bank.
- JERUSALEM: Dr. Chaptin.
- KENDAL: Robert Somervell, Esq.
- KIRKCALDY: John Barnett, Esq.
- LANCASTER: Rev. J. Bone.
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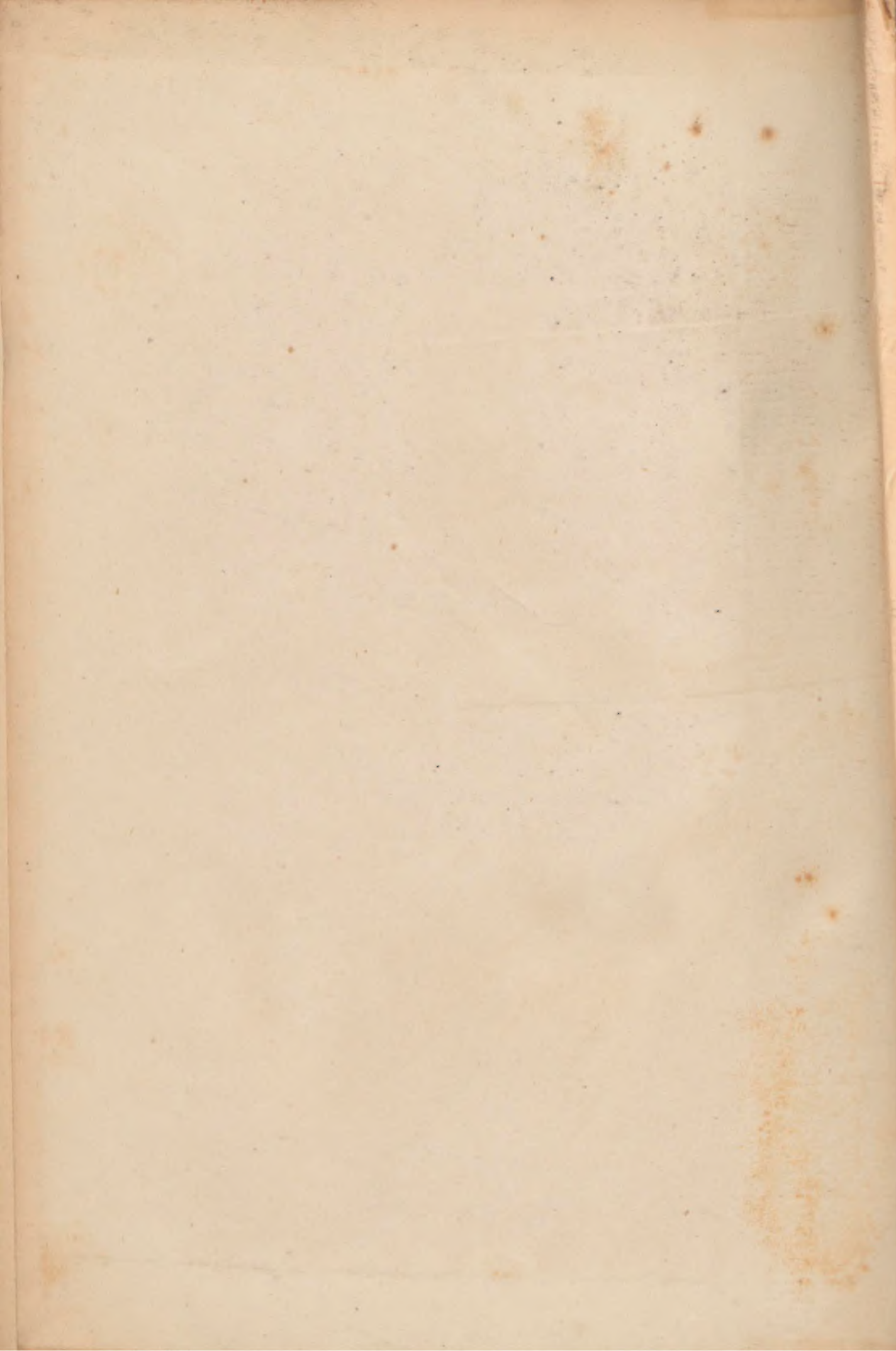
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